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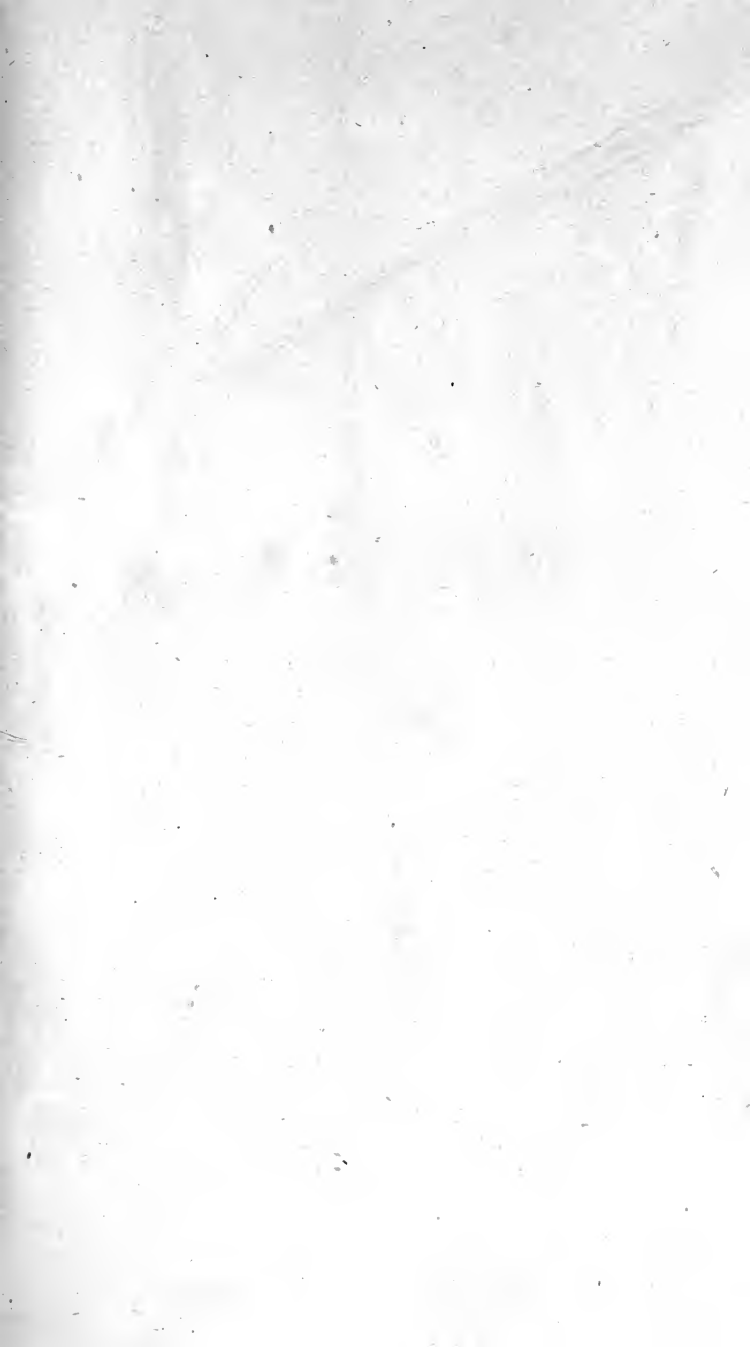
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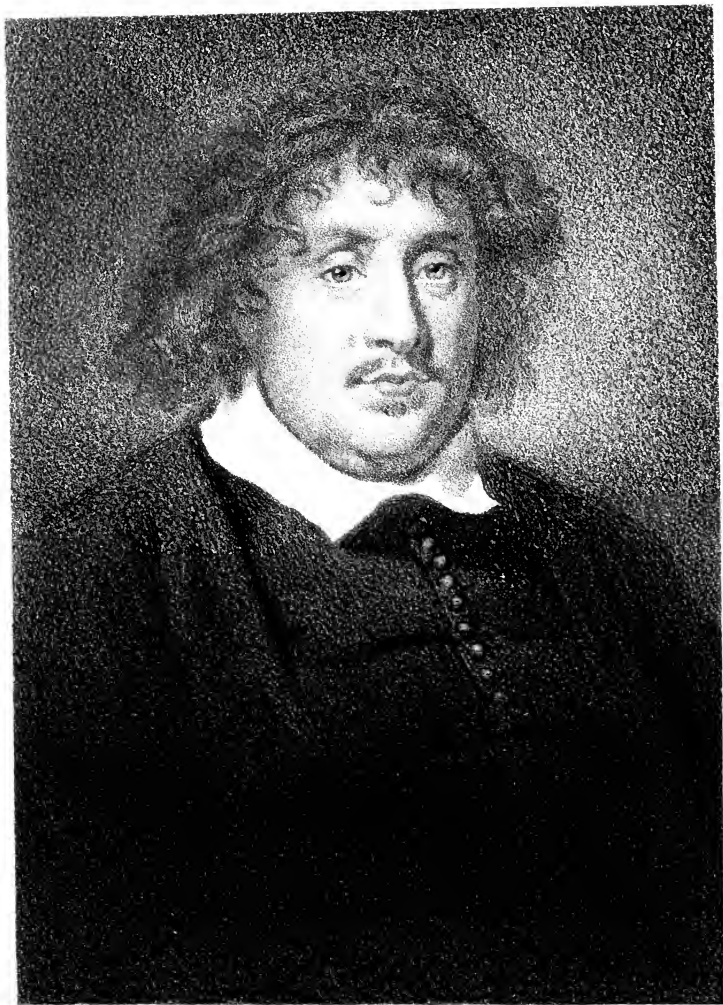
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THE LIFE OF
THOMAS FULLER, D.D.

1730







DR THOMAS FULLER.

Taken by permission of Lord Fitz-Harding, from the portrait
at St. Paul's Church, London.

The Life

OF

THOMAS FULLER, D.D.

WITH NOTICES OF

His Books, His Kinsmen, and His Friends.

BY

JOHN EGLINGTON BAILEY.

“ High hills are parcht with heate, or hid with snow,
And humble dales, soone drown'd, that lie too low,
Whilst happy graine, on hanging hills doth grow.”
—*David's Heartie Repentance*, ST. 18.

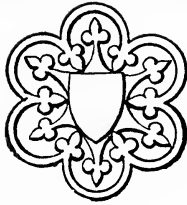
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1874.


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P R E F A C E .



 *UAINT OLD FULLER* are the epithets commonly applied to this prolific and entertaining writer. But they are not over-exact; for wit, and not quaintness, was, as Coleridge has said, "the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect;" and "old" must be taken as a fond or familiar expression (as in the phrase "Venerable Bede"), rather than in relation to his birth-year. As to the associations of the word "Fuller," there is scarcely an instance among the eminent Churchmen of his eventful age of a name which so rapidly passed out of view, and of which in our own day the otherwise well-informed have so vague a conception.

The present work "remembers the forgotten." It is the result of the study and research of the leisure hours of many years; having given a subject for many a pleasant evening, and supplied a purpose to many a summer's holiday. It was originally undertaken out of admiration of the Life and Character of the very remarkable Man whom it concerns. The gradual accession of fresh material from neglected sources, has increased an unpretending memoir, as originally projected, to the present well-filled volume. It is now issued in the hope of modifying in some degree an assertion often justly made,—that the present age knows but little of the Life and Writings of one of our worthiest Worthies.

Born in the same year in which the patriot-poet Milton, and the historian Clarendon first saw the light, Fuller died immediately after the Restoration; and his reputation was thus left to an age that in the main was at variance with the principles which he had advocated, he himself being branded as a Time-server, and his works, in common

with his children and connections, passing out of notice. The attempts of those who have endeavoured, by their careful but imperfect Biographies and by the republication of some of his Works, to restore Fuller to the place he once occupied as a man of no mean honesty and as one of the most original Writers of his time, are respectively recorded in the Introductory Note (page xix. seq.) and in the Bibliography (page 713 seq.). In the former will be found the *raison d'être* of the present Life; for, notwithstanding the issue of three memoirs of Fuller in three successive centuries, a full and adequate biography is a desideratum; and there is ground for regret that some Cambridge scholar as well-beneficed, as kindly-witted, and as zealously antiquarian as the famous Cavalier Parson, has not given to the Church a worthy record of one of its illustrious ornaments.

The present attempted Life differs from all that have preceded it, in that it is for the most part autobiographic. The perusal of Fuller's charming Works, as voluminous as weighty, as witty as wise, indicated that in them the foundation of the Memoir must be laid. From his Good Thoughts in Bad Times, 1645, down to his Appeal of Injured Innocence, 1659, have accordingly been derived numerous and important biographical facts, omitted in former memoirs, but now arranged in connection with the story of his life. Copious extracts are given from some of the lesser known or unique productions of his pen. Among the former are the Sermons Of Assurance (page 419 seq.), Of Contentment (page 422 seq.), &c., and the tract Truth Maintained (page 286 seq.),—pieces as happy and as characteristic as his better-known works. Of the unique pieces, the most noteworthy is the historically-important sermon preached at Oxford in 1644 before Charles I. and the Prince (published by special command), entitled Jacob's Vow, in reference to the famous Vow of the King to restore the Church lands (page 326 seq.).

Amongst the pamphlets deemed worthy of being printed verbatim is Fuller's terse political tract, An Alarum to the Counties of England and Wales, 1659 (page 657 seq.), which, though passing through three editions, is omitted, with much more of Fuller's literary work, from former biographies and bibliographies. Collateral documents of equal interest, such as the Petition of the Citie of Westminster to the King at Oxford, printed 1643 (page 267 seq.);

the very rare *Elegy on Fuller*, by James Heath, 1661 (page 692), &c., have also found a place.

Other sources of information have been carefully and successfully examined. Tradition, parochial and episcopal registers, funeral monuments, and wills, have in turn furnished additional material for the *Biography*; while the national archives at the State Paper Office, the Registers of Stationers' Hall, and the MS. collections at the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Cambridge University Library, &c., have, by informative documents ad rem, tended further to increase the interest and add to the freshness of the record. To the learned Custodians of these valuable literary stores, as well as of other public libraries in London, Manchester, and elsewhere, the Author expresses his thanks for ready access, as also for obliging attention on the part of the gentlemen connected with them.

A multiplicity of biographical items and details have also been derived from a diligent examination of contemporary literature, not the least important of which are the poems or letters addressed to Fuller by Barksdale (p. 502), by one of the Authors of Choyce Drollery (p. 553, discovered by W. H. Turner, Esq., of the Bodleian), by Robert Baillie (p. 492), by Thomas Forde (p. 585), &c. There have also been added other new items not heretofore mentioned in connection with the *Life of Fuller*—as, e.g., the part he played in the Convocation of 1640 (chap. viii.); his intercourse with the Savoy and other London parishes (chap. ix. et seq.); his resort to Basing House (chap. xi.) and to Exeter (chap. xii.); his literary rivalry with Lightfoot (p. 489); the censure passed on him by Fox the Quaker (p. 522); Barnard's droll notice of his interview with the Lord Keeper Fiennes (p. 570); his conversation with Izaak Walton about the wit in the Church-History (p. 581 seq.); the lengthy and recognisable mention of him in Dr. South's speech as *Terrae-filius* at the Oxford Act of 1657 (p. 611 seq.); &c. &c.

The new light which has been thrown upon Fuller's life unravels the curious relation which "that stout Church-and-King man Tom Fuller" (Coleridge), after an active military service in Cavalier armies and garrisons, bore to the Governments of the Interregnum while yet he maintained his ground amongst the Royalists.

Fuller's Works are passed under review in special chapters, the commendations or censures of the Critics not being overlooked. The full

and novel Bibliography contains important corrections and additions, with further brief criticisms.

On the principle that *Noscitur e sociis*, great attention has been paid to the many celebrated Scholars who, as the friends or associates of Fuller, were in his day connected with Cambridge, London, and the diocese of Sarum. The work also contains full notices of other friends: in particular, of Sir Ralph Hopton, of Sir John D'Anvers and his family, of Dr. Heylyn, and of the noblemen by whom Fuller was patronised.

In consequence of the mistakes that have frequently been made in regard to the personality of Fuller, it has been thought necessary to bring into prominence his kinsmen and namesakes. Among them will be found accounts of Nicholas Fuller, the Biblical critic (with some interesting inedited family letters from the Bodleian); of Nicholas Fuller, the Lawyer; of Dr. William Fuller, the Dean of Ely; of Dr. William Fuller, the Bishop of Lincoln; of Dr. Thomas Fuller, the Archbishop of Cashel; of Dr. Thomas Fuller, of Christ's College, Cambridge, &c. &c.; with family notes. Fuller's uncle, Bp. Tounson, is referred to at length; as also is Dr. Davenant, Fuller's uncle and patron, whose will (given in extenso at p. 214) is curiously illustrative of his care lest he should deny the faith, and be thought worse than an infidel (1 Tim. v. 8).

The very full and exact pedigree of the Davenant-Fuller-Tounson families is mainly the work of that laborious and skilful herald Colonel Chester, who, besides searching his collections for the missing marriage-register of Thomas Fuller, and the death-register of his father, gave the benefit of his advice on other matters.

There only remains the pleasing duty of expressing my hearty acknowledgments to all who have given their aid in the project. In Fuller I found everywhere a talisman which brought forth favoured communications and treasured volumes. I refer with gratitude elsewhere to those whose co-operation has helped to clear up particular points. More general thanks are due to others. From Geo. W. Napier, Esq., of Alderley Edge, I have from the first received the kindest encouragement. To his exact knowledge of the Literature and History of the seventeenth century, no less than to his valuable library, the present work owes much. B. H. Beedham, Esq., of Kimbolton, the author of the interesting Notices of

Archbishop Williams, and the Editor of the Correspondence between Williams and the Marquis of Ormond, has also displayed the kindest interest in the work. Through his valuable suggestions and well-directed inquiries, many obscure matters have been made clear. Copies of the rarest of Fuller's tracts have been courteously intrusted to me from the library of Edward Riggall, Esq., of Bayswater, who has also benefited the Memoir in many other ways. Professor Mayor, of Cambridge, who is not more exact in antiquarian lore than generous in imparting it, gave me a budget of useful notes. I also express my indebtedness for several favours at the hands of the worthy President of the Chetham Society, whose name, as the author of the valuable Essay on Fuller in *The Retrospective Review*, has been omitted by Lowndes, Allibone, &c. Mr. W. H. Turner, of the Bodleian, the careful Editor of the *Harleian Visitations of Oxfordshire*, discovered many important items brought forward in the Biography; and to the keen interest he has evinced in the subject, as well as to his professional skill and knowledge of the past, I am greatly indebted.

A special value has been imparted to the Bibliography from the fact that it has been in the hands of many who, possessing copies of Fuller's rare works, have examined the articles descriptive of them. In this connection it would be ungrateful to omit to mention the careful attention the matter has received from B. H. Beedham, Esq.; E. Riggall, Esq.; H. H. Gibbs, Esq.; the Rev. T. L. O. Davies, M.A.; Mr. Thomas Kerslake; Dr. Laing, of the Signet Library; H. A. Whitney, Esq., of Boston, U.S.; G. W. Napier, Esq.; and Mr. B. M. Pickering.

Special acknowledgments are due to the Misses Allport, who kindly lent the two plates from which have been taken the portraits of Bishop Davenant, a Prelate whose memory was held in great veneration by their father, the late Rev. Josiah Allport. The frontispiece of "the great Tom Fuller" is due to the courtesy of Lord Fitz-Hardinge, at whose mansion the original is still preserved. His lordship kindly permitted the painting to be copied for the purpose required; and the drawing was made under the care of Mr. C. F. Kell, who also executed the tinted chalk drawings and the greater portion of the other plates. My friend R. H. Watt, Esq., of Manchester, sketched the artistic drawings of the churches of

Aldwinckle St. Peter's (page 23), *Broadwindsor*, and *Waltham Abbey*; and *J. F. Fuller, Esq.*, of *Dublin*, whose successful researches into the heraldry of the family constitute him an authority on that subject, contributed the view of *Aldwinckle St. Peter's Church* at page 27.

I am further under feelings of obligation to many Heads of Colleges for courtesies in reference to extracts from Registers, &c.; to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for permission to use three initial armorial letters from their edition of Fuller's Church-History; to the Stationers' Company, and to their clerk, *Mr. J. Greenhill*, for permission to examine their Registers for the dates, &c. of Fuller's works; to the *Rev. H. R. Luard, M.A.*, for facsimiles of Fuller's signatures at the Cambridge Registry; and to *James Hussey, Esq.*, who examined the marriage-registers at *Salisbury*. I am also a debtor for divers other favours from the *Rev. F. G. Batho, M.A.*; *Professor J. S. Brewer*, the Editor of Fuller's Church-History; the present and former Editors of *Notes and Queries*, and to many of its contributors; the *Rev. H. W. Hicke, M.A.*, Rector of *Cranford*; the *Rev. W. J. Hall, M.A.*, of *St. Clement's, Eastcheap*; the *Rev. F. P. Napier, B.A.*, of *Richmond*; *Professors Wilkins and Ward*, of the *Owens College*; the *Rev. A. T. Russell, B.C.L.*; the *Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A.*; *W. H. Overall, Esq.*, *F.S.A.*; *Professor Newth*, of the *Withington College*; the *Rev. A. B. Grosart*; *Wm. Booth, Esq.*, of *Cornbrook*; the *Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, M.A.*; *W. C. Hazlitt, Esq.*; *W. Winters, Esq.*; and *W. P. Courtney, Esq.*, of *Westminster*. I was greatly assisted in the preparation of the indices, &c. by my very kind friend, *Mr. A. B. Garside*. Finally, the work has been throughout furthered in no small degree by the co-operation of my devoted wife.

Should any new facts in relation to Fuller's Life come to light, they shall be added in an abridged Memoir of Fuller appended to the Edition of his collected Sermons, in two vols., now in preparation. The names of subscribers to these volumes will be received by the Publishers.

J. E. B.

STRETFORD, MANCHESTER,
August, 1874.



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*** The pedigree (4 pp.) is to be inserted between pp. 34 and 35.



ERRATA, ETC.



“Far be it from me to pretend my dimme eyes more quick sighted than St. Bernard’s.”

(*Worthies*, chap. xxv. p. 78.)

- PAGE
- 2 line 6 : for “dusty” read “dusky.”
- 6 last line of text : for “fatal” Southey has “fated.” (See his amusing chapter on the matter, *Doctor*, p. 291, and *infra*, 619.)
- 10 line 5 from bottom : “hospitable” should be “hospital” as in orig. The modern editor made the alteration.
- 12 note, 2nd col., line 3 : for “1636” read “March 23, 1636-7.”
- 26 note, 1st col., line 8 : for “Hantingdon” read “Huntingdon.”
- 29 line 5 : for “Titchmarsh” read “Tichmarsh.”
- 34, 37. As will be seen from the Pedigree, Judith and Margaret Davenant were both very young widows at the time of their marriages with Thomas Fuller the elder, and Dr. Tounson, respectively.
- 35 line 13 : for “Tryer” (so given by Russell) read “Frear,” as in the pedigree, pp. 34, 35.
- 36 *seq.* : the more correct spelling of the Townson surname is Tounson, which is followed in the pedigree and index.
- 46 The baptism of Thomas Fuller is already noted at p. 36.
- 47 note, 1st col., line 9 : for “quadrennium” read “quadiennium,” and delete the comma in the last line.
- 56 lines 23, 24 : delete from “those” to “Bray.” Qy. whose arms are indicated? The lions on the monument are red.
- 67 line 16 : for “1609” read “1620 (*Reg. Abbot*, and Composition for First-fruits).”
- 76 line 13 from bottom : for “Abbott” read “Abbot.”
- 79 line 26 : delete the inverted commas.
- 82 note, 2nd col., line 4 : for “abshrd” read “absurd.”
- 94 line 3 from bottom ; p. 95, line 4 ; and in the pedigree, p. 135 : for “Lacham” read “Lackham.”
- 104 line 20 : this Dr. Raynolds is Dr. Reynolds of the *Abel Redevivus*. See *infra*, p. 494, and Index, § I.
- 107 line 3 of note : for “Duke” read “Earl.”
- 110 line 5 : for “-renter” read “-renter.”
- 111 line 21 : for “brother” read “son.”
- 111 line 26 : after “chaplains” read : “who is mentioned in the *Worthies* (§ Yorksh. p. 213) with Fuller’s commendations.” The remaining part of the sentence belongs to Jeremy White, also Cromwell’s chaplain. See pp. 468, 469.
- 112 line 35 : for “affected” read “wrote.”

PAGE

- 116 line 6 : the "Cambridge Camden Soc." is meant. The bell-inscription in the next few lines is given with variations in Raven's *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, p. 7 of Inscriptions.
- 120 line 7 from bottom : for "Cantabrigia" read "Cantabrigiæ."
- 132 line 13 : Horace's words are "Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret :"
 "Drive Nature forth by force, she'll turn and rout
 The false refinements that would keep her out."
Epis. I. x. 24.
- 135 line 5 : for "Henry Lord Mountagu," &c. read "Henry Baron Kimbolton."
- 139 line 17 : for "poem" read "pun."
- 143 last line of note : for "wrote" read "translated Thorius's poem."
- 148 lines 13 to 15 : after "name." delete the three lines.
- 180 line 5 : delete the comma between Nicetas and Choniates.
- 187 last line ; and 280 line 1 : for "Lytleton" read "Littleton."
- 191 line 3 from bottom : for "Mr." read "Rev. T."
- 223 line 7 : for "Sunday" read "Sundry."
- 258 line 9 from bottom : this date is given wrongly on Fuller's title-pages ; it should be July 26th. See p. 721.
- 305 line 15 : for "turned" read "tuned."
- 325 lines 15 and 17 : for "fact" and "is" read "facts" and "are."
- 387 line 15 : for "county" read "country."
- 405 line 9 from bottom : delete "of" before "my."
- 417 line 10 from bottom : place the first bracket *after* "he."
- 437 last line but one of note : before "or" add "t ;"
- 443 line 11 : insert "friend" before "Master." The reference is at page 221.
- 466 line 10 from bottom ; and 731 last line but one : for "Beadham" read "Beatham."
- 496 note, last line : for "Noo" read "Two."
- 514 line 6 from bottom : for "Hackett" read "Hacket."
- 543 line 4 : for "secret" read "secrets."
- 548 line 15 : for "p. 46, and p. 316" read "pp. 34-5."
- 614 line 20 : delete "we see."
- 629 line 26 : This Dr. Bernard is Nicholas Barnard, D.D., mentioned at page 648. He had been ordained by Ussher, in whose defence he wrote.
- 758 add : ¶ 29 "EPIGRAMS by Mr. Tho : fuller" on blank pages (pp. 73-96) of a 2nd. Edition of Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple*, 1648 ; now in possession of H. H. Gibbs, Esq. The Epigrams are in manuscript, but not in Fuller's handwriting. (See *The Life*, pp. 132-3.)

In the early chapters there are a few errors in the foot-references to one or two of the later chapters, it having been found necessary in printing to displace parts of the latter.



ERRATA, ETC.

PAGE

- XIX line 12 : for "Granville" read "Grenville."
- 346 lines 14 and 15 : omit the sentence about White and the Wesleys. It was the daughter of John White, *the Centurist*, who married Westley.
- 558 line 5 : add inverted commas after "more."
- 575 add, in reference to Selden : "From whom I have, with the children of the Prophets, not only borrowed an axe, but most of the tools and timber wherewith the structure of this our Jewish Pantheon is erected."—Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight*, iv. 136.
- 595 note 5 : dele "numbered 2 and 3," and insert "in line 17, and in line 6 from bottom."
- 596 line 18 : for "1661" read "1662."
- 645 line 6 : for "my" read "his."
- 758 line 5 from bottom : for "343, 434" read "543-4."
- 762 The Rev. Tho. Hunter, of the Dr. Williams Library, London, has obligingly informed me that the collection under his care contains several of Fuller's rare pieces, viz. : § 1, 2 (1st ed.), 3, 4 (2nd ed.), 5, 6, 7, 11, 15 (2nd ed.), &c.
- 787 third col., line 20 from bottom : add "9."
- 791 first col., line 29 : for "455" read "445."
- 797 second col., line 19 : for "criticism" read "critism."

Street. 1662. Pp. as before. Bodl. (no portrait).

This tract, according to the preface, "pretends not to be any of his least and inconsiderable *Relique*, and it doth alike justifie it self from being his *Legend*; meerly the worth of so deserving a person (which no pen hath yet undertook or attempted) for civilities sake, hath obliged this essay." It was issued anonymously, and was evidently the work of an ardent admirer of

PAGE

116 line 6: the "*Cambridge* Camden Soc." is meant. The bell-inscription in the next few lines is given with variations in Raven's *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, p. 7 of Inscriptions.

120 line 7 from bottom: for "Cantabrigia" read "Cantabrigiæ."

132 line 13: Horace's words are "Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret:"

"Drive Nature forth by force, she'll turn and rout
The false refinements that would keep her out."

Epis. I. x. 24.

135 line 5: for "Henry Lord Mountagu," &c. read "Henry Baron Kimbolton."



INTRODUCTORY NOTE.



FULLER'S BIOGRAPHERS.

THE first or anonymous biography of Fuller passed through the following editions:—

¶ I. 1661: LONDON EDITION: **The Life of That Reverend**

Divine, and Learned Historian, Dr. Thomas Fuller.
'Si Post Fata venit Gloria, sic propero,' Mart. London, Printed for J. W. H. B. and H. M. 1661. 12mo. Port. pp. vi. + 106 + vi.—G. W. Napier, Esq. (with autograph, "Tobias Parnell ex dono Dⁿⁱ Richard Kinsey, Clerici. Maii x. 1662."); Bodl. (Wood, 292, without portrait); Brit. Mus. (Granville Lib.).

1662: OXFORD EDITION: *The Life and Death of That Reverend Divine and Excellent Historian, Doctor Thomas Fuller. 'Si post Fata venit Gloria, sic propter,' Mart. Oxford: Printed and are to be sold at the Royall Exchange and Westminster-Hall, 1662. With a deep mourning border. Pp. as before. Bodl. (Tanner 637, with autograph, "Thom. Tanner"; no portrait).*

1662: Another edition of foregoing, "propter" being altered to "propero." *Oxford: Printed for R. Hopton, and are to be Sold at the Royal Exchange, Westminster Hall, and Fleet Street. 1662. Pp. as before. Bodl. (no portrait).*

This tract, according to the preface, "pretends not to be any of his least and inconsiderable *Relique*, and it doth alike justifie it self from being his *Legend*; meerly the worth of so deserving a person (which no pen hath yet undertook or attempted) for civilities sake, hath obliged this essay." It was issued anonymously, and was evidently the work of an ardent admirer of

Fuller ; one, moreover, who must have attached himself to Fuller during the *latter* part of his life, since the early part is inaccurately told. Though we may apply the writer's own words—"mass and indigestedness"—to many parts of his production, it yet contains numerous minute particulars, such as the sketch of Fuller's person and character, not elsewhere recorded ; and it has formed the basis of all subsequent memoirs. It is usually set down at "fancy" prices in the book-catalogues, the addition of a coarsely-executed portrait, given in fac-simile at page 621 *infra*, greatly enhancing its value.

The "Life" has only once been reprinted, viz. :—

1845 : Oxford : In *The Church-History* (pp. i.-lii.), edited by Rev. J. S. Brewer. With notes. The last-mentioned edition was followed.

"It was thought that a biography, written by a contemporary, was likely to be more interesting to the reader, than any more recent memoir, notwithstanding its numerous affectations and occasional obscurity of style. Besides its value, as an accurate summary of events, it is important in this respect, as showing the estimation in which Fuller was held by some of his contemporaries ; and how little that estimation was affected by the disparaging remarks of his opponents." (*Preface*.)

"It has served as the treasury to which all succeeding writers have resorted : it was evidently written by one who knew and valued him, and many minute traits of his character are related in a pleasant naïve manner." (Knight, *Cabinet Port. Gallery*, § Life of Fuller, vol. vii. p. 59.)

¶ 2. 1750 : The Life of Fuller in the *Biographia Britannica* ; or the Lives of the most Eminent Persons of Great Britain and Ireland. 1747-66. Fol. seven vols. A new edition was issued in 1777-93, but five volumes only were printed, which did not reach Fuller's name.

This Life (vol. iii. 2049-69) was one of the twenty-two lives contributed by the laborious *Oldys*. It is mainly founded on the anonymous Life. Many dates were added ; and passages quoted show that the writer took the trouble to read carefully Fuller's chief works—a labour that procured Fuller the affectionate regard of his biographer, who thus concludes the Life : "As our author bestowed so much time and pains in illustrating so many lives and characters of others ; thus much, at least, we hope cannot be here thought redundant by candid and grateful readers in commemoration of himself." In a small volume of collected lives, &c. described (in *N. & Q.*, 3rd Ser. ii. 381) as once *Oldys's*, two of them, viz. a Life of Milton and the Anonymous Life of Fuller, have the antiquary's notes. The editor of *N. & Q.* says : "The notes on the Anonymous Life of the latter facetious historian have been used by *Oldys* in his article contributed to the *Biograp-*

phia Britannica. On the back of the title-page is the following MS. note : 'This life finished for the *Biog. Brit.* in June 1750, printed 25 June by Rich. Reily.—W. O.' Of the article itself, Bolton Corney (*D'Israeli's Cur. of Lit. Illustrated*, p. 124), observes : "The account of Fuller is compiled with peculiar care ; and affords a remarkable proof of the extent to which the writings of an author may be made contributive to his biography."

"Oldys has given everything which his utmost diligence could discover : it is a full honest piece of joinery, but terribly dull." (Knight, *ut antea*).

"A good Life of Tom Fuller would be an acquisition to our biographical literature. Oldys, no doubt, made the most of his materials in the *Biog. Brit.*" (*Notes and Queries*, 1854, 1st Ser. x. 245.)

At the end of the Malone (Bodleian) copy of the *Worthies* (which, § Dorset, p. 290, contains a pedigree of the Oldys family) are Oldys's notes of books to be consulted for writing the life of Fuller, about two dozen sources of information being indicated. All of them have been examined for the present biography. Father Courayer's *Validity of the English Ordination*, one of the books named, does not seem to refer to Fuller. Oldys shrewdly notes, as one source of information, "Extracts concerning himself in his own writings ;" and another authority is "My addition of the dates of all his works in the catalogue of them, printed at the end of his Life in 12mo. as I have inserted them in my copy."

This manuscript also contains at page 4 the following remarks on Fuller's style of composition : "Dr. Fuller had some elegancies of style, but he indulged them until they diseas'd it. He ran much into Prosonomasia, the figure by which we play with a couple of words or names much resembling one another. Also the Atanaclasis, playing on one word written one way, but carrying different sense, as the other plays with two words somewhat alike. He also fell much into the Alliteratio, Allusio verborum, or Assonantia Syllabarum, as Erythraeus calls it in Virgil, which Mr. Benson lays so much stress upon in A. Johnston's Version of the Psalms, and has been indulged even to affectation by some of the best poets as well as prose-writers ; though Shakespeare, in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act v., has by an example in wilful excess perfectly turned it into ridicule ; as it had been also so long before done as the time of old Ennius : 'παρόμοιον est cum verba omnia similiter incipiunt, ut, O Tite tute tanti tibi tante tyranne tulisti.' *Sosip. Charis. Institut. Gram.*, lib. iv. p. 251."

¶ 3. 1844 (Feb.) : **Memorials of the Life and Works of Thomas Fuller D.D.** By the Rev. Arthur T. Russell B.C.L. Vicar of Caxton Cambridgeshire London William Pickering 1844. Port. 12mo. pp. xii. + 348. 6s.

Further dates, &c. were added in this work from university and parochial registers ; and a systematic list of Fuller's works was for the first time drawn up. It contained, besides, notices of many of Fuller's sermons ; but

Fuller's great works were left unexamined for biographical details, nor were the two former memoirs fully examined. Mr. Russell characterised Fuller as "one of the most honest and laborious authors of the seventeenth century."

"All that either history or tradition has left respecting our author has been laboriously and faithfully compiled; and thither the reader, curious about the biography of this eccentric genius, is referred for more minute information." (Professor Rogers's *Essay on Fuller*, p. 52.)

"We opened with some eagerness. . . . We found almost nothing new about Fuller: though a good deal of genealogical information about parties mentioned by him, and also descriptions and criticisms of steeples, piscinas, altars, gowns, tradition, and other church matters; and though referring to one of the wittiest men, these *Memorials* are dull as a herald's pedigree—not a smile illumines the whole collection." (Knight, *ut antea*, p. 59.)

¶ 4. 1873: "Homes of Old English Writers. By the Rev. S. W. Christophers, author of *Hymn Writers and their Hymns*. London: Haughton & Co." (No date.)

There are seven chapters (xii.-xviii.) relating to the chief events in Fuller's life, and containing accounts of places connected with him. They are written in a cheerful, gossiping style, and are mainly founded, as to facts, on Russell, passages being selected from Fuller's works. The other "Homes" are those of Latimer, Donne, Hakewill, Hacket, Horn, and Flavel.

¶ 5. The Lives, &c. of Fuller in Biographical Dictionaries, and elsewhere.

As these articles display little or no independent research, they need not be particularised. (a) LLOYD'S account of Fuller (*Memoires*, 1668; a work which was no favourite with Ant. A Wood) contained a few particulars. (b) One anecdote (page 704) is derived from WINSTANLEY'S *England's Worthies*. See the Bibliography, page 742. (c) "Roving and Magottie-headed" JOHN AUBREY, in his *Letters, &c.*, with Memoirs, has contributed some additional details. (d) WALKER'S notice of Fuller (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, 1714) did not yield much. The original of his MS. collections for his great work, containing the replies to his letters asking information, are preserved at the Bodleian; but I searched the Salisbury portion in vain for any new details of Fuller. He thus mentions my author: "He was a man of a wonderful memory. A good, though not very accurate scholar, and an excellent Christian."

Of the more recent brief memoirs of Fuller, that already mentioned as being in one of KNIGHT'S popular pocket volumes is by far the best, evincing a greater research than is to be found in those in the more pretentious collections. He observed that: "To one who can relish the free spirit of a genuine man, Fuller is one of the most enjoyable of writers. And if there is nowhere

any great reach or profundity of thought, nowhere the stamp of the highest, there is everywhere sufficient proof of a very high order of intellect. . . . The contemplation of his character, as we read it in his life and works, is not without good. We may learn there to keep our hearts open to all kindly feelings, to avoid forming harsh notions of men who may differ from us ever so widely, to cherish wide sympathies and to seek after comprehensiveness of thought and clearness of vision—that this is the best way to attain truth and happiness, and that by pursuing our own proper course, whatever that may be, with cheerful, earnest sincerity consists at once our strength and safety.” (Vol. vii. pp. 86, 87.)

¶ 6. Proposed Biographies of Fuller. There appear to have been only two or three Lives of Fuller projected but not carried out.

(a) The first was by the Rev. Robert Aris Willmott, and was thus advertised in the biography of Taylor, 2nd ed. 1848: “Thomas Fuller, his Good and Bad Times. A Biography. In preparation.” The title is suggestive of the mode of treatment which the elegant author proposed to follow.

(b) The second belongs to the year 1867, when the Rev. A. B. Grosart announced a Life as in preparation. See the Bibliography, § I. ¶ 22, *sub an.* 1865.

(c) The Lansdown MS. 985, ink fo. 270, pencil fo. 132, Brit. Mus., has some brief notes (qy. by Bp. Kennet) from ecclesiastical registers, &c., entitled “Memoirs of Dr. Thomas Fuller, an eminent writer.”



FULLER'S CRITICS.

THE attention which Fuller has received during the present century is perhaps more due to his critics than to his biographers; and if he has been unfortunate in regard to the latter he has been happy in the former.

CHARLES LAMB, who should be held in special regard by all admirers of Fuller, made an appreciative selection¹ from the writings of the genial Prebendary, to whom he was

¹ *Selections from the Writings of Fuller, the Church-Historian.* (Lamb's *Rosamond Gray, Essays, Poems, &c.*, ed. 1849, pp. 95—103; the folio ed. pp. 535—539.) The citations, as is the case with most

of such collections of extracts from Fuller, are mainly from *The Holy and Profane State*; but Lamb says they are arranged as he found them in his *Book of Extracts*.

drawn by a certain similarity in genius. The essay first appeared in Leigh Hunt's *Reflector*, No. iv., 1811, and was afterwards added to the *Essays*, 1818. "As his works," says the Essayist, "are now scarcely perused but by antiquaries, I thought it might not be unacceptable to my readers to present them with some specimens of his manner." Lamb's comments on some of the passages cited are in his happiest vein, and they reveal the heartiness with which he entered into the *seria* and *joca* of his "dear, fine, silly old angel."¹ It was these "Selections" which gave to Hartley Coleridge,² among others, his first knowledge and constant love of Fuller. Fuller's "Golden works" were perhaps among those that the gentle Elia would have kissed as reverently as he is said to have kissed Chapman's *Homer*; and they certainly formed part of what he called the "front teeth" of his library.

"Nobody who is good enough to love what is really loveable, can help loving Charles Lamb for his love of Thomas Fuller: a love which at once expressed its own tenderness and immortalised the distinctive character of its object, by calling him 'that dear silly old angel.' Lamb knew the value of words too well to use them without reason. He had reason to himself for every word which he attached to the name of Fuller; and were we so closely akin to that witty Divine as the author of *Elia* was, in thought, temper, and expression, we should see more reason for every touch in Lamb's pen-and-ink portrait than it is possible for those to discern who have merely thrown a hasty glance at the character and works of his favourite. The deeper our knowledge of Fuller, the more readily shall we adopt the words of the Essayist."³

¹ The phrase occurs in a letter to Gilman, Coleridge's kind host, from whom Lamb, in 1829, borrowed the folios (*Works*, fo. ed., p. 264). How eagerly the Essayist again entered upon their perusal may be gathered from his expressions at page 708 *postèd*. He begged the loan of them for a month: "A moon shall return them." He tells Barton that he read through three folios in three days! (p. 161). When returning them to Gilman he asks: "Pray do you, or S. T. C., immediately write to say you have received back the golden works of the dear, fine, silly old angel, which I part from, bleeding. . . . I shall be uneasy till I hear of Fuller's safe arrival" (p. 264). Coleridge had apparently been perusing them in the summer preceding. See *infra*, p. 587.

² Coleridge asks: "Why are not more gems from our early prose writers scattered over the country by the periodicals? Selections are so far from preventing the study of the entire authors, that they promote it. Who could read the extracts which Lamb has given from Fuller without wishing to read more of the old Prebendary? But great old books of the great old authors are not in everybody's reach; and though it is better to know them thoroughly than to know them only here and there, yet it is a good work to give a little to those who have neither time nor means to get more." (*Lives of Northern Worthies*, § Roger Ascham, p. 132.) See Fuller's *Life*, *postèd*, p. 53.

³ Christophers, *ut supra*, p. 119.

S. T. COLERIDGE, one of the most acute critics, has left on record his opinions in regard to Fuller and his works. His criticisms will be found quoted *passim*. The very high opinion he formed of Fuller seems to have been deliberately arrived at. Two of his comments may be cited here:—

“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. . . . Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men.”¹

“Shakespeare! Milton! Fuller! De Foe! Hogarth! As to the remaining mighty host of our great men, other countries have produced something like them; but these are uniques. England may challenge the world to show a correspondent name to either of the five. I do not say that, with the exception of the first, names of equal glory may not be produced, in a different kind. But these are *genera*, containing each only one individual.”²

ROBERT SOUTHEY'S writings contain many notices of Fuller and his works. According to Mr. Warter, Fuller was the poet's “prime favourite author.”³

JAMES CROSSLEY, ESQ., of Manchester, in the *Retrospective Review*, wrote an essay on Fuller, familiar to all admirers of our worthy. It is an excellent and exhaustive piece of criticism, and skilfully enters into the spirit of Fuller's life and the genius of his writings.

“His life,” says he, “was meritoriously passed, and exemplary throughout; his opinions were independently adopted and unshrinkingly maintained. In the darkest and gloomiest period of our national history he had the sense and the wisdom to pursue the right way, and to persevere in an even tenour of moderation, as remote from interested lukewarmness as it was from mean-spirited fear. Unwilling to go all lengths with either party, he was of consequence vilified by both; willing to unite the maintainers of opposite and conflicting sentiments, he only united them against himself. Secure in the strength of his intellectual riches, the storms and hurricanes which uprooted the fabric of the constitution had only the effect of confining him more to his own resources, and of inciting him to the production of those numerous treatises and compilations for which he received from his contemporaries respect and reputation, and for which posterity will render him its tribute of unflinching gratitude.”⁴

¹ *Notes on English Divines*, i. 127.

² *Notes Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous*, p. 101.

³ Preface to *Common-Place Book*, IV. Ser., p. vi.

⁴ Vol. iii. 70, 71. Mr. Crossley's com-

PROFESSOR ROGERS, late of the College, Withington, Manchester, more recently wrote an attractive *Essay*¹ on the *Life and Genius* of Fuller, a "good work," which also has sent many a lover of worthy old reading to "browse" with a huge contentment in the thick folios of our author. Mr. Rogers expressed his conviction that posterity had dealt hardly by Fuller's memory, and that "there are hundreds who have been better remembered, with far less claims to that honour." "Thus," adds he, "it is singular that even Mr. Hallam, in his recent *History of European Literature*, should not have bestowed upon him any special notice; dismissing him with only a slight allusion in a note upon another subject (vol. iii. p. 104). Yet Fuller was not only one of the most voluminous—an equivocal indication of merit, it must be allowed—but one of the most original writers in the language. . . . Like Taylor and Barrow and Sir Thomas Browne, he wrote with a vigour and originality, with a fertility of thought and imagery, and a general felicity of style, which, considering the quantity of his compositions, and the haste with which he produced them, impress us with wonder at his untiring activity and preternatural fecundity."²

"In a moral and religious point of view, the character of Fuller is entitled to our admiration, and is altogether one of the most attractive and interesting which that age exhibits to us."³

mendation of Fuller's writings is quoted in the *Life*, p. 224.

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1842: afterwards republished in 1856 in 16mo., 2s. 6d., in the *Traveller's Library* (Longmans), with selections from Fuller's writings; for the *Essayist* observes, justly, that "their digressive, fragmentary character, in general, would almost en-

title them to be considered, collectively, a gigantic *Ana*—so wild and capricious is the career of his eccentric genius." It is noticeable that this little book, which was the last of the series, contains no citations from two of our author's folios—the witty *Pisgah-Sight*, and the ingenuous *Appeal*.

² Pp. 2, 3.

³ Page 47.





CHAPTER I.

THE FULLER KINDRED.

“NOMEN ET OMEN.”—JOKES ON THE SURNAME BY HEYLYN, FULLER, &C.—DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY: THOMAS FULLER, PILOT; NICHOLAS FULLER, BIBLICAL CRITIC; NICHOLAS FULLER, LAWYER; JUDGE FULLER.—HERALDRY OF THE NAME.—THE FULLERS OF SUFFOLK; OF ESSEX (ABBOT FULLER); OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE; OF KENT, &C. (DR. THOMAS FULLER, THE PHYSICIAN).—THE BERKSHIRE-LONDON BRANCH.—THE FAMILY OF THOMAS FULLER, SENIOR; HIS COLLEGE-LIFE AND SETTLEMENT IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—FULLER’S GRATITUDE TO HIS FATHER’S PATRON.

“*Ager Fullonum*—Fullers Field.”—PISGAH-SIGHT, iii. 310.

Tis not often that the appropriateness—one might almost say significance—of a surname is so marked as in the case of “OLD FULLER,” as he is familiarly (but not very correctly) called. His name tends to illustrate the Roman proverb, *nomen et omen*. As Hood puts it—

“Though Shakespeare asks, ‘What’s in a name?’
(As if cognomens were much the same),
There’s really a *very great scope in it*.”

The surname Fuller is, indeed, strikingly suitable to our Thomas Fuller, being in admirable accord with him as the author of so many sterling, solid, and worthy books: he fully “answers” to his name. Hence one of his editors¹ has said, in quite a Fullerian way, that the writings of our hero compared with others are “not only Fuller in useful matter and varied interest, but (as a punster of his own day would have said) *fuller* in spirit, and *fuller* in wit; in fact, *Fuller* throughout—

“Strong without rage, without o’erflowing *full*.”

Like two other famous men of the same baptismal name and of the same sprightliness of spirit—Thomas More and Thomas

¹ Nuttall: *Intro. to The Worthies of England*, p. vii.

Hood, who almost punned their surnames to death—Fuller often rang the changes on his, deriving them mainly from that trade whence the name originated. Thus, among his Epigrams¹ we find—

“ *A Prayer.*

“ My soul is stainèd with a dusty colour—
Let Thy Son be the sope, I'll be the *Fuller.*”

And again, speaking of his infirmities being known to God, he devoutly says: “As for other stains and spots upon my soul, I hope that *He* (be it spoken without the least verbal reflection) who is the FULLER's sope, Mal. iii. 2, will scour them forth with His merit, that I may appear clean by God's mercy.”²

In that quaint volume, the *Pisgah-Sight*, Fuller makes another jocular use of his surname. On the engraved plan of the city of Jerusalem (most probably sketched by himself) he places in the left-hand corner, “*Ager Fullonum*”—(and that there may be no mistake about it, he adds) “FULLERS *field!*”³ almost the only English words on the map.³ This is done without much regard to the actual position of this spot; but as it serves very well for the *signature* to the plate (it is one way of saying *Fuller fecit*) the play on the word is irresistible to so practised a punster. There happens to be no engraver's name attached in the usual way to this fanciful plate; and the words, therefore, somewhat confirm the supposition that the industrious author himself etched part if not all of it.⁴ But the humorous signature might possibly apply to that “I. FULLER” who puts his name to the copper-plate of the clothes of the Jews in the same volume.⁵ There can be no doubt, however, as to the *source* of the words, *Fullers field*. Fuller employed one engraver at least who would enter into the pleasantry of such a signature.

But the old surname, Fuller, was occasionally a butt for the wit of others. Fuller, however, might often have reminded his would-be witty antagonists of what he has said about the meaning of the surname Huss (a goose), that it was an instrument “ready strung and tuned for the wanton fingers of his enemies,” and that “every dull wit was sharp enough to use a

¹ Grosart's *Fuller's Poems, &c.*, p. 228.

² *Appeal of Injured Innocence* (ed. Nichols, 1840), pt. iii. 627.

³ Folio edition (used throughout this biography), bk. iii. 310.

⁴ My attention was first called to this interesting fact by Mr. Thomas Kerslake

of Bristol, who believes that Fuller actually etched the map.

⁵ Bk. iv. 94-5. Some read this signature “*T. Fuller*,” incorrectly, we think. For more on the subject of Fuller and his engravings, see chap. xvi.

jeer made to his hand.”¹ Dr. Peter Heylyn, who will closely accompany us throughout this biography, was a great word-catcher² in this respect; and he set Fuller on the same track. In one of his books,³ to which we shall often have occasion to refer, the former represents Fuller as sitting umpire-like in a chair, and as summing up the arguments on the position of the altar—a matter on which the two divines were at variance. “The Moderator,⁴ FULLER of old merry tales than ordinary, thus resolves the business . . .” “Know,” replies Fuller, “there is another chair which David calls ‘the chair of the scornful;’ and it is to be feared that the animadvertor [Heylyn] in this point is too near sitting down therein. If I should retaliate . . . possibly I might render him as ridiculous; but most of all I should abuse myself and my own profession therein.”⁵

A story may be found in some of the jest books⁶ to the effect that, on one occasion our Fuller, being in the company of one Mr. Sparrowhawk, unwittingly asked him, “What is the difference between an owl and a sparrowhawk?” and it is said that he received the unexpected reply: “An owl is *fuller* in the head, *fuller* in the face, and FULLER all over!” Dr. Heylyn endeavoured to annoy his good-natured opponent, “one Mr. Fuller,” by making him the recipient of a similar smart repartee from a lady. The occasion of Heylyn’s anecdote was this:—In his *Church-History* Fuller alluded to a lady “(now [1659] living in London, and a countess, whose husband’s father⁷ the Archbishop [Laud] married”), who sarcastically told Laud that she was about to join the Church of Rome, because she perceived that his Lordship, with many others, was fast hastening thither; and she hated to go in a crowd. On the ground that one story called up another, Dr. Heylyn (“lying Peter,” as Carlyle terms him), nowhere more tender of the reputation of Laud, his patron, rejoined thus in his *Examen*:—“I have heard a tale of a lady, too, to whose table *one Mr. Fuller* was a welcome, though a frequent guest; and being asked once by her Whether he would please to eat the wing of a woodcock, he would needs put her to the question how her ladyship knew it was a wood-*cock*, and not a wood-*hen*.”

¹ *Abel Redeivius* (Tegg’s ed.), Jerome of Prague, § 7, p. 27.

² “Aucupes vocum.”—Augustine.

³ *Examen Historicum*. The quotations from this book will always be made from Mr. Nichols’ reprint in Fuller’s *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, 1840.

⁴ This is a hit at Fuller’s supposed

inclination to Presbyterianism under the Commonwealth.

⁵ *Appeal*, pt. iii. p. 579.

⁶ It is gravely repeated as authentic in Clarke’s *Memoirs of the Wesley Family*, i. 36.

⁷ Charles, Earl of Devon.—*Appeal*, iii. 634.

And this he pressed with such a troublesome importunity, that at last the lady answered, with some show of displeasure, that 'the woodcock was Fuller-headed, Fuller-breasted, Fuller-thighed, and in a word every way *Fuller*.' Whether this tale be true or false I am not able to say; but, '*being generally believed,*' I have set it down also."¹

But Fuller declares that Heylyn's tale didn't quit his, which was true and new: and that it was "old (made, it seems, on one of my name, printed before I was born), and false, never by man or woman retorted on me." "However," adds he, "if it doth quit mine, he is now but even with me; and hereafter I shall be above him by forbearing any bitter return."² Fuller, an inveterate story-teller, might have added (for he knew of it)³ another anecdote in reply, of "a passage betwixt" *one Dr. Heylyn* "and his (Heylyn's) brother's man," of which that industrious writer himself was the hero, and which is thus pleasantly recorded in his own bulky and (in those days) well-known *Cosmographie*.⁴ A "country-customer" had been sent with horses to Oxford to bring Heylyn and a friend to his elder brother's house. In the forest of Whichwood, however, they lost their way. After a while the man began earnestly to entreat *Heylyn* to lead the way through the woods into the open fields. "Which when I had refused to do, as I had good reason, alleging that I had never been there before, and therefore, that I could not tell which way to lead him: 'That's strange,' said he, 'I have heard my old master, your father, say that you made a *book of all the world*, and cannot you find your way out of the wood?' Which being spoken out of an honest simplicity, not out of any pretence to wit, or the least thought of putting a blunt jest upon me, occasioned a great deal of merriment for a long time."

But the jocular use of Fuller's name by others did not

¹ *Examen: Appeal*, iii. 634.

² *Appeal*, pt. iii. 634.

³ See *Appeal*, pt. ii. 420.

⁴ Heylyn prefaces this story thus: "In all countries there are many places which are fortified and made towns of war, or otherwise remarkable for some signal battle, in these late bustles and commotions of the Christian world, of which no notice hath been taken in former times, and consequently not within the compass of this discourse; and yet perhaps they may grow as famous and considerable, in the times to come, as many of the mightier cities now decayed and ruined.

He that shall think the work imperfect for some deficiencies of this kind, may be likened to the country fellow in Aristophanes, who picked a great quarrel with the map because he could not find where his own farm stood. And such a country-customer I did meet with once," &c., &c. Ed. 1657: *To the Reader*, p. 6. Southey quotes this anecdote, as well as a kindred one about Dr. Lightfoot, to exemplify that great knowledge is not always applicable to little things; and that, as charity begins at home, so it may with equal truth sometimes be said that knowledge ends there.—*The Doctor*, ii. 37.

disconcert the bearer of it. "I had rather," said the genial-hearted worthy, "my name should make *many* causelessly merry, than *any* justly sad; and seeing it lieth equally open and obvious to praise or dispraise, I shall as little be elated when flattered—'FULLER of wit and learning,' as dejected when flouted—'FULLER of folly and ignorance.'" ¹

Fuller's name was, in some way, a subject of mirth at an Oxford Act soon after the year 1656, for his bitter opponent, Heylyn, writing between 1656 and 1659, tells us that at "the late Act at Oxford," he (Fuller) was ridiculed, perhaps by a Prevaricator on account of his love of literary dedications; but he would say no more about it, as Fuller had heard so much of it. "I heard nothing thereof at Oxford," replied Fuller, "being then sixty miles distanced thence [*i.e.*, at Waltham, or Cranford]. Sure I am, I did not there *malè audire* deservedly, and if undeservedly, *mala fama benè parta delectat*. Secondly, I have heard since that one in the Act was bold to play on my own name and *Church-History*. But, for the seventeen years I lived at Cambridge, I never heard any Prevaricator mention his senior by name: we count such particularising beneath a University. Thirdly, I hope it will not be accounted pride, but prudence, in me, to believe myself above such trifles, who have written a book to Eternity. Fourthly, I regret not to be anvil for any ingenious hammer to make pleasant music on; but it seems my traducer was not so happy. Lastly, I remember a speech of Sir Walter Raleigh: 'If any,' saith he, 'speaketh against me to my face, my tongue shall give him an answer; but my back-side is good enough to return to him who abuseth me behind my back.'" ²

Heylyn has still more to say about his witty antagonist's name. "His [Fuller's] fine masterpiece of wit is that which he conceives to be an anagram of his own making in the name of HEILIN, out of which letters whereof being transposed, he makes NEHILI, that is to say, *nothing worth*; a conceit not of his discovery, for it was found out long since, when I was a school-boy; and I had thought we should have had no boy's play revived between us. But since he hath led the way into it, I hope he will give me leave to follow, and rub up some of

¹ *Appeal*, iii. 634. It is seldom that a punning epitaph is to be met with; but, as having some connection with this name, it may be mentioned that in the chapel of St. Paul, in Westminster Abbey, is a monument to Sir John and Lady Fullerton, with an inscription stating that

the former died "*fuller* of faith than of fear, *fuller* of resolution than of pains, *fuller* of honour than of days." This is quite in character with the quaintness of the reign of King James.

² Heylyn's *Examen: Appeal*, pt. i. p. 321.

the first fancies of my younger days. In confidence of which leave, on the first scanning of his name with my bad eyes, I was able to discern an *Halter* in it, and *Some Full Halter*, too, to make up the anagram. But I shall not doom the man to so sad an end, or leave him to the mercy of a second miracle, from King Hen. the VI., the tutelar or patron saint of old Thomas of Hammersmith, for which consult the *Animadversions*, p. 176, and *The Appeal*, p. 3, fol. 32 [and infra]. Rather I shall content myself with a moderate retaliation as the letters of his name will give me without any such stretching; which in relation to his frequent *haltings* between State and Monarchy, Episcopacy and Presbytery, the Common-prayer Book and the Directory, will set forth *Thomas Fuller* for a *Fulsome Halter*; and so let him pass."¹

Fuller's name continued to be played upon even after his death. Underneath the portrait prefixed to his life by an anonymous friend, are lines which assert that

"Bodie and mind do answer well his name
FULLER, comparative to 's bliss and fame."

So too, in Heath's *Elegy* upon Dr. Fuller: "Bliss covets to be FULLER and complete."

As regards Fuller's *Christian* name, we find in his writings a characteristic use of it also. He thus answers Heylyn's statements as to the feasibility of union with the Church of Rome advanced by Heylyn's party: "My name is *Thomas*. . . . If the agreement betwixt us and Papists were expedited to-morrow, yet so long as there be several greatnesses in Christendom, there will be justlings betwixt them."² And in allusion to another matter hard of belief, Fuller says: "There are, I confess, more *Thomases* than myself much given to mistrust, whose faith will be at a stand."³

When that entertaining gossip Pepys (to whom, for his notices of Fuller and for his pictures of his time, we are deeply indebted) alluded, in his day, to our worthy by the common abbreviation of his Christian name, he unconsciously gives us a striking proof of Fuller's popularity in his latter days among his contemporaries. Dryden assures us, however, that dulness and clumsiness were fatal to the name of *Tom*.⁴ However

¹ Heylyn's Appendix to *The Letter Combate*, p. 388.

² *Appeal*, iii. 638.

³ *Worthies*: § Lancash. p. 123. We follow the original edition throughout.

⁴ We might bring against the state-

ment of the one poet, that of another, who reminds us that—

"Famous Kid [wrote,
Was called but Tom. Tom Watson, tho' he
Able to make Apollo's self to dote
Upon his muse, for all that he could strive,
Yet never could to his full name arrive.
Tom Nash, in his time of no small esteem,
Could not a second syllable redeem."

true this *dictum* may have been in the case of the rivals to whom the poet applied it, it does not hold good in the case of Thomas More and Thomas Hood, whom we have alluded to; and it is certainly untrue in the case of "that stout Church-and-King man, Tom Fuller."¹ No "lambent dulness," we shall see, ever "played about *his* head."

The ridicule with which Heylyn assailed our hero's name was fortunately not without its advantage. It caused Fuller, when writing his manly and witty *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, also to speak of it, inciting him on one occasion to give us a few particulars of his kindred. For, when making mention in his *Church-History*² of Nicholas Fuller the lawyer, the author of it had said that Nicholas had left behind him "the reputation of an honest man;" on which passage Dr. Heylyn had thus ironically commented:³ "No question of it: it is a thing so incident to the name, that whatsoever they do or say they are honest still."

Fuller's rejoinder to this and other annoying insinuations introduces us to new and less trifling subjects: "All his jeering on my name shall not make me go to the herald's office to endeavour the altering thereof. I fetched it from my great-great-grandfather, and hope I shall leave it to my great-great-grandchild;⁴ a name which no doubt was originally taken from that useful trade⁵ without which mankind can neither be warm

¹ Coleridge.

² Folio edition, bk. x. p. 56.

³ *Appeal*, ii. 531. It is noteworthy that Fuller also applies the same epithet to another of his namesakes, and Heylyn of course did not overlook it. It occurs in his *Church-History*, where he alludes to Henry VII.'s project of having Henry VI. canonized—"for English saint-kings, so frequent before the Conquest, were grown great dainties since that time." Fuller, in a droll manner, passes on to discuss the qualifications for such an honour, one of which wasthat miracles after death must be vouched for. "There was no want of *them* [miracles], if credible persons might be believed, two of whose miracles it will not be amiss to recite: THOMAS FULLER, a very honest* man, living at Hammersmith, had a hard hap accidentally to light into the company of one who had stolen and driven away cattle, with whom, though wholly innocent, he was taken, arraigned, condemned,

and executed. When on the gallows, blessed King Henry (loving justice when alive, and willing to preserve innocence after death) appeared unto him, so ordering the matter that the halter did not strangle him. For, having hung an whole hour, and taken down to be buried, he was found alive; for which favour he repaired to the tomb of King Henry at Chertsey (as hew as bound to do no less), and there presented his humble and hearty thanks to him for his deliverance. The very same accident, *mutatis mutandis* of place and persons (with some addition about the apparition of the Virgin Mary), happened to Richard Boyes, dwelling within a mile of Bath, the story so like, all may believe them equally true."—*Church-History*, bk. iv. p. 154.

⁴ It would have been gratifying to Fuller to know that his name duly reached its destination. See the Genealogy, chap. xvii.

⁵ A Fuller is one employed in woollen manufactures to mill or scour cloths, to full them—i.e., to render them more

* Harsfield, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 646.—F.

nor cleanly. The like is frequent in many respectful families in England, as the antiquary [Verstegan] hath observed :—

“ From whence came SMITH, albe he knight or squire,
But from the *smith* that forgeth at the fire ? ”

Yet, considering the narrowness of my name, it is inferior to few, having produced the best of English pilots, THOMAS FULLER, who steered Captain Cavendish round the world ; the best of English critics, NICHOLAS FULLER, so famous in foreign parts for his *Miscellanies* ; and none of the worst of English benefactors, JOHN FULLER.”

To the first-mentioned of these names, THOMAS FULLER, the pilot, Fuller himself makes another allusion in the dedication of the closing sections of his great work.¹ He states : “ I find that my namesake, Thomas Fuller, was pilot in the ship called the *Desire*, wherein Captain Cavendish *surrounded*² the world.”³ The captain and his trusty pilot are also alluded to in Fuller’s *Worthies*, whence we gather that Cavendish, born in Suffolk, naturally took to the sea. His celebrated voyage of discovery, generally reckoned the *third* circumnavigation of the globe, was made in 1586. He passed through Magellan’s Straits ; entered the South Sea ; next, like a true sea-king of the period, fought the Spaniards, captured many prizes, and returned to England. “ Mr. Thomas Fuller of Ipswich ” acted as pilot, and made charts of the voyage, which proved of much service to those early mariners.⁴

NICHOLAS FULLER, the theologian—the second name to which Fuller alludes—has likewise a place in the *Worthies* and the *Church-History* of his namesake ; but he is the only one of the family alluded to at length in the former work. He was a man after Fuller’s own heart.

compact, thick, and durable (“ bring it to proof,” was the tradesman’s term). *Fuller’s Earth* was in Fuller’s time dug at Woburn ; “ good cloth,” he reminds us, “ can hardly be made without it ; foreign parts affording neither so much nor so good of this kind.”—*Worthies*, § Beds. (See also *Ch.-Hist.* iii. 112, where there is a characteristic digression on this topic, which, he asserts, belongs to Church story!) Fuller’s Earth was more extensively obtained at Reigate. “ It is worth 4d. a bushel at the pit, 16d. at the wharf in London, 3s. at Newbury, and westward twice as dear.” The exporting of it was forbidden by law.—§ Surrey, p. 76. One

may read in the jest books that Dr. Fuller, having requested one of his companions to make an epitaph for him, received the following : “ *Here lies Fuller’s Earth !* ”

¹ *Church-History*, book xi. p. 231, dedicated to one of his literary benefactresses, “ the noble Lady Elianor Roe, relic to the Honourable Sir Thomas Roe,” the statesman and ambassador.

² *I.e.*, *circumnavigated*. The Irishman may quote Fuller as an authority for his use of this word.

³ Hackluit’s *Voyages*, pt. iii. 825.—F See Cullander’s *Voyages*, i. 471. 1766.

⁴ § Suffolk, p. 67.

He was born, so Fuller had cause to conceive, in Hampshire (1557), being the son of a carver named Robert Fuller. He afterwards settled at Allington, near Amesbury, Wiltshire, where he had "a benefice rather than a living, so small the revenues thereof. But a contented mind extendeth the smallest parish into a diocese, and improveth the least benefice into a bishopric. Here a great candle was put under a bushel (or peck rather), so private his place and employment. Here he applied his studies in the tongues, and was happy in pitching on (not difficult trifles but) useful difficulties tending to the understanding of Scripture. He became an excellent linguist, and his books found good regard beyond the seas, where they were reprinted. Drusius, the Belgian critic, grown old, angry, and jealous that he should be outshined in his own sphere, foully cast some drops of ink upon him, which the other as fairly wiped off again. He charged Master Fuller for being his plagiary, taking his best notes from him without any acknowledgment thereof. Master Fuller confessed himself always desirous of Drusius his works, but never able (such his poverty) to purchase them, and therefore he could not steal out of those books which his eye never beheld; and (not to be partial to my namesake) let the world judge whether Fuller, in his *Miscellane* [*Miscellanea Theologica*, Heidelberg, 1612; Lond., 1617] be not as good as Drusius his *wheat*. Bishop Andrewes came to him, as the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, to pose him with hard questions, bringing with him a heap of knots for the other to untie, and departed from him with good satisfaction. He afterwards bestowed on him a great living¹ in this county, which Master Fuller did not long enjoy. He was most eminent for that grace which is most worth, yet costeth the least to keep it; I mean humility, who in his writings doth as fairly dissent from,

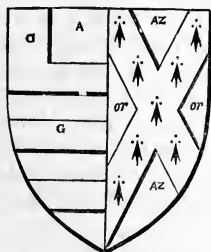
¹ Viz., Bishop's Waltham, at that time a considerable parish, and possessed of an episcopal palace. Fuller appears to have ultimately retired to his quieter parsonage at Allington, which was more suited to his studious pursuits. Here his remains rest in the chancel of the church. "On the recent rebuilding of the church as it originally stood (a work performed with great liberality and taste and judgment by Mr. Gray, a late curate), Fuller's grave and remains were discovered in digging out the foundation for the new walls."—Communicated to the writer by Mr. J. F. Fuller, from a short article in the parish register by the Rev. C.

Walters, Rector of Wyke and formerly curate of Bishop's Waltham. It also contains the following item:—"Cathirine, the wife of Thomas Bennet (and onely Daughter of the famously learned Mr. Nicolas ffuler, sometime Rector of this church), was buried the 22th day of July 1672." In his will he leaves "Katharyne" "a feather-bedd;" his son Nicholas all his books and papers; "my faire interlined arabicke Evangeliste in folio, reprinted at Rome," to his cathedral; and to the Bodleian Library, "my newe translation in Latin of the Hebrew concordance with notes."

as freely concur with, any man's opinions. He died about the year of our Lord 1626."¹

This Fuller has often been confounded with our Thomas. In some respects Thomas, also a Biblical critic, resembled Nicholas; but the former is now best known. Fuller's opinion as to his kinsman's merit is just; and, like most of his judgments, may be relied upon. A Wood says that Nicholas Fuller "surpassed all the critics of his time." When in the *Church-History* our Fuller speaks of Bishop Andrewes, he observes that it was a pity to part him from his chaplain, the divine and critic, of whom he writes thus further:—"He was the prince of all our English critics: and whereas men of that tribe are generally morose, so that they cannot dissent from another without disdain, nor oppose without inveighing against him, it is hard to say whether more candour, learning, or judgment was blended in his *Miscellanies*. By discovering how much Hebrew there is in the New Testament Greek, he clearth many real difficulties from his verbal observations."²

Among the Fuller kindred there is another member of the same name as that just mentioned; and he also has honourable mention in the *Church-History*. He was NICHOLAS FULLER, a benchor of Gray's Inn, and of Chamberhouse, Berks, being the son of Nicholas Fuller, a London mercer.³



Arms of Nicholas Fuller,
Counsellor-at-law.

His character and attainments, which had been traduced, Fuller thus defends in the *Appeal*, against a sneer of Heylyn's: "Be it reported to the Jesses (1 Sam. xvii. 12) of Gray's Inn (I mean such benchers as pass amongst them for old men, and can distinctly remember him) whether he hath not left a precious and perfumed memory behind him, of one pious to God, temperate in himself, able in his profession, moderate in his fees, careful for his client, faithful to his friend, hospitable to his

neighbour, pitiful to the poor, and bountiful to Emanuel College in Cambridge."

It appears that during the fierce and vigorous enforcement of conformity by Bancroft, Nicholas Fuller pleaded very boldly

¹ *Worthies*, § Hantshire, p. 12. A Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, ii. 327.

² *Church-History*, bk. xi. p. 127. Aubrey, in his *Letters, &c.*, ii. 206 (edit. 1813), has left a droll account of an interview of Nicholas Fuller with his diocesan, Andrewes.

³ He died about 1545, leaving a brother Thomas. In the Visitation of London, 1568, the son's name is thus registered: "Nicholas Fuller, Councillor-at-law, *alias* FULWER."

and strenuously on behalf of two of his clients who had been arrested by the High Commission Court, and accused for a "supposed Conventicle," the two friends having met together to repeat the heads of a sermon they had heard in a Norwich church. Fuller's argument of this case, proving *that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have no power, by virtue of their commission, to imprison, to put to the oath ex officio, or to fine any of his Majesty's subjects*, was afterwards printed, [Lond.] 1607. For this act of justice Fuller "procured his own confinement." "Bancroft told the King," says Neal, "that he was the champion of the Nonconformists, and ought therefore to be made an example." Accordingly, Thomas Fuller, who looked with no favourable eye on Nonconformity, but whose charity was of that rare kind which could detect a man's goodness apart from his religious convictions, concludes his account of his kinsman thus: "In a word, blameless in all things save in this one act of indiscretion, which could not make him forfeit the reputation of his honesty, especially seeing he paid dear for it, and died in durance." His death occurred, as his will testifies, in 1619; and he was buried at Thatcham, near Reading. His son-in-law, Sir John Offley, Knt., of Madely Manor, was executor. Fuller adds, that the lawyer (he married Sara, daughter of Alderman N. Backhouse, of London) "left behind him the reputation of an honest man, and a plentiful estate to his family . . . at this day [1655] enjoyed by his grandchild—a gentleman deservedly beloved in his country."¹ The bencher's estate, which was in Berkshire, consisted of large landed property, which passed to his son, Sir Nicholas Fuller, Knt., who married Maria, daughter of George Douse, of Mere Court, Hants. The "grandchild" alluded to by Fuller, is (as he states in his margin) "*Master Douse Fuller, of Berk., Esq.*" who was two years old in 1619. He therefore is the subject of one of the early dedications in Fuller's *Church-History* (1655) as follows:—"TO DOUSE FULLER of Hampshire, Esquire. — I cannot say certainly of you as Naomi did of Boaz (Ru. ii. 20), 'He is near of kin unto us,' having no assurance (though great probability) of alliance unto you. However, Sir, if you shall be pleased in courtesy to account me your kinsman, I will endeavour that (as it will be an honour to me) it may be to you no disgrace."²



Arms of Douse Fuller
(from Fuller's *Ch.-Hist.*)

¹ *Ch.-Hist.*, bk. x. p. 55, 56. *Appeal*, pt. ii. 534.

² Bk. i. 39. Douse Fuller's grandchild, Sir Douse Fuller of Chamberhouse,

was knighted at Whitehall, 6th October 1663. For many of these interesting genealogical notes connected with these London-Berkshire Fullers, I am indebted

Of JOHN FULLER—the last of the illustrious Fullers spoken of in the extract from the *Appeal*—we have the further particulars: “One of the Judges in the Sheriff’s Court in London, who built and endowed an alms-house [two according to his will] for twelve poor men at Stoken-heath, and another at Shoreditch for as many poor women.¹ Besides, he gave his lands and tenements of great yearly valuation in the parishes of Sts. Benet, and Peter (Paul’s Wharf), London, to feoffees in trust to release prisoners in the Hole of both compters, whose debts exceeded not twenty shillings eight pence.”² His will was proved in May, 1592; and his lands in the parish of St. Giles were left to Francis Fuller, Gent.

After having thus enumerated three of the most distinguished names in the family, Thomas Fuller (who became more famous than all) reckons up with a certain degree of pride others of the name who were then (1659) living, and who were either dignitaries of the Church or graduates in Divinity and Arts, “of no contemptible condition;” and he adds, “Pardon, reader, this digression, done *se defendendo* against one [*i.e.*, Heylyn] by whom my name is too much under-valued by ironical over-valuing thereof.”³

Heylyn’s irony in respect to his antagonist’s kindred is chiefly to be found in his *Examen Historicum*. In one place he makes a mischievous recapitulation of the Fullers who are mentioned in the *Church-History*, viz.—Thomas Fuller of Hammersmith (“condemned for felony,” comments Heylyn, “but still so honest and so entirely beloved by King Harry VI. after his decease, that he appeared to him on the top of the gallows, encouraged him, and so charmed the rope that it did

to J. F. Fuller, Esq., of Dublin (who has copies of many early wills of the family); and him I have also to thank for what here follows:—The Benchers third child was Ann, who married Sir John Offley. The latter was of the family of Offley, Staffordshire (see Shaw’s *Hist. Staffordshire*, and Fuller’s *Worthies*, § Chester, p. 291). A William Offley, of Madeley Manor, married Frances Lane, who was daughter to that Colonel John Lane who sheltered Charles II. after the fight at Worcester. To this circumstance Fuller alluded in the first verse of his panegyric on Charles II. (*Worthies*, § Worcestershire, p. 181), the point of which is lost in Grosart’s recent reprint:

“When midst your fiercest foes on every side,
For your escape God did a LANE provide.”

These families were connected with the Fullers of Essex. The will (proved in 1636) of Francis Fuller of Barking, who died in 1636, contains a bequest of 40s. to “Margaret Fuller my cousin,” who was married to John Sparkes; and 20s. to “Dr. Fuller my cousin.”^{30s.} each were also bequeathed to Dous Fuller, and Lady Ann Offley. The executor was Alderman Anthony Abdy London—of a family connected with our author. For more details connected with these families, see *Miscel. Geneal. & Her.* (monthly series), March, 1873, p. 326.

¹ Stow’s *Survey of London*.—F.

² *Appeal*, ii. 532.

³ *Ibid.*

not strangle him"); *John Fuller, LL.D.*,¹ ("a better than he," adds Heylyn again, "a persecutor in Queen Mary's days, but a pitiful man as the index telleth us"); *Nicholas Fuller* ("a counsellor, the best of the three"); and then another, *Thomas Fuller*, a minister (the best of all the company), and an honest man too, so well deserving of the Church and all good Churchmen (both alive and dead), by this notable history, as not to doubt of the like favour at their hands (should there be occasion), as Thomas of Hammersmith received of King Harry VI."²

"Here," says Fuller, "are four gradations of FULLERS—good, better, best, best of all; which, in the language of jeering (speaking always by the contraries), amounteth unto bad, worse, worst, worst of all." Having answered for the three first, he thus alludes to himself: "For the fourth and last I will make the animadvertor the self-same answer which the servants of Hezekiah returned to Rabshakeh, 'But they held their peace and answered him not a word.'"³

The writer's excursions among the genealogies, &c., of the Fuller family by no means tend to confirm Fuller's statement as to the "narrowness" of his surname. In contemporary documents the name is exceedingly common, and apparently of consequence. The accumulated records of the family, in the shape of abstracts of wills, inscriptions, &c., in the possession of Mr. J. F. Fuller, are of themselves sufficient to attest the numerousness of the Fuller stock. On account of this wide use of the name, as well as for other reasons, a difficulty has accordingly arisen in lighting upon the immediate branch whence our hero sprang. Not the least cause of confusion lies in the fact that the Christian name of Fuller—a name very popular in England since the time of St. Thomas of Canterbury—occurs with

¹ This Dr. John Fuller was Master of Jesus College, 1557, and was a native of Gloucestershire. Speaking of the Marian persecutors, and applying to them Luther's distinction between *son of man* and *sons of men*, the author of the *Church-History* says:—"Sure I am, take these men sole and single by themselves, they were well-natured, pitiful, and compassionate; but when in conjunction with others, they became (at least by contenting) as cruel as the rest. [This recalls a well-known saying of Sydney Smith to the same effect: John Goodwin on the Triers (*Life*, p. 336), has similar observations.] What favour did Dr.

Fuller, Chancellor of Elie, offer Wm. Woolsey and Robt. Piggot when alone? yet, when in complication with other commissioners, pronounced the sentence of condemnation upon them." (*Ch.-Hist.*, bk. viii. 22.) To him our author again alluded in his *Appeal*: "The good nature and pitiful disposition of Dr. John Fuller plainly appeareth in Mr. Fox; and as for his bounty to Jesus Coll. in Cambridge, I leave it to some of that foundation to give testimony thereof." Pt. ii. p. 534. See also Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 136.

² *Appeal*, ii. 533.

³ Is. xxxvi. 21. *Appeal*, pt. ii. 535.

a most perplexing frequency in all places where inquiries have been directed. Fuller himself has in this way often been confounded with namesakes of lesser note. His identity was mistaken on many occasions during his life; and on the same account, mistakes (many of which are noticed in this biography) have often been made since. A glance at the index to this work will show how great was the number of his contemporary namesakes, and how difficult, sometimes, the task of discrimination may be. "Idem non idem, quaeruntque in nomine nomen."

The surname of the family occurs with the variations, *le Fuller, Fuler, ffooler, Fulwer, Fulwar, &c.* It behoves the biographer of one who was a good herald to add here that the arms of the family are argent and gules, thus varied:—

(1.) *Arg.* three bars and a canton *gu.* This form of the coat, which is attributed to the family by Guillim,¹ is represented in the annexed book-plate, which has been contributed by its



Arms of Mr. J. F. Fuller.

owner (who claims to derive from the Church-historian) to illustrate this paragraph. Thomas Fuller ascribes the same coat to Douse Fuller (see page 11); it was also borne by Dr. Wm. Fuller, bishop successively of Limerick and Lincoln, who has erroneously been called Fuller's uncle. (2.) A second variation was barry of six *arg.* and *gu.*, a canton of the last. Other forms were (3.) three barrulets and a canton *gu.*; and (4.) barry of six *arg.* and *gules*, without the canton. The latter is illustrated by another of Fuller's wood-cuts at the end of note 3 *infra*, p. 17.

¹ Guillim, *Display of Heraldrie*, p. 70 (ed. 1724). As regards the canton, Guillim says that "Some Armorists do hold that the Canton is a Reward given to Gentlemen, Esquires, and Knights, for service done by them, and not to a Baron. Some others, notwithstanding, are of a

different opinion, That a Canton may well besee an Earl or a Baron receiving the same at his Sovereign's hand." p. 45. The Wilts Fullers (of Neston Park a purchased estate) quarter Fleetwood of Cranford, Middlesex.

The districts in which in the fifteenth and following centuries the Fullers are commonly found are the south-eastern counties of England; and in these parts they first seemed to have obtained importance. Perhaps the original home of the stock was the county of *Suffolk*. This shire was the great seat of the woollen cloth manufacture, with which fullers were everywhere connected. The trade of a fuller, whence (as Fuller says) the surname is derived, would in such a county be of importance. The surname is still indeed common in the locality. There is a local interest also attaching to the once prevailing manufacture. Thus, Lavenham, whose parish church, erected by the De Veres, wealthy clothiers, about 1350, is one of the most magnificent ever built, is from *lana*, wool; Lindsey and Kersey and Woolpit in Suffolk, and Wolsey in Norfolk, also testify to the importance of the local woollen trade in past times. On the Suffolk churches one may often see sheep with huge fleeces carved in stone by way of ornament.

Other Fullers dwelt in great numbers in *Essex*, being met with especially at and about Hadleigh, Coggeshall, Bradfield, &c.; many of these families also being clothiers.¹ A large section of them were the descendants or connections of ROBERT FULLER, the last abbot of Waltham, who left bequests to Robert, John, William, and Catherine Fuller, all of this county. This Abbot Fuller should not be omitted in a notice of Fuller's kindred, since in some respects he was of like character to our hero, who as curate of Waltham succeeded him after the lapse of a century. Besides the Abbacy, he was also Prior-Commendatory of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield. By his will he leaves bequests for the health of his soul to the latter church and also to St. Sepulchre's. As to the Abbey, also mentioned in his will, Fuller tells us that though the abbot could not prevent its dissolution, he preserved its antiquities from oblivion in the Ledger-Book which he himself collected. The shrewd ecclesiastic foresaw the coming events: he gave up to Henry VIII. the stately mansion of Copt-hall, "in hope thereby to preserve the rest of his revenues. However, all would not do."² He died in 1540. By his will, after providing for the maintenance of religious services for his soul, he makes the following singular bequest: "To my most dere and dred Sove-

¹ Among Mr. J. F. Fuller's wills is one which may be adduced to show the frequency of the name Thomas; William Fuller, clothier, of Coggeshall (who died in 1608), had a son *Thomas*, who was his executor. The overseer of his will was a *Thomas* fuller of

Stebbing, Essex. William Fuller had a brother Robert, who died in 1607; and one of his sons was named Thomas. Robert's will proves that the father of these brothers was also named *Thomas*.

² Fuller's *Hist. Waltham Abbey*, p. 12.

raigne lorde Kinge Henry viij. xl^l, beseeching hym to be good & gracious to myn executors in the execution of this my last will and testament." In the extracts given from the churchwardens' accounts by our Fuller, as the historian of Waltham Abbey, a sum of £10 is entered as received from the executors of this "Sir Robert Fuller," in accordance with his testament.¹

There was also a large section of the Fuller family settled in *Cambridgeshire*. To this branch belongs Andrew Fuller, the Baptist Divine (1754-1815),² who not once nor twice has been strangely mistaken for Thomas Fuller, just as Thomas Fuller has been mistaken for him.

To none of the branches of the family here mentioned, nor yet to the less extensive houses settled in *Surrey, Kent, &c.*,³

¹ *Hist. Waltham Abbey*, p. 14. We find that the clerical element in the Fuller family was very strong in Thomas Fuller's time.

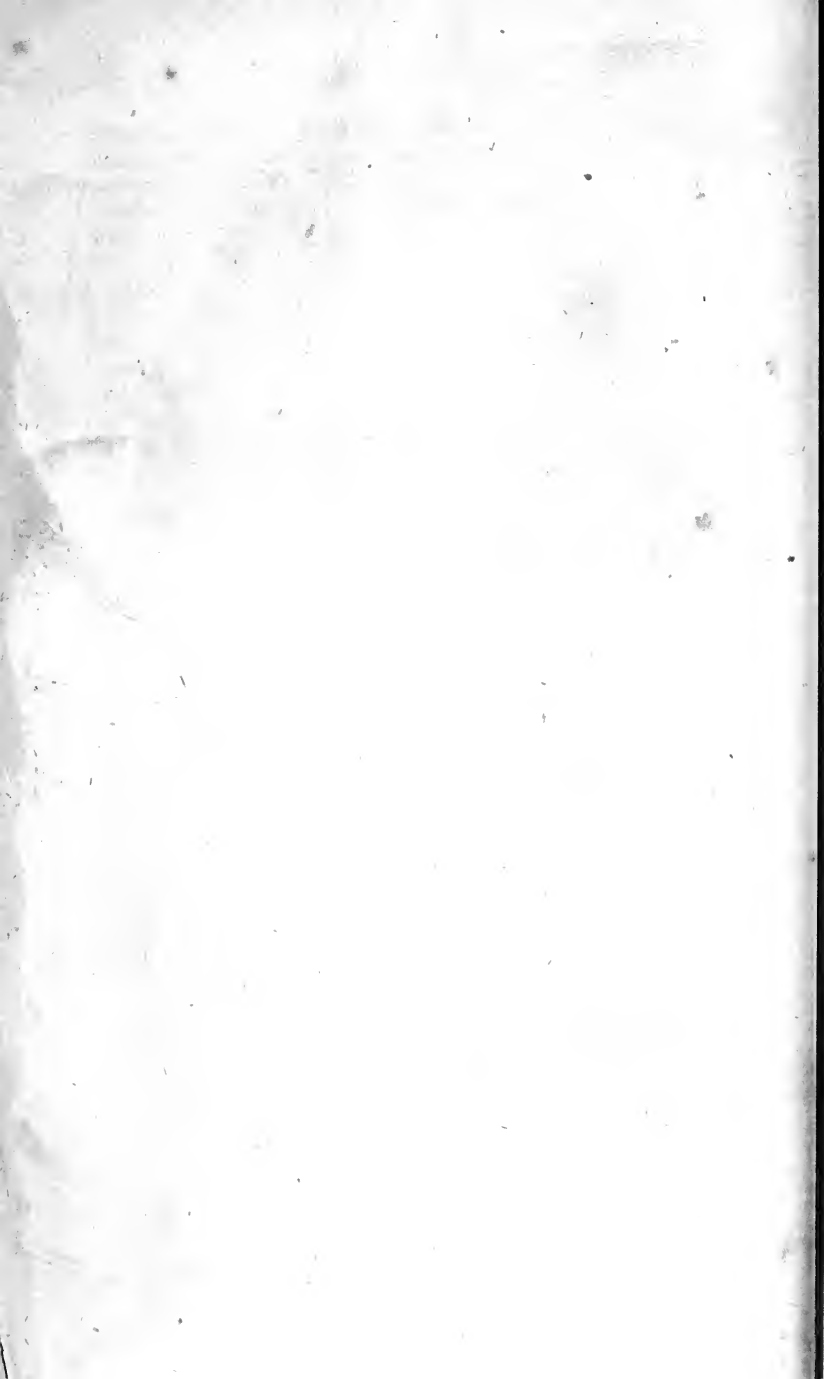
² *Works* by Ryland, 1824. Fuller was born at Wicken, near Ely, being the son of Robert Fuller, a farmer.

³ To this branch belongs THOMAS FULLER (1654-1734), a physician of some repute and a convivial man, who though he lived *after* our Dr. Fuller's time, has not only been confounded with the author of the *Worthies*, but has been divided against himself. He, therefore, claims notice here. He is described as of Sussex, but was descended from the Fullers of Uckfield, Kent. He belonged to Queen's College, Cambridge, where he entered in 1672. He became M.D. 1681. He was settled at Sevenoaks, Kent. He is the author of the following useful and in their day popular medical and moral works which will be found to be here more correctly stated than by Lowndes and others:—(1) *Pharmacopœia Extemporanea, sive præscriptorum, chiliæ, &c.*, 1714; (2) *Pharmacopœia Extemporanea; or, a Body of Medicine, &c.*, 1719; (3) *Pharmacopœia Bateana, in libros duos digesta*, 1719; (4) *Pharmacopœia Domestica*, 1723; (5) *Exanthematologia; or, an Attempt to give a Rational Account of Eruptive Fevers, in two parts*. 1730 (Dedicated to Sir Hans Sloane); (6) *Directions, Counsels, and Cautions tending to Prudent Management of Affairs in Common Life, collected by Thomas Fuller, M.D.*, 1725. (In two parts.) This latter work, which has passed through several editions, is dedicated to his "only son J[ohn] F.;" and the

edition of 1732 was dedicated to John Sidney, Earl of Leicester. It has commonly a Latin title, *Introductio ad Prudentiam*. Dr. Clarke (*Memoirs of the Wesley Family*, i. 36), who termed this work very excellent and useful, says erroneously of it, under the last-named title, that it was written by the *Church-Historian*. The physician's "directions" are worthy now of his namesake, now of "poor Richard," and now of Lord Chesterfield. Akin to this work, but to be distinguished from it, was his (7) *Introductio ad Sapientiam; or the Art of Right Thinking, assisted and improved by such notions as men of sense and experience have left us, in order to eradicate error and plant knowledge*. 1731-2. (In two parts.) Like the author of the *Worthies*, this Doctor of Medicine made a collection of proverbs which was published under the title of (8) *Gnomologia: Adages and Proverbs; Wise Sentences and Witty Sayings, Ancient and Modern, Foreign and British, collected by Thomas Fuller, M.D.* London, 1732. (In the preface to this work he alludes to "my two late books of right Thinking and Acting; i.e., Nos. 7 and 6, above.) Although Ray's collection of proverbs had forestalled his, he claims that his six thousand four hundred and ninety-six proverbs are more than any Englishman had collected before. He says that he "picked them up as they casually occurred, and most of them so long ago that I cannot remember the particulars, and am now (by reason of great age and ill sight) utterly unable to review them." He gives a brief historical account of proverbs. Neither in this nor



THOMAS FULLER M.D.



have we been able to refer with certainty Fuller's paternal descent. His own words, quoted at page II, as to the "great probability" of his connection with Mr. Douse Fuller, direct

his other works does the physician make mention of his brother in Divinity, whose works have often been ransacked for maxims, aphorisms, and wise saws; who was on terms of intimacy with the most celebrated practitioners of his day; and who always spoke kindly of the disciples of Æsculapius, giving as the three requisites for a physician's practice, "an eagle's eye, a lady's hand, and a lion's heart." (*Worthies*, chap. ix. p. 25.) To the edition of 1819 was added Allan Ramsay's collection of Scottish proverbs. The 5th edition of No. 2 (1740), in possession of J. F. Fuller, Esq., contains the physician's coat of arms (as also does the 1739 edition of No. 4): *arg.* three bars and a canton *gu.*; the crest a lion's head out of a ducal coronet. On the coat is an escutcheon of pretence, showing that his wife was an heiress or co-heiress; the coat of the latter is countercharged, and the charges are three martlets and crosslets reversed on the chevron line. His portrait is also affixed, and depicts a good-looking man, in a wig and Cambridge gown, aged perhaps about forty. There is a notice of this Dr. Fuller in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Cent.* (i. 370), whence we gather that he was born in 1654, was married to MRS. MARY PLUMER, 1703, and died Sept. 1734. He made the following tetrastic for himself:—

"Ante obitum felix cantabo epicedia nostra;
Octoginta annos sum passus tristia terræ;
Mors dabit his finem; mecum lætamini,
amici;
Æternum posthac cœlorum læta tenebo."

He is honourably distinguished for his kindness to the poor (see Cotton Mather's *Essays to do Good*).

With this Dr. Thomas Fuller we must not with some authorities intermix FRANCIS FULLER, a native of Bristol, son of one Francis Fuller, "generosus." He was admitted at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1687, was B.A. in 1691, M.A. 1704, and afterwards M.D. Nichols says of him that "after having been several years a valetudinarian, he published from his own feelings *Medicina Gymnastica*" [or, *A Treatise concerning the Power of Exercise*, &c. London,

1704; again 1705; fifth edit., 1718]. This is generally attributed to the aforementioned Thos. Fuller, M.D. "It ought to be read," says a critic, "by all the sedentary, the studious, and the valetudinarian." (See also D'Israeli's judgment on this work in *The Calamities of Authors*, § Their Maladies.) Nichols (quoting from Noble) further states that "The gymnastic doctor was a wit as well as a physician, if he, instead of the *reverend wag*, Thomas Fuller, B.D., universally known and admired, wrote these following lines on a left-handed writing-master:—

"'Though Nature thee of thy right hand bereft,
Right well thou writest with the hand that's
left.'"

(*Literary Anecdotes*, i. 371.) These lines were written by the reverend wag; see chap. vi. *infra*.—See also chap. xv.

Of the same branch of the family as that to which Thomas the physician belonged, was Mr. RICHARD FULLER, of London, Merchant,—one of the patrons of Dr. Fuller's *Church-History*, bk. ix. 189, where his arms are engraved as Barry of six, *without* the canton. The following is a reduced copy of the initial letter in which these arms (see the lower shield) occur:



(The arms in the upper part of the letter relate to Mr. Hamond Ward, joint-patron of the section.) This Richard Fuller was the second son of Edward Bostock Fuller, Esq., of Tandridge Court, near Reigate, in Surrey. Richard's elder brother was Francis Fuller, Sergeant-at-law, who died 1708. (So Mr. J. F. Fuller's *MS. wills*.) According to other wills, inscriptions, &c., the Surrey Fullers were pretty numerous, as at Barking, &c. From these Surrey Fullers, I am informed, Dr. William Fuller, physician to St. George's Hospital, derives.

attention to the *Berkshire-London* branch of the stock; but nothing to our purpose has resulted from a complete investigation of many of their pedigrees.¹ A variety of concurrent testimony seems, however, to indicate that it is among the London members of this family that a point of connection may be established. To London the younger sons of the Berkshire Fullers, and the Fullers of the other shires, betook themselves to engage in trade; and numbers are accordingly found connected with the different guilds. Among some of these London citizens we believe Fuller's paternal ancestors will ultimately be found. In London the elder Fuller may have had his home. He married into a London family; and passages in the writings of the younger Fuller seem to show that the latter was acquainted with London from his childhood. Thus, writing in 1660 a paragraph entitled, "Cry without cause and be whipt," Fuller stated: "I have known the city of London almost *forty* years: their shops did ever sing the same tune, that TRADING WAS DEAD. Even in the reign of King James (when they wanted nothing but thankfulness) this was their complaint."² Our author's long-lasting acquaintance with certain of the citizens affords testimony to the same effect.

Interesting, therefore, as it would be to light upon the "great-great-grandfather" from whom Fuller "fetched" his name, and to ascertain the intervening citizens of credit and renown, if such they were, we must regret that we can trace back his ancestors no further than his sire, now to be noticed.

THOMAS FULLER THE ELDER, who is "better known by the branch of his issue than root of his parentage," who therefore, Chinese-like, derives his importance from his more famous son of that name, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was entered about 1583.³ His tutor, it is noteworthy, was Mr. Wayland, "prebendary of St. Paul's and senior fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge," whose intimate friendship with the father of the poets Giles and Phineas Fletcher the author of *The Worthies* has recorded.⁴ Fuller received his B.A. degree with the celebrated Cabalistic Divine and Orientalist, William Alabaster,⁵ also of Trinity, in the year 1587-8.

¹ See the genealogies and abstracts of wills by Mr. J. F. Fuller in the monthly *Miscel. Geneal. et Heraldica*, March, 1873, p. 327.

² *Miscel. Contemplations*, p. 24.

³ The date of his admission as undergraduate cannot be ascertained, as the earliest admission-book in the hands of

the college authorities is 1635. The lack of this entry leaves us in the dark as to the much desired name of his father, and the place of his education.

⁴ § Kent, p. 78.

⁵ See an anecdote of this Rabbinical divine by Addison (*Spectator*, 221), who derived it from "Dr. Fuller's Book of

Fuller tells us that his father was present in the Bachelors' Schools when a Greek act was kept between Dillingham, a controversial divine of the time, and Alablaster—"a disputation so famous that it served for an *æra* or *époche* for the scholars in that age thence to date their seniority."¹ Fuller was sworn and admitted Minor Fellow in 1589, Major Fellow in 1590. His degree of M.A. was also taken in the company of his friend Alablaster in the year 1591. He was next sworn *Secundus Lector*, December 16, 1592; and attained his last degree of B.D. in St. John's College in 1598.² This distinguished College was "so filled, or rather crowded" with students, that, says Fuller, "in the days of our fathers, the students when writing private letters were used to cover them with their other hand to prevent over-inspection!"³ It is probable that Mr. Fuller did not reside at the University after 1594. While at Cambridge he sat at the feet of the erudite Whitaker. The author of the *Holy State* in after years showed his admiration of the learning of this divine by appending to the character of the *Controversial Divine* a sketch of Whitaker's life. In the latter Fuller says: "My father hath told me that he [Dr. W.] often wished that he might lose so much learning as he had gotten in after-supper studies, on condition that he might gain so much strength as he had lost thereby."⁴ Whitaker died in 1595, being interred in his college of St. John's, "with the grief of the University and the whole church of God." The younger Fuller relates with great glee, how when this divine was appointed to be master of this college "the gates were shut, and partly *man*-ed, partly *boy*-ed against him."⁵

English Worthies." (There are other intimations in the essayist's writings that that he was familiar with this famous book.) Fuller states that Alablaster was "a most rare poet as any our age or nation hath produced; witness his tragedy of *Roxana*, admirably acted in that college [Trinity], and so pathetically, that a gentlewoman thereat (Reader, I had it from an author whose credit it is in with me to suspect), at the hearing of the last words thereof—*Sequar, Sequar*, so hideously pronounced, fell distracted, and never after fully recovered her senses." (*Worthies*, § Suffolk, p. 70.) Johnson pays a high compliment to the abilities of the author of this piece (Life of Milton).

¹ *Worthies*, § Beds. p. 117. *Epoche* is

perhaps here a *three*-syllabled word (*ἐποχή*) written often *Epochee* in Fuller's day. (Cf. *Epitome*.) It was so written by Dryden.

² Many of these particulars were contributed to me by the late Mr. C. H. Cooper, and by Dr. Thompson, of Cambridge. See also Russell's *Memorials*.

³ *Hist. Camb. Univ.* p. 94, folio edition.

⁴ *Holy State*, p. 61. The edition of 1660 is used throughout this work.

⁵ *Hist. Camb. Univ.* p. 96. The late Mr. C. H. Cooper, of Cambridge, informed me a few years ago that there were notes of sermons delivered at Cambridge by the elder Fuller, in Caius College library, giving me the reference: *Smith's Cat. of Caius Coll. MSS.* 303. Mr. E. J. Gross, of Gonville and Caius

We next meet with Mr. Fuller as parish priest. Through the influence of some of his many friends, or it may be from personal knowledge on the part of the donor, he was presented by Thomas Cecil, second Lord Burghley (and first Earl of Exeter, 1605), to the rectory of St. Peter's, Aldwinckle, near Oundle, Northamptonshire.¹ A life of the first or great Lord Burghley is appended to Fuller's character of *The Wise Statesman* in the *Holy State*, in which we read that Burghley "was a good friend to the Church as then established by law; he used to advise his eldest son Thomas [the patron of Fuller senior] never to bestow any great cost or to build any great house on an impropriation, as fearing the foundation might fail hereafter. . . . He saw his son Thomas richly married to an honourable co-heir."

Fuller's father was instituted to the rectory in question in September, 1602, upon the death of John Layfield, B.D., the former incumbent.²

In the *Pisgah-sight* of the rector's witty son, we meet with a grateful acknowledgment of the Earl of Exeter's kindness to his father. The 5th book is specially dedicated to the "Right hon. John Lord Burghley, son to the Right hon. John [fourth] Earl of Exeter"—a patron who was then (1650) an *infant* (!), but who afterwards succeeded as *fifth* earl. Here Fuller alludes to the habit of the storks, who in the Low Countries build their nests in chimneys, throwing down a young one as a gift to the landlord for permitting their quiet habitation there,—a practice which taught gratitude "to such as have bestowed courtesies upon us." "Now the first light," he adds, "which I saw in this world was in a *Benefice*³ conferred on my father by your most honourable great [*sic*] grand-father,⁴ and therefore

College, since obligingly searched the MS. in question, but could not find any notes of sermons; nor could he trace any reference to Thomas Fuller in the Index.

¹ Thomas Cecil was the son of Elizabeth's great minister, the first Lord Burghley. The former in his early life had sat in Parliament for his town of Stamford; but afterwards engaged himself in the European wars. At this time, residing at his mansion of Burghley, Northamptonshire, he was Lord-President of the Council of the North, Warden of Rockingham Forest, and Lord-Lieutenant of Yorkshire. He died in 1622.

² This preferment is misdated 1632 in

Mr. Russell's *Memorials*, p. 16. A Wood correctly gives the date from the Episcopal registers: "Thomas Fuller cler. ad rect. de Aldwinckle, per cess. ult. incumb. ad pres. Tho. Cecil baronis de Burleigh, 6 Sept. 1602."—*Reg. Dove. Ep. Petrib. (Athen. Oxon. ii. 506)*.

³ Oldwinckle (*old shop*, Saxon) Saint Peter's in Northamptonshire. Fuller.—Lloyd (*Memoires*), following the anonymous biographer, stated erroneously that Fuller was born at Oundle, "where his father was minister," (p. 523). The latter biographer adds, that of Oundle hereafter it should be said that this MAN was born there (p. 2).

⁴ The church lands about Aldwinckle were originally held under the Abbot of

I stand obliged in all thankfulness to your family. Yea this my right hand, which *grasped the first free aire* in a manor to which your Lordship is Heir-apparent, hath since often *been catching at a pen*, to write something in expression of my thankfulness, and now at last dedicates this book to your Infant honour. Thus as my obligation bears date from my *Birth*, my thankfulness makes speed to tender itself to your *Cradle.*"¹

It is noticeable that this Earl—"your Infant honour," as Fuller calls him—was also a patron of Dryden; a coincidence due to the fact that both writers were born in the same village. It was at the Earl's country seat, near Stamford, that Dryden wrote part of his *Vergil*: "The seventh *Æneid* was made English at Burghley, the magnificent abode of the Earl of Exeter; *in a village belonging to his family I was born* [*i.e.*, at the Aldwincles: see next chapter]; and under his roof I endeavoured to make that *Æneid* appear in English with as much lustre as I could."²

Fuller was thinking of his own parentage when in the pre-fatory portion of *The Worthies* he alluded to the envenomed arrow which was first shot by the Church of Rome against the children of clergymen. At some length he shows that such children have been as successful as the sons of men of other professions. Sons of clergymen, says he, have not been more *unfortunate* but more *observed* than the children of parents of other professions. They might be called unfortunate in respect to not being well provided for; for their fathers, coming late to their livings, were surprised by death.³

Peterborough; and they passed through various families till they were forfeited by Viscount Lovel at the close of the Wars of the Roses. Henry VII. then bestowed them on his mother, the "Good Lady Margaret." By Queen Elizabeth, the abbot's lordship was conferred on

this "great grandfather," Sir Thomas Cecil.

¹ Bk. v. 140.

² Preface to Dryden's *Vergil*, 1697. The Earl was also patron of Prior, who wrote verses on his wife.

³ Chap. xx. p. 57.





CHAPTER II.

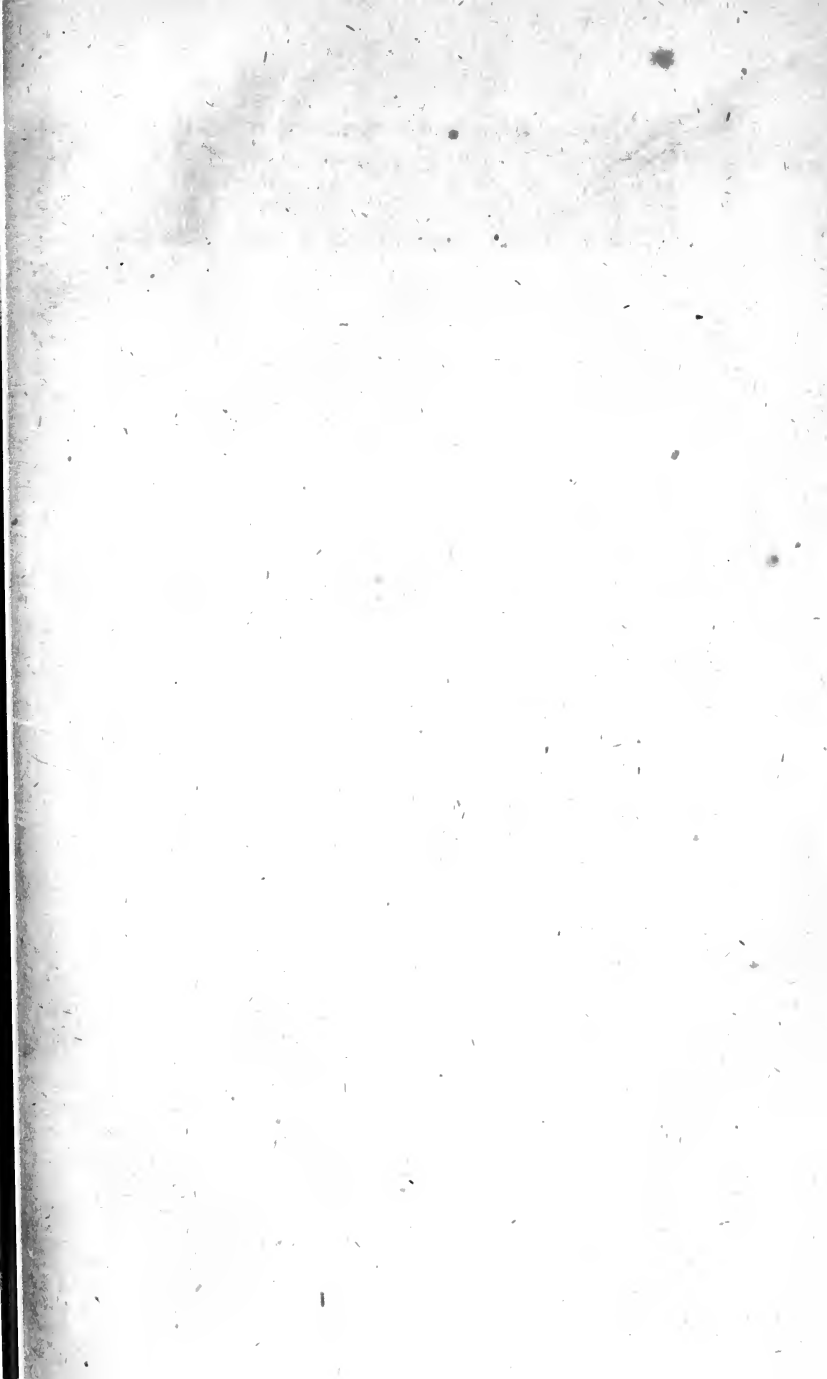
THE ALDWINCLES AND THE PARSON OF ST. PETER'S. (1602-15.)

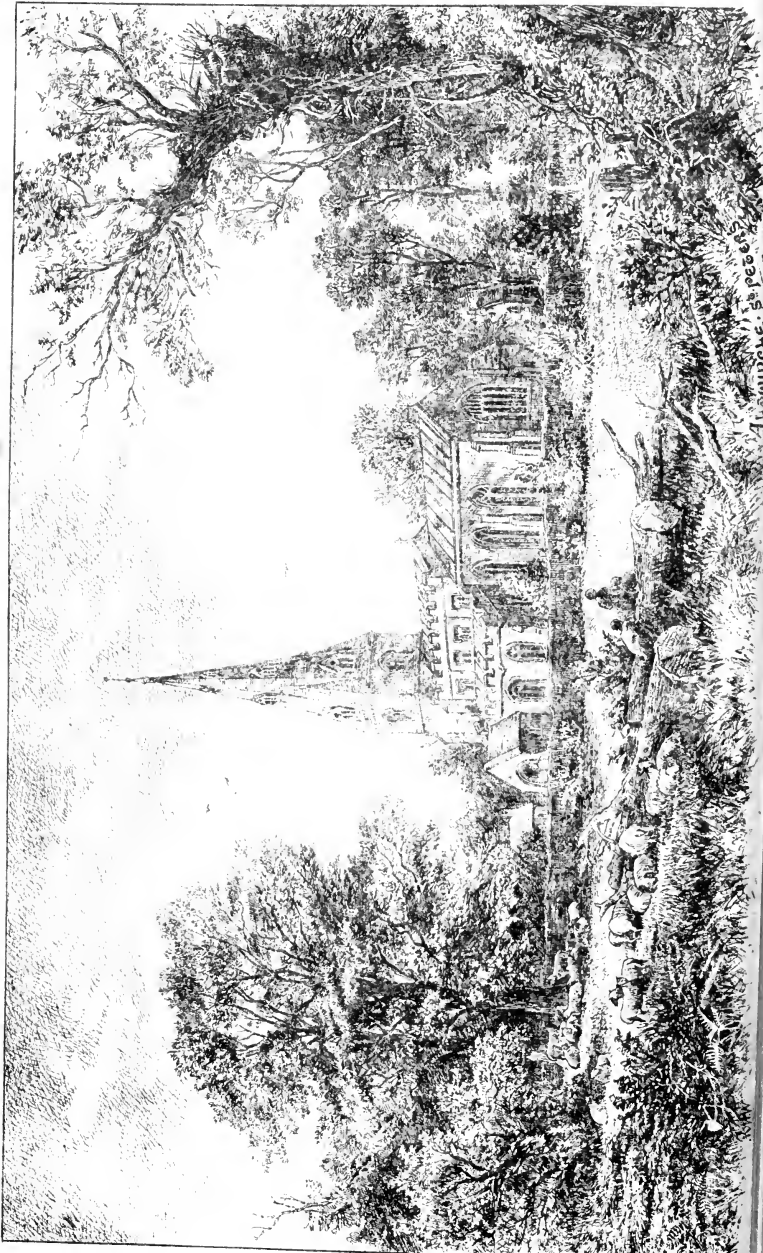
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—LOCAL SCENERY.—ALL SAINTS' CHURCH.—ST. PETER'S CHURCH AND ITS PARSONAGE-HOUSE.—OF BUILDING.—MARRIAGE OF MR. FULLER.—THE DAVENANT FAMILY.—FULLER'S GODFATHERS: DR. DAVENANT AND DR. TOWNSON.—SIR ROBERT COTTON; DR. ROGER FENTON; DR. JOHN OVERALL; REV. R. GREENHAM.—CHURCH PARTIES IN THE COUNTY, AND THEIR RELATION TO MR. FULLER.—THE HIGH COMMISSION COURT; DR. CAREY.—MR. FULLER'S CHILDREN.

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

MY author in another place antithetically tells us to what shire he was indebted for his birth. We quote from a paragraph entitled *Natale solum dulcedine*, etc., in his *Mixt Contemplations*, written at the end of his days: “I must confess myself born in Northamptonshire; and if that county esteems me no *disgrace* to it, I esteem it an *honour* to me.”¹ There is a ring of the *civis Romanus sum* about this sentence which adds much to one's appreciation of it: if there is any pride in it, it is surely commendable. Next to being an Englishman, Fuller took pleasure in his being a native of Northamptonshire. Very often in his writings he directs attention to his connection with the shire which bred him. He is never weary of speaking in its praise. Thus, “it is as fruitful and populous as any in England;” its waste lands occupy an insignificant space; it is the “great corn county” of the period, &c. He thrice calls attention to the fact that “all the rivers of the county are bred in it, besides those (Ouse and Cherwell) it lendeth and sendeth to other shires.”² In his *Worthies* Fuller takes full care to set forth its glories, “though it be my native country.” The fair city of Northampton he omits not to commend; and he mentions its

¹ P. 43. ² *Holy State*, p. 123; *Ch.-Hist.* ix. 209; *Worthies*, § *Northamptonshire*.





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reputation as the place for the most, and cheapest, if not the best shoes and "stockens;" manufactures which naturally lead him to remark that the town "may be said to stand chiefly on other men's legs!" In his *History of Cambridge University*, speaking of certain secessionists from the Universities who, A.D. 1262, proposed to begin a rival college at Northampton, he thus summarises the advantages of the position chosen:—"I commend their judgment in the choice of so convenient a place, where the air is clear, yet not over sharp; the earth fruitful, yet not very dirty; water plentiful, yet far from any fennish annoyance; and wood, most wanting now of days [1655], conveniently sufficient in that age. But the main is, Northampton is near the center of England; so that all travellers coming thither from the remotest parts of the land, may be said to be met by the town in the midst of their journey, so impartial is the situation thereof in the navel of the kingdom."¹ For the same reasons he comments on the favourableness of the position of the country for the Presbyterian discipline, A.D. 1597, to "derive" itself "into all the quarters of the kingdom."²

"I was born," says Fuller again, "at Alwinckle in Northamptonshire, where my father was the painful Preacher of Saint Peter's."³

This village, popularly called Aldwinckle,⁴ but more correctly the Aldwincles (for it is one of the numerous Northamptonshire villages which have dual parishes), is situated in the north-eastern part of the county, between Thrapston and Oundle, in the hundred of Huxloe. It is best approached from Thrapston, whence it lies distant about three miles and a half north-east. There is a shorter way by a footroad through the low-lying meadows watered by the river Nene. Turning off from the main street of the pleasant little town, the pedestrian passes under the shade of some majestic trees, and after

¹ Sect. i. § 49, p. 13.

² *Church-Hist.*, xi. 209.

³ *Mixt Contemplations*, p. 64. *Painful* = painful, painstaking, is a favourite word of our author's.

⁴ The villages are called *Eldewinckle* in Domesday book. The Saxon name was *Aldwyncle*. A variety of changes has been rung on the word. *Orwinckle* (Aubrey), *All Winckle*, *Alwinckle*, *Aldwinckle*, seem ultimately to have settled into *Oldwinckle*; but *Aldwinckle* now obtains. The etymology of the words is

equally varied. It may be, as the Rev. H. Ward points out in his *Popular Hist. Aldwincles*, p. 2, either *Old Corner* (Ald Winckel), or *Old Wine-celler* (Ald Wyn-cel); but Fuller, who ought to be heard on the matter, although it must be confessed he has started some outrageous etymologies, speaks of it (see page 20) as being the Saxon for *Old Shop*. We seasonably remember his saying that he who seeks a reason for all proper names may seek it.



crossing the railway sees in the distance the village towards which he is bent. The extent of the village is indicated by its two churches, that of All Saints' directly before him, that of St. Peter's among the trees on the left. The village is much further off than it seems; for the long, flat, and apparently interminable field is apt to mislead in calculating the distance. The path is along the broad valley of the Nene, or *Avon* as it seems once to have been called (*Oundle*, written by Fuller *Oundale=Avondale*); but the river is scarcely discernible in it. A Dutchman would be enraptured with such scenery. The meadows are of a prodigious size, and he who is accustomed to enclosed fields will express surprise at the many-acred *plain* spread out before him. This peculiarity is owing to the fact that Northamptonshire was one of the last places to be enclosed with hedges. Large open spaces scattered up and down the county are still called in the local speech "fields;" and there are many such indicated on the Ordnance map.

But to counterbalance the uninteresting monotony of a full half-hour's walk, there are, first, the well-wooded boundaries of the valley on each side, with here and there a church spire; and next, the fact that these meadows are extremely fertile—they are literally "green," and beside "still waters," affording pasture to herds of cattle. These adjuncts to the landscape remove, in a great degree, the apparent sameness and solitariness of the view. The fertility of the valley is derived from the Nile-like Nene. In making its way down the valley, the river, owing to the flatness of the district, flows, like Cæsar's stream, *incredibili lenitate*, as if it were loathe to seek "fresh" fields "and pastures new." Near Aldwinckle, as though tired of itself, it lazily "parts from itself," as Fuller would say, breaking itself up into two or three other streams. The consequence is, that as we near our destination we have to cross some foot bridges.

The lower part of Aldwinckle, which has been in view so long, is at last reached. It is built on a slope of the main bank of the river, which here makes a distinct bend, enclosing the very pleasantly situated village. The wooded ground on the left rises a little higher. Such gentle elevations as these, in a county which is hereabouts strikingly free from eminences, are eagerly dubbed *hills*. Aldwinckle thus boasts of its "hill." The dark woods on it and beyond are remains of the old forest of Rockingham, which in Fuller's time was far more extensive than it is to-day; and if part at least of his native village was not in the forest, it lay within its purlieus. The old forest still occupies an extensive area, though great encroachments have

been made on it since it was the favourite hunting-ground of King John. Fuller speaks of this shire being in his day "less woody than in Camden's time." He often takes occasion in his writings to censure his own age for being "wasteful in woods," and for "expounding into plains many places which formerly were dark with the thickest oak-trees."¹ Elsewhere writing about 1660 on the same topic, he satirically says: "What *reformation* of late hath been made in men's judgment and manners, I know not. Sure I am that *deformation* hath been great in trees and timber; who verily believe that the clearing of many *dark places*, where formerly plenty of wood, is all the *new light* this age produced. Pity it is no better provision is made for the preservation of woods, whose want will be soonest for our fire, but will be saddest for our water when our naval walls shall be decayed."²

Those who approach this village from the north of England³ may reach it by a shorter walk from Thorpe, a wayside station, on the Peterborough and Northampton railway. By taking this route, which is along a shady road about a mile in length, the lower part of the village comes suddenly in view. A first glance at it cannot fail to impress the visitor favourably. There is such a thoroughly English look about it, and an appearance of retirement and cosiness, which at once prepossesses one in its favour. It is in particular to the upper end of the village that we are directing our steps; but before going further, we are reminded that we are hereabouts treading on classic ground. On the left hand of this picturesque view, stands the old grey turreted⁴ church of Aldwincle *All Saints*, and the walled garden of an old manor-house, of which it is almost the only remains. On our right hand is the comfortably-thatched parsonage-house,—a place inseparably associated with *John Dryden*; for here, twenty-three years after the birth in the next parish of his genial comrade in letters, that famous poet was born, his maternal grandfather Henry Pykering (son of Sir Gilbert Pykering, Knt., of Tichmarsh), then being rector.⁵ In the church

¹ *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 114.

² *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 281.

³ From Rushton, near Kettering, on the Midland line, there is a pleasant walk hither of about ten miles by way of Geddington and Boughton Park, which route passes through some fine Northamptonshire scenery.

⁴ Though few, there are some other turreted churches near at hand (*e.g.*, Lowick and Sudborough), but Tichmarsh

may be particularly noticed. This fact seems to show some relationship to the churches of the Fen districts, which take this form, rather than to the spired edifices of the county under notice.

⁵ So his tombstone, first correctly read by Rev. H. Ward, states. None of Dryden's biographers took the trouble personally to inspect this interesting memorial; and it having been misread, Dryden's connection with the rector gave rise to curious conjectures. See Ward's

itself Dryden was most probably baptised by the rector; but there is no record of the ceremony, the parish register of that date no longer existing. Both church and churchyard contain other memorials of the maternal relatives of "glorious John."

Fuller did not omit to give in his chief work a notice of the chantry in this (All Saints) Church. Commenting on the large numbers of chantries in parochial churches, he says: "Thus at Oldwincle in Northamptonshire (the village of my nativity), a chantry in the parish church of All Saints was endowed with house and lands for a priest at the cost of Sir John Oldwincle, Knight, about the reign of King Henry the Sixth."¹

The road leading to the other end, to us, most interesting part of the village gently ascends. Traversing the long "street," we may roughly note that the hamlet contains over one hundred houses, many of which are of moderate size; and that, besides the two churches, there is a Baptist chapel. Belonging to the parish, moreover, are several scattered farm-houses in the neighbourhood. Labourers, now as heretofore, seem to form the bulk of the population. There would be more yeomen in Fuller's days than is the case now—"an estate of people," he reminds us, "almost peculiar to England." The houses, which are for the most part picturesquely grouped, border on the "street" for about three-quarters of a mile. The high-peaked roofs and the stone chimneys of many of the thatched cottages at once arrest the attention of those accustomed to the comparatively flat roofs and brick buildings of the northern counties.

*The Church of St. Peter's*², so intimately connected with

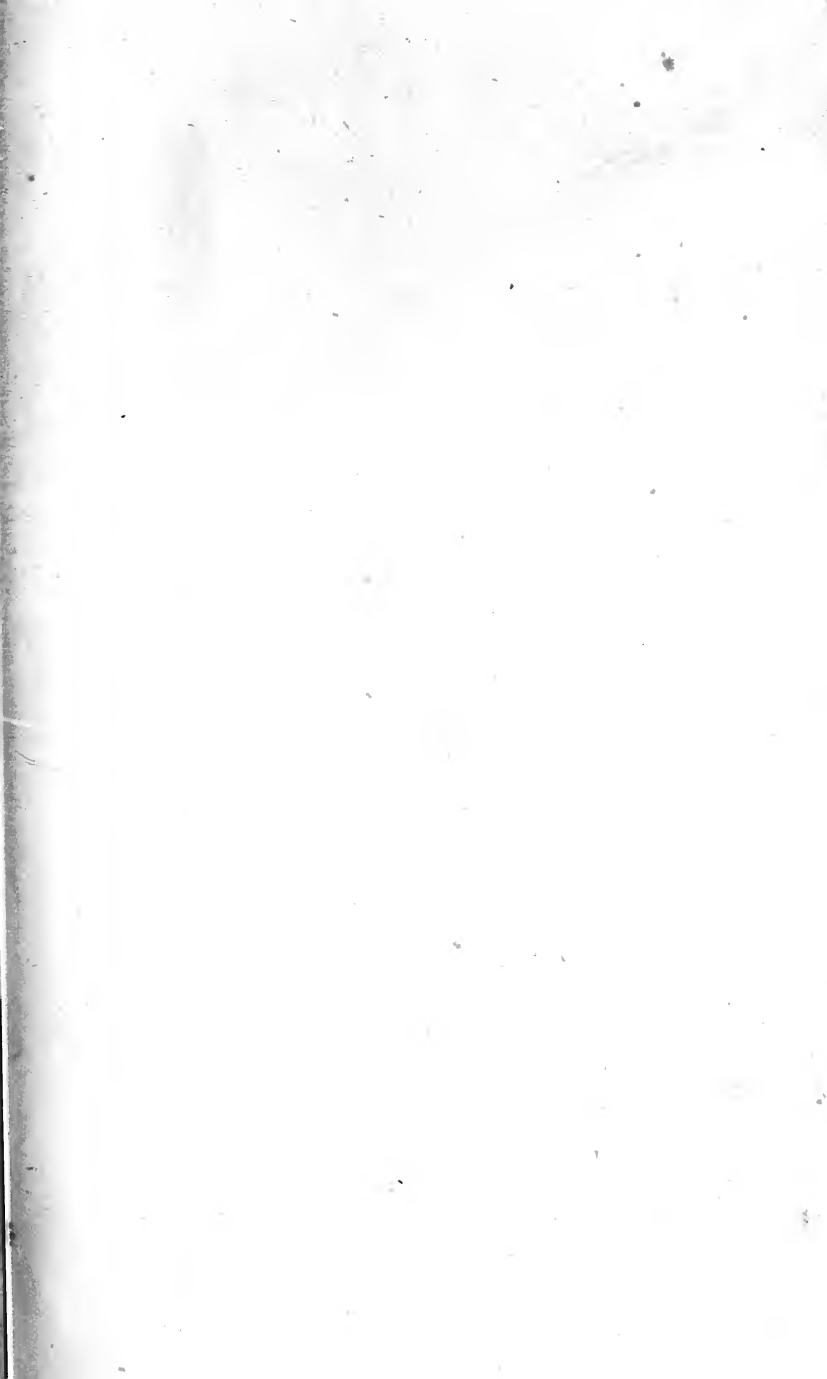
Popular History of the Aldwincles (Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton).

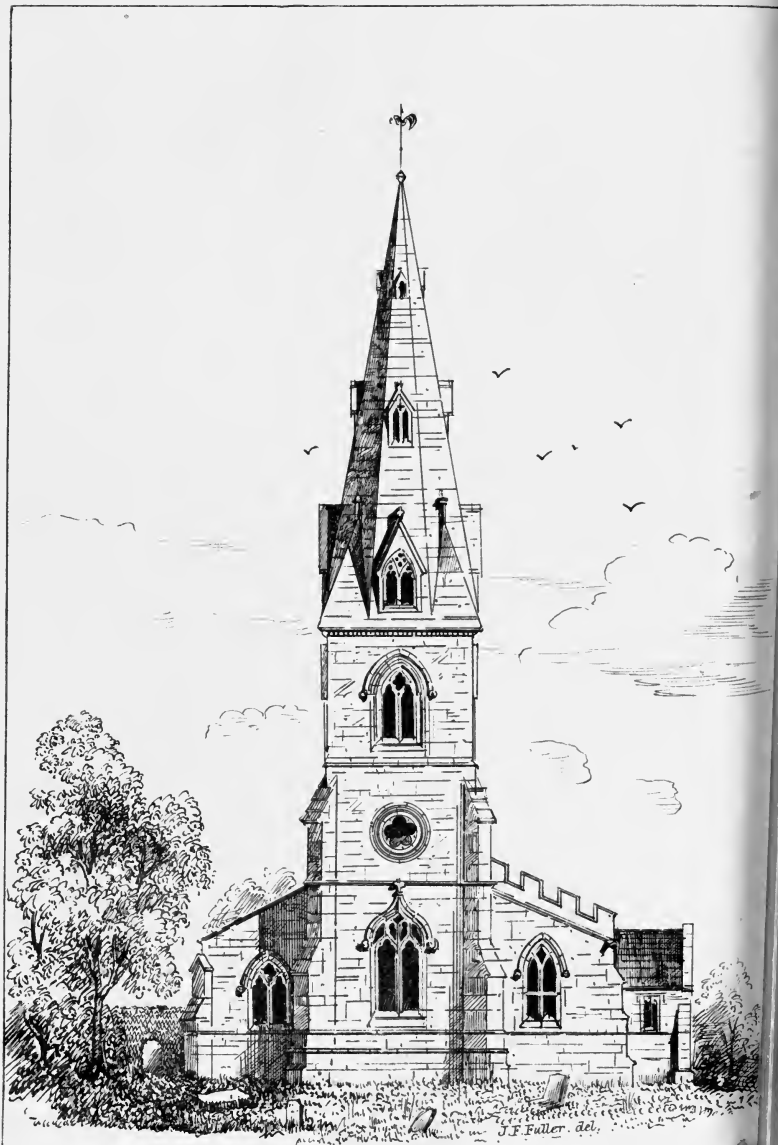
Among subsequent rectors of this parish was Dr. Haweis, one of the founders of the London Missionary Society, and devisee of the will of the Countess of Huntingdon.

¹ *History of Abbeys*, p. 354. Fuller's date, I am informed, is not quite correct; for existing deeds show that the exact year was 4th *Henry VII.*, *i.e.* 1489. The chantry, moreover, was built by the widow of William (the last of the Aldwincles), who re-married William Chambre. The de Aldwincles had been associated with the villages up to 1463, when the above-mentioned "William Aldwincle, Esq.," died, as a brass to his memory in All Saints' Church, bearing the date August 28, still shows. He

seems to have left his property to his widow, who in conjunction with her second husband, Wm. Chambre, devoted a part of it to the erection and endowment of this chantry. Among those whose souls were to be prayed for was Maud Fossbrooke, dry nurse to Henry VI. The endowment, however, was alienated on the occasion of the suppression of the chantries. Henry VIII. afterwards bestowed it on Sir Edward Mountagu, who had recently risen into favour and ultimately became Lord Chief Justice. The latter did not take it without hesitation; and at last received but a small portion of the Church lands, in comparison with what others got. (*Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 287.)

² A church probably existed on these lands as early as the reign of Henry I.; for a *priest* was then settled there by the





ALWINCLE · ST. PETER'S: (WEST-VIEW.)

Fuller's early days, is pleasantly and conspicuously situated at a short distance from the road. In some points it is more "antick" in appearance than the sister edifice. It is small in size, having accommodation for about two hundred worshippers. It will, however, be found, on careful examination, to be of great interest and of much architectural beauty. Its distinguishing feature is its spire, or "broach" (to use the more correct Leicestershire word), which gracefully rises from the ground to the height of 95 feet, the tower and spire being harmoniously blended. A view of it is here given.

Northamptonshire, as is well known, is famous for its *spires*: two or more of them appear in every landscape. The inhabitants are proud of this peculiarity of their churches, and they have a saying that the county is famed for "squires and *spires*, springs and spinsters." But St. Peter's spire is deserving of notice even in this land of spires. Standing near the churchyard, whence an extensive and diversified view may be obtained, we have them in view on all sides, as at Thrapston, Islip, Oundle, Pilton, and Achurch. Standing on yet higher ground in the neighbourhood, a discriminating eye may pick out many others from among the trees. In fact these churches, with their attendant towns or villages, are prominent features all through the county; and a landscape seems incomplete without them. To show the extent to which spires prevail here, it may be stated that out of fifteen Northamptonshire churches engraved in *Brandon's Village Churches* (whence the annexed view of St. Peter's is taken) only *one* is without a spire. This fact gives point to a remark in Coleridge's *Friend* (No. 14), that an instinctive taste teaches men to build their churches in flat countries with spire steeples, which, as they cannot be referred to any other object, point up with silent finger to the sky and stars. The number of spires was even greater in Fuller's time. Speaking of his native county, my author, who, like a very Hebrew, devoutly loved to set his heart to his country's bulwarks that he might tell it to the generation following, said: "Sixteen several towns,¹ with their churches, have at one view

Abbot of Peterborough. Rev. H. Ward considers that the spire was built about the same time as the chancel. He adds that a "number of concurrent indications suggest the opinion that the original church of St. Peter was rebuilt about the reign of Henry III.; and that at the same time, the opportunity was taken by the owners of the other manor to erect a separate church (which they called *All*

Saints) for themselves." (*Hist. Aldwincles*, p. 7.) Land was given about the year 1373, for the support of the "Parson of the Church of St. Peter's in Aldwincle" for the daily celebration of divine service; and it is probable that at this time, the chancel was rebuilt and enlarged as it was in Fuller's time, and as we see it now.

¹ "Town" in the local speech = village.

been discovered therein by my eyes, which I confess none of the best; and God grant," he piously yet quaintly ejaculates, "that those who are sharper-sighted may hereafter never see fewer!" "Other men," he says in the margin, "have discovered two and thirty."¹ Morton recounts spots where large numbers may be counted, and adds: "But of all the prospects of this kind, that from a hill betwixt Great Billing and Overston is of greatest note: we have there a view of 45 churches or steeples which may be seen without the help of a perspective glass!"² The name which the early Quakers gave to churches—"steeple-houses"—must surely have arisen in this county. Many of the spires round about Fuller's birthplace, such as those at Rushden, Higham Ferrars, Oundle, and Kettering, as well as that of Aldwinckle itself, have been often deservedly admired for their great elegance and beauty.³

From the churchyard of St. Peter's one readily sees the position of the village with respect to those in its neighbourhood. A little way further down the river is a neat cluster of houses which make up the village of Wadenhoe, which is actually lighted with gas through the enterprise of Mr. Hunt, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868. Coals are conveyed there by means of small barges on the Nene. The stream was not navigable in Fuller's time, for we find him saying, with a conceit worthy of him, "The worst I wish this my native county is that *Nine* (a river which some will have was termed from *nine* tributary rivolets) were *ten*; I mean made navigable from Peterburg to Northampton. . . . Sure I am, the Hollanders (the best copy of thrift in Christendom) teach their little ditches to bear boats."⁴ The view of the "decent church" of Wadenhoe, which "tops the neighbouring hill," is very picturesque. Still following the course of the river, we see that it continues to

¹ *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 278.

² *Nat. Hist. Northamptonshire*.

³ Were Fuller now living, he would miss at least *two* spires which were very familiar to him. Lilford Church which, with its spire, then stood hard by his birthplace, was pulled down by one whom we shall find again at similar work on a building the loss of which we shall regret. Fuller would likewise look in vain for the spire of the neighbouring church of Barnwell All Saints, which has also disappeared. — The Northamptonshire spires are referred to by Gilbert White: "There are hardly any towers or steeples in all this county [Hants]. And perhaps,

Norfolk excepted, Hampshire and Sussex are as meanly furnished with churches as almost any counties in the kingdom. . . . When I first saw Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire, and the Fens of Lincolnshire, I was amazed at the number of spires which presented themselves in every point of view. As an admirer of prospects, I have reason to lament this want in my own country, for such objects are very necessary ingredients in an elegant landscape." (*Selborne*, Ed. Bohn, 82.)

⁴ *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 301. This river now communicates with the ocean by means of the Northampton Canal.

wind amidst rich pastures, hiding itself ultimately from our view in the woods of Lilford Park. On the side of the river opposite Wadenhoe is seen the spire of Achurch Church in the midst of woods inhabited by myriads of cawing rooks. The very imposing tower of Titchmarsh Church is also seen on the rising ground to the south-east. Here several of Dryden's maternal relations are buried. At Pilton, in the opposite direction, Dryden's parents (as Rev. H. Ward discovered) were married. The top of the curious broach-spire of this church is just visible among the trees; but the fine old Manor House of one branch of the Tresham family, now the rectory house, is concealed from our view.

The *interior* of the church of St. Peter's exceeds the exterior in interest. It has a spacious chancel, well lighted by long windows. The large east window contains five chief compartments, with smaller ones above. The stained glass of this and other windows had been taken out since Fuller's time; but the present rector, on coming to the parish, collected many of the scattered pieces and carefully replaced them. This window contains representations of two of the oldest rectors, and the words which run round the figures serve to fix the date of the window. Of the one rector it says, *Orate pro anima*, and of the other (William de Luffwicke, 1335 to 1380), *Orate pro vita*. The other windows—of which there are three on the south and one on the north side—are also remarkable. Of the former, one has a compartment quite low down formerly closed with a shutter, and it is supposed to have been used by the priest for receiving confessions or distributing alms. In the glass above are ancient figures of Saint George and Saint Christopher. Around the glass in this window is a border of a dog and hare alternately. "The dog," says the historian of the hamlet, "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*:"

i.e.; Ratcliffe and Catesby under King Richard "who gave a boar for his crest."¹

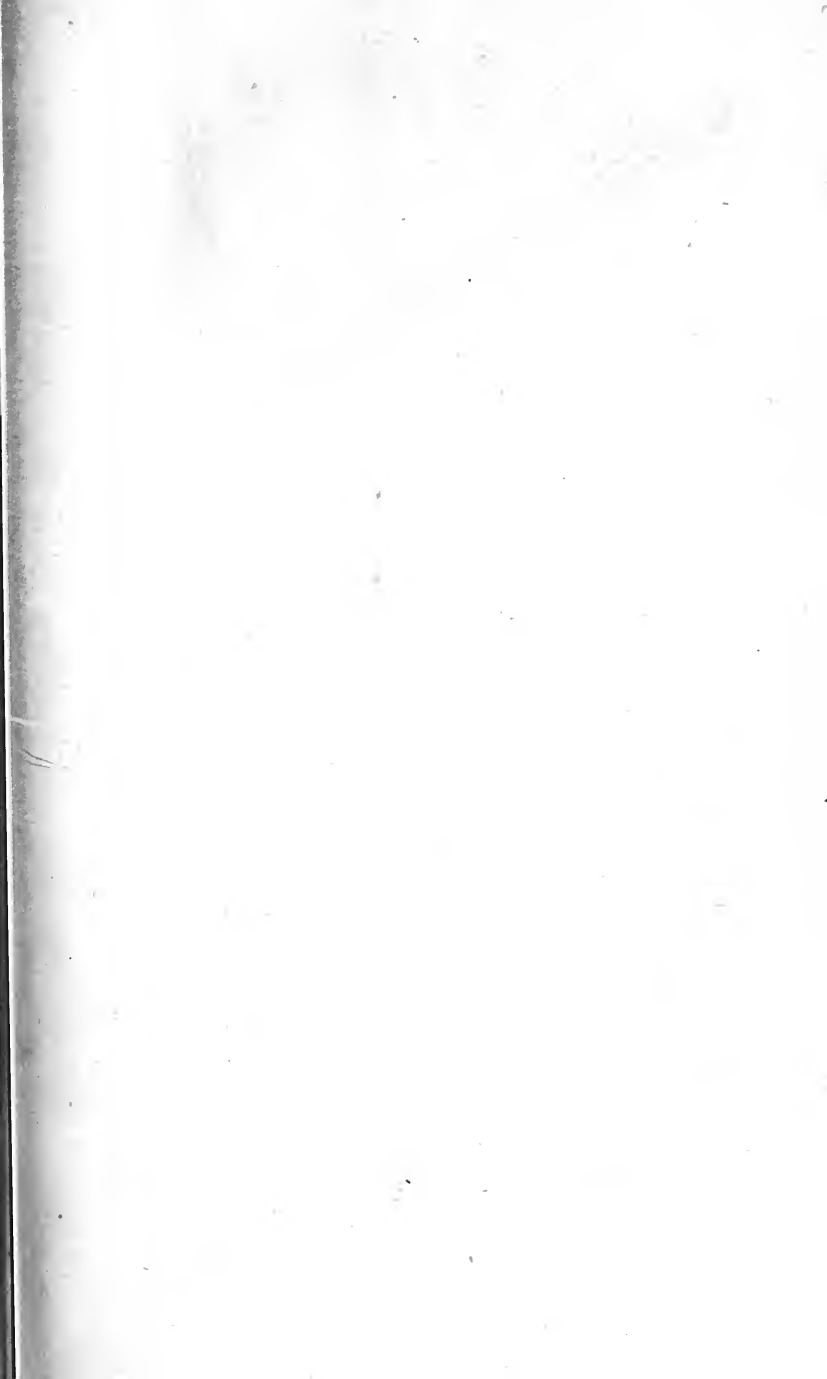
Other parts of the edifice are indicative of great antiquity.

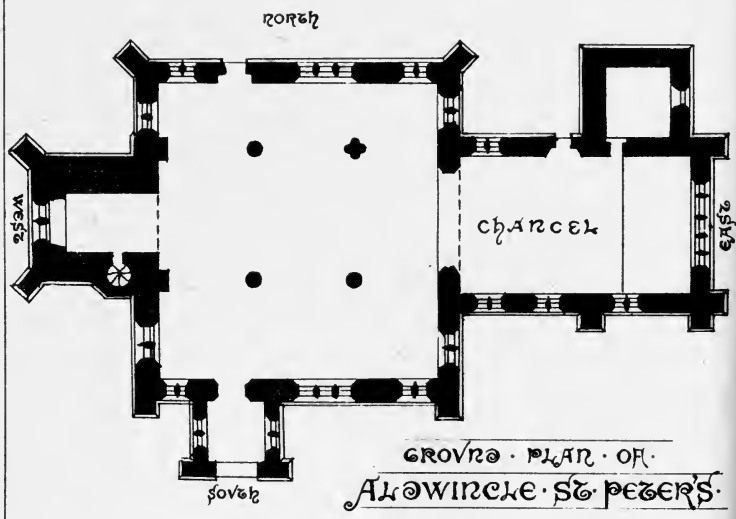
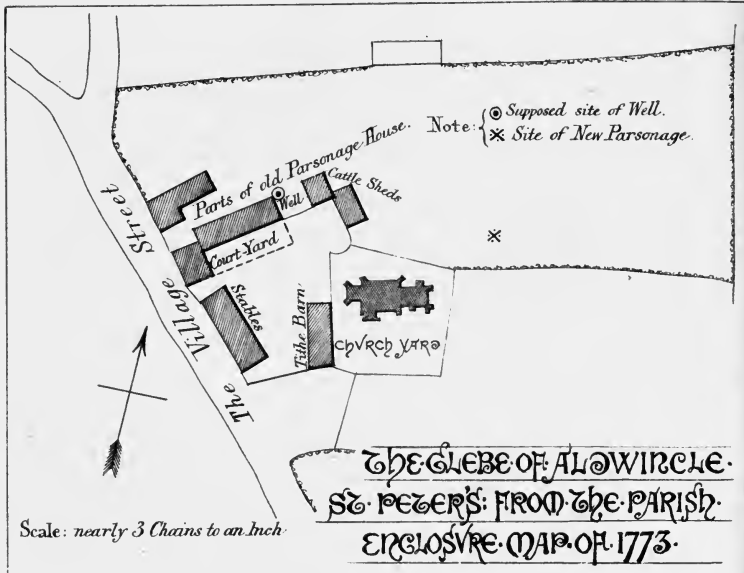
¹ *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 287.

A pillar in the north aisle has a capital with a plain square abacus, which might be pronounced unmistakeably Norman; but the other pillars, all differing from each other, belong to rather later times. The well-carved font is Early English. Traces of reconstruction at various periods are evident. There are also indications of the former existence of two side altars, with remains of what seems to be old screen-work. Among other curiosities of the church is an antique triple-locked chest, in which is preserved an edition of Erasmus' *Paraphrase*, dated 1548.

But much as one's interest may be excited by the village and the church from their connection with our worthy, the imagination looks round with a stronger fondness for his home. But, alas! it would be sought in vain. For, the "benefice" in which Fuller has already told us that he "saw the first light" was the Parsonage-house of this upper part of the village; and it was pulled down some eighty years ago by the first Powys owner. This is much to be regretted, inasmuch as the house seems to have been regarded as a curiosity; and was still talked about when Rev. H. Ward first came to the parish. There are none now living in the neighbourhood who can remember to have seen the old building. It stood on the glebe, north-west of the church, and close to the village street, its site being plainly indicated by inequalities of the ground. A well, still in good condition, is all that now remains. This single memorial of Fuller's birthplace is interesting from the fact that he often drank thereof himself, and that it serves to fix very accurately the position of the house. A very old villager, who was well acquainted with the parsonage, told the rector, Mr. Ward, many years ago, that it stood close to the back-door—a capital position, which Fuller must have been thinking about when he wrote that the mischief of many houses was where the servants must bring the well on their shoulders.¹ From the same informant, who had the house vividly before her mind's eye, Mr. Ward obtained many other details which he thoughtfully preserved. So minute was her description of the house that, says Mr. Ward, "I almost seem to have seen it myself." From the particulars thus obtained, which were courteously communicated to me, a pretty close idea may be formed as to the appearance it presented and the position it occupied. Other ancient villagers furnished further details, which Mr. Ward added to his plan.

¹ He has observations on this topic in reference to the high elevation of the town of Shaftesbury in his sermon, *Strange Justice*.





Standing by the well, the inequalities of the ground still to be seen (and which were much plainer a few years ago) exactly agree with the description given. A glance at these marks shows that it must have been a large and substantial erection. Upon rebuilding the outer wall of the glebe land on the "street" side, some 25 yards from the well, the foundations of the house were found to have extended so far. The kitchens were described as remarkably curious, being partly underground with windows placed high up in the walls. These kitchens, or lower rooms, seem to have extended from the well right up to the "street" which the parsonage overlooked. Besides the foundations, flues were discovered on excavating for the wall alluded to.

The building altogether was most peculiar in construction, thoroughly old-fashioned, and very quaint. It is safely conjectured to have been a half-timbered house; for when it was pulled down vast quantities of wood are said to have been taken away from the walls and the "frame" of it. It was such a house as was described by Fuller—"a substantive, able to stand of itself." It had, like many of the houses still standing, a high-peaked roof. Some of the rooms were represented as being of great size; others were said to form in some way a sort of tower, three stories high, each being smaller than the one below it. The chambers, moreover, were hung with cloth of blue and green, and in some parts with old tapestries. We seem here to be in such chambers as those which Chaucer pictures in his *Dream* as being—

"—full well depainted
And al the walls with colors fine
Were painted to the text and glose
And al the *Romaunt of the Rose*." ¹

One of the rooms overlooked the "street," in front of some old cottages which have since been replaced. This, from a painful incident, was known as the *Minister's room*. A second looked down the street facing south. One end of the house thus faced the road; but the principal front was to the south.

The staircase also was remembered from its being particularly broad and massive, with great posts and timbers, "almost like the pillars in the church." This feature of the building excited attention in a district which is famed for huge oaken staircases, not unfrequently made of solid blocks of oak.

¹ Concerning the wrong side of such hangings, Fuller has some happy observations in his *Mixt Contemplations* (1660), p. 68.

These are prominent objects in most of the large old dwellings; being placed in the centres of large *rooms* rather than *halls*—a position which greatly adds to their massive appearance. In the present new parsonage of St. Peter's may be seen a staircase similar in style and arrangement, but not of course of the same massive character. The fact of such a staircase occurring in the old parsonage would tend to show that it was built in the time of Queen Elizabeth; for it is to her reign that this kind of staircase, with its broad handrails, massive balustrades, and rich carving, belongs. We may be sure that the old rectory or church contained a "lively draught" of that Queen's "fair" monument in Westminster; "every parish," says Fuller, "being proud of the shadow of her tomb."²

So singular an appearance did the parsonage present that, in the time of the old villager alluded to, people "used frequently to come on purpose to see the old house: it was so curious."

A little way distant from the rectory, and forming part of the western boundary of the church, stood a capacious *tithe-barn*, which, with stables, &c., occupied a large space: such buildings as these, says Fuller, "are too familiar which presume to be of the same pile" with the mansion.³

The present neat appearance of the grounds round the church would give a false idea of what it was in Fuller's day. The tithe-barn has long since disappeared; but adjoining it and the churchyard, and extending to the road in front of the church westward, there long remained the old tithe-yard, as it was called, and which now gives the name to the field in which the old rectory stood—"Tithe-yard Close." Through part of this yard had been the principal approach to the house; but in later times it had become a most untidy place, full of pools of water and filth from the trampling, &c., of the cattle which were fed in an old hovel close by the churchyard wall. Nothing of this now remains: the hovel has been "disan-

¹ There is a very handsome staircase in a manor-house, formerly belonging to the Tresham family, at Liveden, near Aldwinckle; a second in another manor-house of the Treshams, in the neighbouring village of Pilton; and again one at the mansion belonging to the Dreyden family, near Canons Ashby. In this latter house is a floored and wainscotted room which is said to have been made from a single oak which grew in the lordship.

² *Church-Hist.*, x. 5.

³ But in the previous generations they were more "presuming." Aubrey, speaking of the characteristics of the mansions of the time of the Plantagenets and Tudors, says in his quaint way: "The architecture of an old English gentleman's house (especially in Wiltshire and thereabouts) was a high strong wall, a gate house, a great hall, and parlours; and within the little green court where you come in, stood on one side the Barne. They then thought not the noise of the threshold ill musique."

nulled," as the villagers would say, the hollows of the yard filled up, and all thoroughly drained. Behind the old rectory, and extending by the side of and beyond the church, there was an extensive orchard, with a fine filbert walk; but these too have gone, though people still alive can remember some of the fruit trees.

Other parts of the land were perhaps occupied with gardens; but not (we may safely conclude) one of those gardens with which Fuller used to find fault, as feeding the eyes and starving both taste and smell. Such gardens were becoming common when Fuller thus spoke; and some years after his time one might have been seen at Boughton.

No one can read the description of this parsonage-home along with Fuller's essay, *Of Building*,¹ without coming to the conclusion that he was beholding in fancy this very house when he penned it—a fact which shows his fondness for his home. Besides what has been already mentioned, the parsonage was built in the "wholesome air" which he there commended for houses; wood and water were also "two staple commodities." "The former, I confess," he says, "hath made so much iron, that it must now [1640] be bought with the more silver, and grows daily dearer. But 'tis as well pleasant as profitable to see a house cased with trees, like that of Anchises in Troy [Vergil, *Aeneid*, ii. 299, 300],

—quanquam secreta parentis
Anchisæ domus arboribusque obtecta recessit.²

The worst is, where a place is bald of wood, no art can make it a periwig. As for water, begin with Pindar's beginning, ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ."

The "pleasant prospect" requisite for a house belonged also to the parsonage. It likewise answered his quaint requirement: "Country houses must be substantives, able to stand of themselves; not like city buildings, supported by their neighbours." "Beauty," we may certainly suppose, was "last to be regarded" in this dwelling; it being evidently "made to be *lived in*, not *looked at*." From its position as described, we may conclude that the mansion did not "look askint on a stranger, but accosted him right at his entrance."

¹ *Holy State*, p. 133.

² And tho' remote my father's palace stood,
With shades surrounded and a gloomy wood.—PITT.

—tho' deep in shade
My father's palace stood embayed.—CONINGTON.

The last rector who lived in the parsonage died in 1773. By that time the old building seems to have got out of repair, for the next rector, one of the Powys family, dwelt elsewhere, and let it to a person who took in weaving; or, as one of Rev. H. Ward's informants expressed it, "who used to spin *jarsey*." Since the date mentioned the rectors, until the present rector, have held the living in connection with some other in the neighbourhood where they have resided. Being gradually more and more neglected, the venerable house became dilapidated, and ultimately its end came. "It was pulled down in the first Lord Lilford's time; he" (the old lady¹ added) "as pulled down the old Church at Lilford, and the two fine houses at Tichmarsh—the Manor House and the Grove." The destruction of the parsonage must have occurred between the years of 1780–90, for other evidence tended to prove that it was standing some time after 1773. The demolition of the rectory was very sudden when it once began: vast quantities of timber and stone were yielded, heaps of the latter lying about until quite recently. (The hall of St. Peter's Manor had been destroyed long before the rectory.)

Here it was, then, that the elder Fuller addressed himself to the duties of a parish priest, his life varied only by occasional visits to his Alma Mater, to which, in 1605, he had further connected himself by being sworn *Lector Primarius*, or head lecturer, at Trinity College. A great event in his pastoral life at Aldwinckle, and one which, in common with other ministers, he would regard with mingled feelings, was the approach of the successor of Elizabeth, "by many small journeys and great feastings from Scotland to London;" for the King's route lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Aldwinckle. At Boughton he was feasted by Sir Edward Mountagu, his six sons (three of whom became Lords, and three Knights) bringing in the first six dishes.² Fuller mentions the entertainments in honour of James at Stamford and Hinchinbrook, the latter at the house of "Master Oliver Cromwell, where such his reception, that in a manner it made all former entertainments forgotten, and all futurè despair to do the like. All the pipes about the house expressed themselves in no other language than the several sorts of the choicest wines."³

About two years later (1607), while still minister of the parish, Mr. Fuller married JUDITH, a daughter of JOHN DAVENANT,

¹ Mr. Ward's informant.

² Ward's diary.

³ *Hist. Camb.* sect. vii. § 35, p. 137.

Writing in 1654, Fuller calls Sir Oliver "the most aged gent. and knight in England." (*Ch.-Hist.* vi. 367.)

Esq., a London citizen. I have failed to discover where he wooed and won his wife; but I doubt not that the missing marriage-register would be found among the neglected church-books of London. Our hero *Thomas* was their eldest son,¹ being born in June of the year 1608.

The family of Fuller's mother now claims notice: it will be found to be more complete than that of his father.

The DAVENANTS, who were of an ancient and respectable family, were descended from Sir John Davenant, who (*temp.* Henry III.) settled at Davenants' Lands in the parish of Sible Heningham [Heddingham], Essex.² 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, John Davenant, was a merchant-taylor of Watling-street, London, who was, says Fuller, "wealthy and religious."

His wife, Margaret Clarke, was the daughter and co-heiress of John Clarke,³ 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 the *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 consumptionous state of his body, and finding physic out of the kitchen more beneficial for him than that 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 his courtesy to her was founded 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."⁴

This little incident shows, first, that the Bishop Gardiner is

¹ Aldwincle register.

² *Worthies*, § London, p. 207. *Ch.-Hist.*, bk. xi. 176.

³ Fuller was informed, 1660, that one of this family, some seven score years since, built at his charges the market-

house of Farnham. (*Worthies*, § Surrey, p. 96.)

⁴ *Ch.-Hist.*, book viii. p. 17. When writing the life of Foxe, Fuller terms Gardiner (who persecuted him) "that cruel bloodhound." (*Abel Redeivivus.*)

not so black as he is painted. Fuller eagerly 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. The passage bears witness, in the next place, to the early attachment of the family to the Reformed religion.¹ It was this old lady's grandchild, Judith Davenant, who became the mother of Dr. Fuller.

One of Fuller's near relations is referred to in the following extract:² "In the year of our Lord 1606, there happened a sad overflowing of the Severn-sea, on both sides thereof, which some still alive do (*one, I hope, thankfully*) remember."

Fuller's baptism took place in the adjoining church on the 19th June, 1608. He had as 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 brother to, my mother."³ The two divines are intimately associated with their nephew Thomas, and as we shall frequently meet with their names, some account of them is necessary.

JOHN DAVENANT was a younger son of the John Davenant, merchant, already alluded to, and was born in 1572. "When an infant, newly able to go, he fell down a high pair of stairs, and rising up at the bottom, smiled, without having any harm; God and His good angels keeping him for further service in the church." He was educated a fellow-commoner at Queens' College, Cambridge, where he soon was offered a fellowship; but Fuller states that 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 plenty. (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 that want.")

Nevertheless, in 1597, Davenant became a member of the society; but he inherited his father's objection, as the following anecdote which is told of him shows. At a public election, he gave a negative vote against a near kinsman (Mr.

¹ The Fuller family boasts at least one Marian martyr. See Staunton's *Great Schools of England*, § Eton. A William Fuller, Joice Butler his wife, and his household, were received as members of the Church at Geneva, 12th July, 1556. Two years later his wife died. Burn's

Parish Registers, § Livre des Anglois, pp. 278 and 286.

² *Mixt Contemp.*, No. xxxvi. (1660). The date is "January, 1607," according to *Worthies*, § Monmouthshire, p. 55.

³ *Worthies*, § Camb., p. 154.

John Gore, Gilesden, Herts), afterwards knighted, and a most excellent scholar. "Cousin," said he, "I will satisfy your father that you have worth, but not want, enough to be one of our Society."¹ It is probable that at this time he was a college-associate of the elder Fuller. In his studies, Davenant "gave such an earnest of his future maturity," that Dr. Whitaker, hearing him dispute, uttered the prediction which afterwards came to pass, that he would prove to be the honour of the university:² as such we shall next meet with him.

ROBERT TOWNSON, a native of Cambridge, was educated at Queens' College, being admitted a sizar. With his future brother-in-law, Davenant, he became a Fellow in 1597. He was afterwards beneficed in Northamptonshire (1604), holding the vicarage of Wellingborough, and the rectory of Old, or Wold, near Brixworth, having been presented to the latter, in 1607, by William Tate and Francis Tate, Knts. of De la pré Abbey, near Northampton; this living he held till 1620. By this time he had married Margaret, who was probably the elder daughter of John Davenant, the merchant-taylor, and who was born in 1585.³

She bore her husband many children (thirteen survived), who, living at no great distance from Aldwinckle, would be the associates of their cousins, the Fullers, of whom there was soon a goodly number also. There are indications of an intimacy between Robert Townson and Thomas Fuller juniors. To this

¹ "In his elections," 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. Alban's, 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 outed 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."

(*Holy State*, p. 80.)

² *Worthies*, § London, p. 207; *Ch.-Hist.* xi. 176.

³ I have failed to find the record of the marriage, which is neither at Wellingborough nor Old. No children (so I am informed by Rev. R. P. Lightfoot, M.A.) are in the former register, but the latter contains the baptisms of the following:—*Anne* (June 29th, 1608); *John* (April 10th, 1610); *Bridgett* (July 19th, 1612); *Gartrude* (October 24th, 1613); *Raphe* (February 22nd, 1614-5); *Mary* (September 8th 1616); *Edward* (December, 7th, 1617). Rev. T. H. R. Shand, M.A., Rector of Old, who kindly gave me these particulars, says that at the bottom of the page of the register which contains the last of the above entries and the baptism for years 1618, 1619, the name of Francis Turland (curate to James Forsyth, who succeeded Dr. Townson as rector) occurs; and a clue is thus afforded as to the time when Townson ceased to reside here. He had, as will be seen, attracted the attention of the king, who gave him preferment. His other children were born elsewhere.

period belongs Fuller's recollections of Dr. Townson, who was, he says, "of a comely carriage, courteous nature, an excellent preacher;" adding that he was "becoming a pulpit with his gravity." Like others of Fuller's family, Townson had a retentive memory; for his nephew records that when he became D.D. he could say by heart the second book of the Aeneads, which he had learnt at school, without missing a verse.¹

These divines, our hero's uncles, both well benefited in the same county, were in his earliest days frequent guests at his father's parsonage. In after years Fuller showed the greatest regard for them, and was ever tender of their good repute.

To the same parsonage-house came, from the neighbourhood and the adjoining university, others also, whose conversation was as eagerly listened to by young Fuller as was that of his uncles. It appears that the elder Fuller was on terms of friendship with many of the divines and other notable people of his time; and the mention of their names will, in the absence of any definite knowledge of the country parson, help us to form an estimate of his character and attainments.

Among them in the first place we must mention Sir ROBERT COTTON, allied to the noble family of the Mountagus, of Boughton, near Kettering. He had, perhaps, been an intimate of Mr. Fuller at Trinity College, with which both were connected, and they were now neighbours; Cotton residing at his manor of Conington, near Denton, Hunts, west of Aldwinckle. He was known as the possessor of a famous library at Cotton House, near Westminster Hall, where the younger Fuller in after days had a ready admittance. Cotton was, besides, "one who had as much of the gentleman, antiquary, lawyer, good subject, and good patriot, as any in England."² His important services to the leaders of the popular party in various Parliaments, have frequently been acknowledged. Fuller found his acquaintance with the family to be valuable when writing his historical works. Other historians, both before and since, have also drawn materials from Cotton's stores. He was a most sound theoretical Protestant, says D'Ewes, "and hath in my hearing, most vehemently and learnedly opposed the Romish abominations."

Of Cotton Fuller records the following curious fact:—"That worthy Doctor [Harvey] hath made many converts to his seeming paradox, maintaining the circulation of blood running

¹ *Church-History*, x. 91; *Worthies*, § Camb., p. 153. The words, "by heart," are, in Nuttall's Ed. of *Worthies*, curiously

misprinted, "by art." See also *Å Wood's Fasti Oxon.*, ii. 283.

² Fuller, *The Appeal*, part i. 427.

round about the body of man. Nor is it less true that gentle blood fetcheth a circuit in the body of a nation, running from yeomanry, through gentry, to nobility, and so retrograde, returning through gentry to yeomanry again. My father hath told me from the mouth of Sir Robert Cotton, that that worthy knight met in a morning a true and undoubted Plantagenet,¹ holding the plough in the country."²

D'Ewes says that Cotton's practice and conversation was too contrary to that religion he approved in his judgment. The trouble which befel him consequent upon the seizure of his library, gave him (so D'Ewes is persuaded) "a full sight of his former sins, and was the happy occasion of his hearty and true repentance." He was attended on his deathbed by Fuller's friend, Dr. Holdsworth, rector of St. Peter's Poor. His death occurred shortly before that of his neighbour, the parson of Aldwinckle. His body was removed from London to Denton; and in the village church, which he had restored, he was buried. His library, then in custody, was left to his son. "I have heard," says Fuller, "that there was a design driven on in the Pope's conclave after the death of Sir Robert to compass this library to be added to that in Rome; which if so, what a Vatican had there been within the Vatican by the accession thereof! But blessed be God!) the project did miscarry."³ The library was finally bought by the Crown.

Dr. ROGER FENTON, one of the translators of the Bible, than whom "never a more learned hath Pembroke Hall brought forth, with but one exception" (*i.e.* Bishop Andrews), was likewise well acquainted with our author's father. Fenton was "the faithful, pious, learned, and beloved minister" of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London. Fuller mentions his great intimacy with *Dr. Nicholas Felton*, "being contemporaries, collegiates, and city ministers together, with some similitude in their surnames, but more sympathies in their natures;" and he tells

¹ Speaking of the Shire-reeves, he also again alludes, probably, to this circumstance: "I have reason to believe that some who justly hold the surnames and blood of the Bohuns, Mortimers, and Plantagenets (though ignorant of their own extractions), are hid in the heap of common-people, where they find that under a thatched cottage which some of their ancestors could not enjoy in a leaded castle—contentment, with quiet and security." (*Worthies*, chap. xv. p. 46.)

Richard is said to have had a son named John of Gloucester, "our beloved bastard," whom he made Captain of Calais. In 1720 it was discovered that he had had another son, Richard, who was brought up in obscurity, but acknowledged by the father the night before the engagement at Bosworth. He survived till the reign of Edward VI. (See Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.) From this account Richard Hall, the actor, composed the ballad of Richard Plantagenet.

³ *Worthies*, § Huntingdonshire, p. 52.

² *Church-History*, bk. ii. p. 170. King

the following anecdote of these two divines :—" Once my own father gave Dr. Fenton a visit, who excused himself from entertaining him any longer. ' Mr. Fuller,' said he, ' hear how the passing-bell tolls at this very instant for my dear friend Dr. Felton, now a-dying ; I must to my study, it being mutually agreed upon betwixt us in our healths, that the survivor of us should preach the other's funeral sermon.' But see a strange change. God, to whom belongs the issues from death (Psalm lxxviii. 20), was pleased (with the patriarch Jacob blessing his grandchildren) wittingly to guide his hands across, reaching out death to the living, and life to the dying (Genesis xlviii. 14). So that Dr. Felton recovered, and not only performed that last office to his friend Dr. Fenton, but also survived him more than ten years, and died [1626] Bishop of Ely."¹ Fenton died in 1615.

In another niche in Fuller's *Worthies* we find Dr. JOHN OVERALL, who was " most intimate " with Mr. Fuller. He wrote the sacramental part of the Catechism, and was one of the translators of the Bible. He was called " a prodigious learned man "—one of the giants in those days. Fuller cannot pass the name without the remark that he " carried superintendency " in it. He was a Cambridge man, succeeding the learned Whitaker as Regius Professor of Divinity. When Dean of St. Paul's, he was appointed to preach before the Queen ; and he professed to the elder Fuller " that he had spoken Latin so long, it was troublesome to speak English in a continued oration." He became (1618) Bishop of Norwich, and was " a discreet presser of conformity." He had great influence among divines of other countries as well as of his own. Fuller speaks of him as " one of the most profound school-divines of the English nation ; " and as being " one of a strong brain to improve his great reading, and accounted one of the most learned controversial divines of those days." It is thought to be from him that Fuller learnt certain particulars given in the *Church History* of the divorce of the Earl of Essex from Lady Frances Howard.²

In Fuller's writings we meet with other casual references to his father which tend to heighten still further one's respect for the old man. Thus, he was " well-acquainted " with the celebrated Puritan, RICHARD GREENHAM, the author of devout works which were highly esteemed. During the Sabbatarian controversy, this divine wrote a work which attained great

¹ *Worthies*, § Lancashire, p. 116.

² *Worthies*, § Suffolk, p. 61 ; *Church-Hist.* x. 86 ; Russell's *Life of Andrewes*, p. 380.

popularity; and Fuller assures us that "no book in that age made a greater impression on people's practice" in regard to the duties of the Lord's Day. Greenham was beneficed at Dry Drayton, near Cambridge; and, being an effective preacher, he was often invited to preach at the University. "He always bitterly inveighed against non-residents." He was afterwards over-intreated to go to London, where he preached up and down in no constant place. Fuller was informed by his father that Greenham in some sort repented this removal from his parish, disliking his own erratical and planetary life. He died of the plague about 1592. "He lived sermons," adds Fuller.¹

If, therefore, we judge of the elder Fuller by his friends, we may conclude that he was a man widely known and respected; one given to study; and that if "below eminency" in learning, he was "above contempt." Apart from the marked repetition of his character which we shall notice in his son, there are other facts and indications which show us that he was a man who will bear looking at. Thus, his son speaks of him as the "*painful* preacher of St. Peter's," words which attest his devotion to his pastoral charge. It is specially recorded of him that amidst the religious and other vexed questions of the period, he strenuously endeavoured not only to fulfil the apostolic injunction ("calm counsel," as the younger Fuller once called it), "As much as lieth in you live peaceably with all men;" but also that of the Psalmist, "Seek peace and pursue it." A Northamptonshire village formed a suitable field in Mr. Fuller's time for the practical exemplification of his convictions in this respect. The county had for some time encouraged tenets which met with little favour under the ecclesiastical government of King James. The rulers of the Church found there continual employment in advancing conformity; the result being that in the civil war the county formed an exception to the general fact that the agricultural districts sided with the Royalists. The bishop of the see (Peterborough), during the connection of Fuller with the county, was THOMAS DOVE (1601-30); and of him our Church-historian says, that though *Doves* are said to want gall, the Nonconformists of that diocese "will complain of his severity in asserting ecclesiastical discipline, when he silenced five of them in one morning." "Had he been more careful," adds Fuller, "in conferring of orders (too *commonly* bestowed by him), few of his order had exceeded him for the unblameableness of his behaviour."²

One ecclesiastical trouble in the county at the end of the six-

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* ix. 219-20.

² *Ibid.* xi. 141.

teenth century was the rapid extension of PRESBYTERIANISM. To it the Church-historian devotes a few pages.¹ He relates how *Thomas Stone*, the parson of Warkton (a village eight or ten miles west of Aldwinckle), was examined in regard to meetings of Presbyterians in this county and elsewhere, giving Stone's replies "faithfully by me transcribed out of a confession written with his own hand, and lately in my possession." "I have insisted," adds he, "the longer on this deposition, because the first and fullest that I find in the kind thereof, containing their *classes* more formally settled in Northamptonshire than anywhere else in England."² Stone's confession, it appears, offended his brethren. Fuller quotes his vindication ("carefully transcribed" from Stone's letters to his friends); but he does not know whether it gave satisfaction. "Sure I am the bishops till his dying day beheld him as an ingenuous man, carrying his conscience with the reason thereof in his own breast and not pinning it on the precedent of any other; whereupon they permitted him peaceably to possess his parsonage (being none of the meanest), though he continued a stiff Nonconformist, only quietly enjoying his own opinion. Indeed, he was a down-right Nathanael." He "died quietly, an old man, *Anno 1617*," at Warkton.

Others of Fuller's associates in the ministry, such as his neighbour, the Rev. H. Pykering, the parson of Aldwinckle All Saints, were similar "stiff Nonconformists." Their position in the national church was not much improved by the death, in 1610, of Bancroft, with whom, as Heylyn says, the uniformity of the Church of England died.

The LECTURERS were another source of trouble in Northamptonshire. They were for the most part encouraged by the gentry, the Dreydens and Pykerings of Tichmarsh (near Aldwinckle), who were afterwards staunch adherents to the Parliament in the war, befriending them. The common people also regarded them favourably. These lectureships being in the hands of those who were mainly Puritans, the king was eager to have them suppressed; and some of the bishops were no less so. Upon being deprived of their livings, the lecturers appealed to the law; but the judges declared that the proceedings taken against them were lawful; and they were either silenced or suspended. Relying at first on the supposed favour of the king, they petitioned him under the countenance of Sir Edward Mountagu and others of the Northamptonshire gentry.

¹ *Church-Hist.* ix. 206-10.

² ix. 209. In more recent times Presbyterian academies were formed in this county.

The county gentlemen were in consequence summoned to attend at the Star Chamber, where it was declared that their associating in petitions for such ends was little less than treason; and upon their refusal to sign a submission, their offices as justices, &c., were taken from them. It was even once proposed to send some of them to serve the King of Denmark.¹

The persecution of the lecturers and their adherents was long and bitter. Among the former was another Northamptonshire minister whom Fuller speaks of with great respect—*John Dod*, one of his Cheshire Worthies. Dod held successively livings at Hanwell (Oxon), Fenny Compton (Warwickshire), Canons Ashby and Fausley (Northamptonshire), “though for a time silenced in each of them.” About 1627 he was engaged preaching to the imprisoned gentry in the Marshalsea, on one occasion taking the text, Rev. ii. 10. Fuller describes him as “a *passive Nonconformist*,” not loving anyone the worse for difference in judgment about ceremonies, but all the better for their unity of affections in grace and goodness.” He was much revered by his flock. “The vicinage of Fausley, where Mr. Dod died [in 1645, aged 87], knew then they were bereaft of a worthy treasure, tho’ ignorant in the particulars of their losses till daily discovery hath by this time made them sensible thereof.” “By nature,” we are told, Dod “was a witty, by industry a learned, by grace a godly divine.” With him, adds Fuller, “the old Puritan seemed to expire.”²

Other facts as to schism and heresy in the Church (to be presently adduced) would seem to indicate pretty clearly that a parish like Aldwinckle at such a time was not at ecclesiastical peace with itself. Yet here the elder Fuller, a devoted Churchman, but not a bigot, laboured for thirty years, endeavouring amidst serious drawbacks to avoid every occasion of strife; peacefully evading the many disputed topics—political and religious—of that disputatious period. The anonymous biographer of Dr. Fuller (who is our authority for representing the father in the light of a peacemaker) characterises the age as one which “laboured under the fatigues of most importunate Puritanism and pleading Popery.”³

We may, therefore, be sure that the following passage will apply to the elder as truly as it afterwards suited the character of the younger Fuller:—

“*He [i.e. the Faithful minister] is moderate in his tenets and*

¹ See Winwood ii. 49. *Court and Times of Charles I.*, i. 189.

² *Worthies*, § Cheshire, pp. 181, 182; *Ch.-Hist.* xi. 220.

³ *Life*, p. 2.

opinions. Not that he gilds over lukewarmness in matters of moment with the title of discretion, but withal he is careful not to entitle violence in indifferent and inconcerning matters to be zeal. Indeed, men of extraordinary tallness, tho' otherwise little deserving, are made porters to lords, and those of unusual littleness are made ladies' dwarfs, whilst men of moderate stature may want masters. Thus many notorious for extremities may find favourers to prefer them, whilst moderate men in the middle truth may want any to advance them. But what saith the apostle? 'If in this life only we have hope, we are of all men most miserable.'¹

This is one passage out of many to be met with in Fuller's writings in which he exalts moderation. Deriving sound opinions in this matter from his father, he tenaciously held them, through good report and evil report, throughout his life.

The elder Fuller evidently belonged to that class of men who (in his son's words) were pious, but not so eminently learned, very painful and profitable in God's vineyard. "Yea," we find the son asserting, "the general weight of God's work in the Church *lieth on men of middle and moderate parts.* That servant who improved his two talents into four, did more than the other who increased his five into ten. Tradesmen will tell you it's harder to double a little than treble a great deal; seeing great banks easily improve themselves by those advantages which smaller sums want. And surely many honest, though not so eminent ministers, who employ all their might in God's service, equal (if not exceed) both in His acceptance and the Church's profit, the performance of such who far exceed them in abilities."²

Yet Fuller's father did not wholly escape molestation. He suffered as did many other good ministers in the Star Chamber times. Perhaps he got into trouble in consequence of what would be called his "lukewarmness." At some period during Fuller's boyhood, he came under the censure of the High Commission Court, who must have been greatly harassed by the intractability of the Northamptonshire clergy. The particulars³ I have in vain endeavoured to ascertain; but the fact rests on the authority of Fuller's son, who, in his notice of

¹ *Holy State*, p. 78.

² *Hist. Univ. Camb.* sect. vi. § 10, p. 93.

³ There is no mention of the elder Fuller in any of the printed records of the Acts of the High Commission Court in the Calendar of State Papers (Dom.

S.) In the volume for 1634, indeed, "Thomas Fuller," clerk, of London, is fined £20 on February 18, for "contempt in non-appearance" (p. 480); but this could not be Fuller senior, since he was then dead.

Dr. Valentine Carey (or Carew), "a complete gentleman and excellent scholar," thus gratefully makes record: "He once unexpectedly owned *my nearest relation* in the *High Commission Court*, when in some distress; for which courtesy, I, as heir to him who received the favour, here publicly pay this my due thanks unto his memory."¹

Carey had probably become acquainted with Fuller senior at St. John's College, to which both belonged. The former became Master of Christ's College in 1610, Vice-Chancellor in 1612, and Dean of St. Paul's in 1617. There are a few particulars of him in Hacket's *Life of Williams*, to whom he partly owed his rise. He seems to have been very eager to advance himself in the Church.² In 1617, Carey, with Andrewes, Laud, and others, attended King James to Scotland. "Exceptions were taken by the Scotch at Dr. Laud, for putting on a surplice at a funeral, and at the Dean of St. Paul's [*i.e.* Carey] for commending the soul of the deceased to God, which he was forced to retract."³ He ultimately became Bishop of Exeter (1621), where, in after years, Fuller was told how "bountiful above expectation" he had been in relieving the poor when that city was visited with "the sickness." He died 1626.

Another view of the character of the elder Fuller may be gathered from the orderly way in which he has kept the register of the parish under his care. Not Bishop Percy, who at one time, it will be remembered, held a Northamptonshire rectory (Easton Maudit), has bestowed greater care in this respect. For a *village* register, the book at Aldwinckle is a *very* old one, dating from the middle of the 16th century. It is written on stout parchment and is oblong in shape. One of Fuller's predecessors seems to have copied the earlier entries from an older register; and he has written the names with great care and beauty, in ink which is still black. Fuller's entries are also neatly written in his own hand, each page being signed at the foot. In the registers kept by the son, still to be seen, as at St. Bene't's, Cambridge, at Broadwindsor, and elsewhere, we see the father's carefulness reproduced with interest. The younger Fuller, who turned over many a parish register during his life, regarded the proper keeping of them as most important; in the *Worthies*,⁴ he condemns the carelessness of those who did not know where they were born. Among the

¹ *Worthies*, § Northumberland, p. 305.

² Ministers, Fuller somewhere argues, should not disregard their temporal advancement; even Moses had an eye to the recompense of reward.

³ Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series), James I., under date June 21, 1617.

⁴ Cap. xxiii. p. 65.

entries in the Aldwinckle register, we see year after year the record of the baptisms of the pastor's seven children, headed by his first-born Thomas, who thus "brought his parents the first news of male posterity and was well rewarded for his tidings."¹

The following is a complete list of the children,² with the dates of their baptisms:—

Elizabeth, 22 January, 1609; *Margaret*, 31 March, 1611; *Maria*, 13 September, 1612; *Judith*, 21 November, 1613; *John*, 31 July, 1615; *Anne*, 23 March, 1616.

Turning over the leaves still further, the handwriting is suddenly changed; then a disorderly page of ill-written names attests to the troubled days of the civil war.

¹ See Fuller's character of "The Elder Brother:" *Holy State*, p. 40.

² The kindness of Rev. H. Ward, of Aldwinckle, enables me to give this list

complete for the first time. The dates are, of course, according to the old reckoning.





CHAPTER III.

FULLER'S BOYHOOD (1616-21).

FULLER'S ORBILIUS. — SCHOOLMASTERSHIP. — AUBREY'S NOTICE OF FULLER. — FOXE'S "BOOK OF MARTYRS." — DEATH OF MARGARET DAVENANT. — THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE ALDWINCLES. — ROBERT BROWNE, THE BROWNIER. — FRANCIS TRESHAM, THE CONSPIRATOR. — FULLER'S MODERATION. — THE LOCAL SPEECH. — PREFERMENT OF FULLER'S UNCLER.

"And if the Scholar to such height did reach,
Then what was he who did that Scholar teach?"

Worthies, § Hartfordshire, p. 26.

HERE are not many particulars recorded of Fuller as a boy; but they are peculiarly suggestive. At an early age, he was sent to a private school in his native village, where he remained about four years. He was under the care of Rev. ARTHUR SMITH,¹ of whom, although little is known, the particulars must be carefully recorded here; because the eminency of the pupil has commended his memory to posterity, who otherwise in obscurity had altogether been forgotten. That pupil afterwards used this reason as a motive for making schoolmasters careful in their place: "Who had ever heard of R. Bond, in Lancashire, but for the breeding of learned Ascham his scholar?"² Fuller's Schoolmaster, then, was probably B.A. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, 1608, and

¹ "THOMAS FULLER filius THOMÆ FULLER S.S. Theol. baccal. et quondam Collegii S. et indiv. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses Socii, Rectoris Ecclesiæ Sti. Petri in villa de Aldwinckle in Comitatu Northamptoniensi, literis grammaticis in Schola privata in dicta parœcia præceptore MRO. ARTHURO SMITH, Oundalientiensi Ecclesiæ post vicario per quadrennium plus minus institutus, admissus est in Coll. Reginalē Ann. 1622 sub tutela Reverendissimi viri JO. DAVENANTII S.S.,

Theol. professoris, Episcopi Sarisburiensis et Collegii magistri avunculi sui; usus dein tutoribus MRO. EDVARDO DAVENANTIO et MRO. THORPE. Jbidem gradu baccalaureatus primò, 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 S.S. Theol. professore."—*Sidney-Sussex College Register*.

² *Holy State*, p. 88.

M.A., 1612.¹ His name occurs in the register of the adjoining hamlet of Achurch as "Curat" between 1617 and 1626, during the absence of Robert Browne, the Brownist.² The register, quoted in the foot-note, shows that Smith ultimately became Vicar of Oundle, where it is known that he compounded for his first-fruits. "Master Arthur Smith," "my schoolmaster," is *once* alluded to in Fuller's writings, as claiming kindred with that Capt. John Smith who was instrumental in settling the Colony of Virginia.³ The passage would perhaps imply that Smith was fond of talking to his pupils about the naval achievements of the heroes of the reign of the great Queen. Fuller speaks gratefully, and in terms of commendation, of all his other instructors; and the absence of his usual gratitude in this case is noticeable. An explanation of it may be gathered from a remark in the Anonymous Life, where we are told that Mr. Smith was not "apt to teach." "The youth," it is stated, "had lost some time under the ill menage of a raw and unskilful schoolmaster."⁴ Fuller's four years' tuition could not therefore have passed very pleasantly; and in after years he must have had a vivid recollection of his schoolmaster.

"—Memini quæ plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare."

In his notice of Lilye the Grammarian,⁵ he naively interjects the confession that he was *often beaten for his sake!* In like manner, of Richard Mulcaster, the first Master of Merchant Taylors' School,—another *plagosus Orbilius*—he says "it may be truly said (and *safely for one out of his school*) that others have taught as much learning with fewer lashes!"⁶

The educational advantages of Aldwinckle and the neighbourhood cannot have ranked high at this time. When Fuller's young brother, John, was ready to enter school, it would appear (from the notice on the books at Sidney-Sussex College) that he was sent in the first place to Oundle Grammar School,⁷ under

¹ *Russell's Memorials*, p. 20.

² *N. & Q.* (2nd Series), ix. 148.

³ *Worthies*, § Cheshire, p. 179.

⁴ Page 2.

⁵ *Worthies*, § Norfolk, p. 257.—Of Lilye's famous Grammar, Fuller says that it was "universally taught all over England." (*Ch.-Hist.*, bk. v. p. 167.) "Many since have altered and bettered his grammar; and amongst them my worthy friend *Dr. Charles Scarborough*; calculating his short, clear, and true rules for the meridian of his own son, which in

due time may serve for general use." (*Worthies*, § Hants, p. 11). Scarborough was Fuller's contemporary at Cambridge; Aubrey (*Letters*, ii. 572) speaking of him at Caius College, Cambridge, as an "ingenious young student."

⁶ *Worthies*, § Westmoreland, p. 140.

⁷ Fuller however says of this school that it "hath been, to my knowledge, the nursery of many scholars, most eminent in the University."—*Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 293.

Master Samuel Cobb. He next went to a school at Aldwincle, under the care of a Scotchman, Archibald Simmers. From the fact that he afterwards attended another school in Beds., we judge that there was no improvement since his brother's time. In the following passage we get some notion of the kind of schoolmasters here alluded to: "There is scarce any profession in the commonwealth more necessary, which is so slightly performed. The reasons whereof I conceive to be these: First, young scholars make this calling their refuge, yea, perchance, before they have taken any degree in the university, commence schoolmasters in the country, as if nothing else were required to set up this profession but only a rod and a *ferula*. Secondly, others who are able use it only as a passage to better preferment, to patch the rents in their present fortune till they can provide a new one, and betake themselves to some more gainful calling. Thirdly, they are disheartened from doing their best with the miserable reward which in some places they receive, being masters to the children, and slaves to their parents. Fourthly, being grown rich, they grow negligent, and scorn to touch the school but by the proxy of an usher."¹

Fuller had sound notions as to what a schoolmaster ought to be, as the admirable essay just quoted from shows. He held the profession in as high estimation as did Sydney Smith; for when speaking of Thomas Robertson, the grammarian, who had an admirable faculty in teaching of youth, Fuller pens the following pregnant passage:—"Every *boy* can teach a *man*; whereas he must be a *man* who can teach a *boy*. It is easy to inform them who are able to understand; but it must be a masterpiece of industry and discretion to descend to the capacity of children."²

The elder Fuller determined apparently to devote his first-born son, from his earliest days, to the service of that Church in which so many members of the family had engaged themselves. The worthy pastor gave his best gift. This was a course of conduct by no means common; for in one of his books, the younger Fuller thus speaks of the father of Franciscus Junius devoting his son to the law: "Like to many now adays, who begrutch their pregnant children to God's service, reserving straight timber to be beams in other buildings, and only condemning crooked pieces for the temple; so that what is found unfit for city, camp, or court,—not to add, ship and shop—is valued of worth enough for the church."³

¹ *Holy State*, p. 99.

² *Worthies*, § Yorkshire, p. 209.

³ *Abel Redeivius*, p. 445, orig. ed.

The remaining part of the youth's education was carried out with this end in view. His progress in his studies was now more satisfactory than heretofore, for they were conducted under the superintendence of his well-qualified father. "In a little while," says his biographer, "such a proficiency was visibly seen in him, that it was a question whether he owed more to his father for his birth or education."¹

The diligence and attention which he manifested at this time of his life in the pursuit of knowledge is referred to in laudable terms by his biographer. "He was admirably learned before it could be supposed he had been taught."² His progress was thus remarkably quick; he attacked his books as though he had already begun to love them. The application he now exhibited clung to him through life, and became one of the striking features in his character. There is every reason to believe that he was a most precocious lad; and in consequence of his mental forwardness, his boyhood would be of brief duration. At this period of his life he would, no doubt, be regarded by his companions as an *old* boy. According to the "Grammar of boys' natures," which, he holds, an experienced schoolmaster may quickly make of his scholars, Fuller would fall under the head of those whom he calls "ingenious and industrious." "The conjunction of two such planets in a youth," he says, "presage much good unto him."³

Fuller's premature development of mind is referred to as a noticeable feature by that interesting old gossip Aubrey, who has given us a brief notice of Fuller's early days, which so lights up this period of our hero's life that we may see him very clearly. Aubrey was intimate with Fuller's cousin, and with other members of the family; and although he is sometimes untrustworthy, he may be worthy of credence here. If, however, he is correct as to his facts, he is careless as usual in the way in which he has put them together. His words are: "He was a boy of a pregnant witt, and when the bp. [*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. He was of a middle stature, stronge sett, curled haire. A very working head: insomuch, that walking and meditating before dinner, he would eate up a penny-loafe not knowing that he did it."⁴

Taking the last portion of this extract to refer (with the first)

¹ *Life*, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ See *The Good Schoolmaster: Holy*

⁴ This notice may be seen in *Letters of*

Eminent Persons, &c., vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 355 (ed. 1813). We quote from Aubrey's original MS. in the Bodleian, Pars iii. fol. 9b.

to Fuller's boyhood, our hero must have had already that "pleasant ruddiness," that "grave and serious aspect," that "comely light-coloured hair," which so well became him afterwards. Aubrey's words also present Fuller to us as a strange sort of lad, thus early in life fond of company and of conversation, which his presence no doubt did much to enliven; eager also to pick up ideas and to ponder over them. His intercourse with his elders was not without its effect. It was, we may be sure, amidst the grave and witty society of his father's quaint parsonage that our budding author was schooled, among other things, into that inveterate habit of *punning*; which he afterwards carried to so great an extent in his writings and conversation. At this time, the vice of punning was a characteristic of every writer and person of distinction: they

"could not open
Their mouth, but out there flew a trope."

It is Addison who, in one of his *Spectators*, reminds us that "The age in which *the Punn* chiefly flourished, was the Reign of King *James I.* That learned Monarch was himself a tolerable Punster, and made very few Bishops or Privy-Counsellors that had not some time or other signalized themselves by a Clinch or a *Conundrum*. It was therefore in this Age that the Punn appeared with Pomp and Dignity. It had before been admitted into merry Speeches and ludicrous Compositions, but was now delivered with great Gravity from the Pulpit, or pronounced in the most solemn manner at the Council-Table. The greatest Authors, in their most serious Works, made frequent use of Puns. The Sermons of Bishop *Andrews* and the Tragedies of *Shakespeare* are full of them. The Sinner was punned into Repentance by the former, as in the latter nothing is more usual than to see a Hero weeping and quibbling for a dozen Lines together."¹

Fuller, therefore, only followed the quaintness, *i.e.* the "elegancy," of the age which bred him; at the same time he did more than they all to raise the word-quibbling of his "betters" to the dignity of genuine English wit. Associated with such personages as those we have glanced at, it need not be wondered that little Fuller (like one of the historical characters which he has depicted) rapidly became "well learned, especially in history; liberal; *very witty*, and very pleasant in discourse. He would often give a smart jest, which would make the place both blush and bleed where it lighted.

¹ *Spectator*, No. 61.

Yet this was the better taken at his hands, because he cherished not a cowardly wit in himself, to wound men behind their backs, but played on them freely to their faces; yea, and never refused the coin he payed them in, but would be contented to be the subject of a good jest; and sometimes he was well-favouredly met with, as the best fencer in wit's school hath now and then an unhappy blow dealt him."¹

Not the least noticeable fact in Aubrey's note is the reference to Fuller's excellent appetite. Throughout life he had a robust body and a good constitution: when a middle-aged man, he spoke of never having had up to that time a moment's sickness. He has also made reference to his broad and strong back. Unlike most literary characters, Fuller, therefore, will never weary us with sickness until near his death.

It is in full accordance with Aubrey's statements to find that in his young days Fuller was a reader of wise books, choosing, as was natural, those containing pictures. One of the books which we know he had much in his hands during his childhood was a copy of Foxe's great folio, which was all the more attractive to the little fellow by reason of its illustrations. His own words are: "When a child, I loved to look on the pictures in *The Book of Martyrs*."² We can imagine him in the old parsonage sitting at the feet of his saintly grandmother, who had lived in the reign of Mary, and who when a little girl had stood in awe in the presence of Bishop Gardiner. We may be sure that the old lady was as ready to talk of those old times as her grandchild was to listen. Her influence, and that of Fuller's parents, may plainly be seen in a passage³ in Fuller's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, written (1641) against those who had "cried

¹ *Holy Warre*, Bk. ii. cap. xxiv. p. 74.

² *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Mixt Contemplations* (ed. 1657), p. 83.

³ *Holy State*, p. 279. The passage is prefixed by the following "digression: "I have within the narrow scantling of my experimental remembrance observed strange alteration in the world's valuing of those learned men; and take it plainly without welt or guard; for he that smarts for speaking truth hath a playster in his own conscience." He concludes: "Thus the prices of martyrs' ashes rise and fall in Smithfield market. However, their real worth floats not with people's fancies, no more than a rock in the sea rises and falls with the tide" (p. 280).

In his *Church-History* he shows what use was to be made of the martyrs' sufferings, saying that we should "embrace

and defend that doctrine which they sealed with their lives; and, as occasion shall be offered, to vindicate and assert their memories from such scandalous tongues and pens as have or shall traduce them" (viii. 24).

Of these detractors, he again wrote about 1660: "I confess I have formerly met with some men who would not allow them for martyrs, making them little better than *felons de se*, wilfully drawing their blood on themselves. Most of these I hope are since convinced in their judgment, and have learned more charity in the school of affliction, who by their own losses have learned better to value the lives of others, and now will willingly allow martyrship to those from whom they wholly withheld (or grudgingly gave) it before." (*Worthies*, cap. iii. p. 9.)

down" the martyrs in that age, but in particular against "the author of the book lately printed of *Causes hindering Reformation in England*" (i.e. John Milton, of whom Fuller says: "One lately hath traduced them with such language as neither besemed his parts, whosoever he was, that spake it, nor their piety of whom it was spoken"): "When I was a child, I was possessed with a reverend esteem of them [the Marian martyrs], as most holy and pious men, dying martyrs in the reign of Queen Mary, for the profession of the truth; which opinion having from my parents taken quiet possession of my soul, they must be very forcible reasons which eject it." It is no wonder that the child grew into as staunch a Protestant as his great-grandmother, Gardiner's housekeeper, and that he so heartily revered the memories of "our first reformers, reverend Cranmer, learned Ridley, downright Latimer, zealous Bradford, pious Philpot, patient Hooper; men that had their failings, but worthy in their generations."¹

So deep an impression did the rude illustrations in Foxe leave on his mind, that he vividly recalled them even forty years afterwards. Many of these pictures indeed were well calculated to have this effect. The old copies of this famous book answer to that description by Wordsworth:—

"Profuse in garniture of wooden cuts,
Strange and uncouth; dire faces, figures dire,
Sharp-knee'd, sharp-elbowed, and lean-ankled too,
With long and ghastly shanks—forms which, once seen,
Could never be forgotten."²

There is another childish recollection of the book in a passage which attracted the attention of Hartley Coleridge: ³ "Oh, there is more to make one valiant than to call Cranmer or Jewell coward;⁴ as if the fire in Smithfield had been no hotter than

¹ *Serm. of Reformation.*

² Hartley Coleridge says: "In those embellishments of that ghastly work which pourtray the sufferings of the primitive Christians under the Roman Emperors, there is an anachronism which affords a singular display of national antipathy. The Roman tormentors are all in *Spanish* costume. The Inquisition and the Armada had identified the ideas of Spain and persecution. Even in the representation of St. Lawrence's martyrdom on the gridiron, which is dated A.D. 258, in the reign of the Emperor Valerian, a *Spanish bishop* in his mitre presides." (*Northern Worthies*, § Ascham, p. 133.)

³ He quotes it: "The flames of Smithfield were hotter than the pictures in the Book of Martyrs;" and adds: "Such at least is Fuller's meaning and illustration. I am afraid I have not quoted his words exactly, for, to tell truth, I know not in which of his works to look for them. But I recollect reading the sentiment in Lamb's *Selections*, to which I owe my first knowledge and constant love of Fuller, as of many other Worthies." (*Northern Worthies*, § Roger Ascham, p. 132.)

⁴ The same sentiment is twice repeated in *Abel Redeivivus*. (See Hierom of Prague, and Archbishop Cranmer.)

what is painted in the *Book of Martyrs*.”¹ Fuller’s love for Foxe’s work never forsook him. The names of the heroes it speaks of, who went to heaven (as Fuller would say) in their chariots of fire, were enshrined in his heart. In writing his *Church-History*, Foxe was continually at his elbow.² Fuller

valued also the industrious compiler, his predecessor in Church-story; and he took pains on many occasions to honour his memory, which he cherished all the more from the fact that he afterwards lived in the very town where the *Acts and Monuments* was compiled.

In the same passage in the *Good Thoughts* in which Fuller has told us how he “loved” the pictures in Foxe, he continues to give us the childish thoughts which coursed through his mind as he turned over the pages, following them up (as was his habit) by a telling moral: “I thought that there [*i.e.* in the



John Foxe.
(From Fuller's *Abel Redeivus*.)

¹ *Of Time Serving: Holy State*, p. 189.

² “I desire my *Church-History* should behave itself to his *Book of Martyrs* as a lieutenant to its captain, only to supply his place in his absence, to be supplemental thereunto, in such matters of moment which have escaped his observation.” (Bk. v. 231.)

“I am not ignorant [1640] that of late great disgrace hath been thrown on that author and his worthy work, as being guilty of much falsehood: chiefly because sometimes he makes popish doctors, well-known to be rich in learning, to reason very poorly; and the best fencers of their schools worsted and put out of their play by some country poor Protestants. But let the cavillers hereat know, that it is a great matter to have the odds of the weapon, God’s word, on their side; not to say anything of supernatural assistance

given them. Sure, for the main, his book is a worthy work (wherein the reader may rather leave [misprinted *have* in *Abel Redeivus*] than lack), and seems to me, like *Ætna*, always burning, whilst the smoke hath almost put out the eyes of the adverse party; and these *Foxes firebrands* have brought much annoyance to the Romish Philistines. But it were a miracle if in so voluminous a work there were nothing to be justly reprov’d; so great a pomegranate not having any rotten kernel must only grow in Paradise. And though, perchance, he held the beam at the best advantage for the Protestant party to weigh down, yet generally he is a true writer, and never wilfully deceiveth, though he may sometimes be unwillingly deceived.” (*Life of Lady Jane Grey: Holy State*, 297.) This same passage is also given in Fuller’s

pictures in the book] the martyrs at the stake seemed like the three children in the fiery Furnace,¹ ever since I had known them there, not one hair more of their head was burnt, nor any smell of the fire singeing of their clothes. This made me think Martyrdom was nothing. But oh! though the lion be painted fiercer than he is, the fire is far fiercer than *it* is painted. Thus it is easy for one to endure an affliction, as he limns it out in his own fancy, and represents it to himself but in a bare speculation. But when it is brought indeed, and laid home to us, there must be a Man, yea, there must be God to assist the Man to undergo it."²

His love for the Bible was also as strong. That he "from a child had, Timothy-like, known the holy Scriptures" is shown by the fact that very often in his writings he quotes passages from the *old Bibles* which were in use before King James's translation was made. Much as he revered the latter translation, at which many of his connections assisted, he could not well forget the sacred words and phrases which he had been accustomed to hear in his youth. Thus the phrase "at adventures" is given (*Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 83) as a quotation from 1 Kings xxii. 34, where our Bibles now read "at a venture." But Fuller's phrase is used in the margin at Lev. xxvi. 21, and also at 1 Wisd. ii. 2, where it is a literal translation of the LXX.'s *ἀντοσχεδῶς*. We find also *pismire* (for ant) as a quotation from Prov. vi. 6 (*Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 113); "Preach *you* on the housetops," as if quoted from Matt. x. 27 (iii. 370). Again we have: "His *behaviour* [τὸ πρόσωπον] was as though he would go to Jerusalem" (i. 35), quoted from Luke ix. 53. The following forms in the same work are also worthy of note:—"clouts" as in our Bibles (Jer. xxxviii. 11, 12; Josh. ix. 5); and "clods," which is given as a quotation from Luke xxii. 44. These citations point to a time we may shortly again see, when the readings of the revised Scriptures will, with difficulty, replace those which have become endeared by long use.

When Fuller was about five years old his grandmother,

Life of Foxe in *Abel Redeivus* (ii. 81), where he gives a full account of the martyrologist.

To Foxe's exactness Fuller bore testimony when he quaintly said that he would not leave an hoof of a martyr behind him! (*Ch.-Hist.* v. (166).)

When afterwards a minister, he impressed on his auditors "to read histories that we be not made an history;" adding,—“You, therefore, that have the Chronicle of the Kings in your

houses, the Acts and monuments in your halls, condemn them not to a desk, as the Jews did their harps to the willows, rather for sight than service, till moths have fretted out the books as worms have eaten the bodies of those worthy men who compiled them; but at your best leisure read and peruse them.” (*Strange Justice*, p. 12.)

¹ Dan. iii. 27.

² *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Mixt Contemp.* xxi. p. 83.

MARGARET DAVENANT, who seems to have come to Northamptonshire to be near her daughters, died. She was buried within St. Peter's Church. How precious a memory she left is seen by the perpetuation of her name in the families of her two daughters. Three years afterwards a tablet was erected to her memory, and set up on the south wall of the church. It has been slightly raised by the present rector, who also moved from the foot of it, on the south side of the east window, an unsightly altar-tomb, under which the body may have been buried. The removal brought to view a piscina which must have therefore been purposely blocked up by Mr. Fuller, who had little sympathy with the rites once practised in his church. The mural tablet alluded to contains an epitaph as follows: "*Here lyeth Margaret Davenant, sometime the wyfe of John Davenant Cityzen of London. She departed this lyfe Mar. 30, 1613.*"

Many & happy years I lived a wyfe,
Fruitfull in children, more in godly lyfe :
And many more in widowhood I past,
Until in heaven I wedded was at last,
In wedlock, children, widowhood ever blest,
But most in death, for now in God I rest."

It contains the arms of Davenant and of Clarke. Below the monument also are the arms of Clarke and those (as the Rev. Mr. Ward conjectures) of Manning or Bray.

The locality in which our hero was born is by no means barren in interest. It is easy to imagine that under the influence of his father he would, with the zeal which he possessed in acquiring knowledge, derive his love of antiquities, and his affection for country, from the pregnant lessons taught by association with places amidst which he dwelt, and by the great men who had lived there. Fuller's eulogist says that, consequent on his birth, "All Wincle, an obscure Town," was "now equalled to and vying honour with any seed-plot (in that county) of virtue, learning and religion."¹ The village has never been famed for any striking incidents in history; but the neighbourhood teems with associations which would be eagerly followed up by such an inquiring mind as Fuller possessed; and the impressions received would not readily be lost. Tully says: "*Movemur nescio quo pacto locis ipsis in quibus eorum quos diligamus aut admiramur adsunt vestigia.*" In addition to the fame arising from the district on account of its connection with Fuller and Dryden, it is rich in what the former would call "observables" and "remarkables."



Here lieth Margaret Davenant sometime the wife of John
 Davenant Citizen of London she departed this life March 30 1618
 After a long and happy yeeres I had a very
 fruitful and children more in godly life
 And many yeeres in widowhood I past
 until so young I married was at last
 In widdowhood children was comforte and rest
 And most to pray for now with God rest

MORUMENT TO MRS DAVENANT.

ST. PETER'S ALDWICKE.



A few miles beyond Oundle are the ruins of *Fotheringhay* Castle, the birthplace of Richard Plantagenet (Crookback¹), a spot which impressively brought to mind the recent tragedy enacted there in connection with Mary Queen of Scots. It is said Sir Robert Cotton bought the whole room where she was beheaded, and set it up at his house at Conington. The castle was in part dismantled a few years before Fuller's time. The stones of it may yet be seen scattered round for miles, turned to uses for which they were never chiselled. It must have been during Fuller's youth that in one of the rooms of the castle he read the verse written by Queen Mary "in a window with a pointed diamond—

' From the top of all my trust,
Mishap hath lai'd me in the dust.'²

Further on in the same direction, near ancient *Stamford*, was the lately-erected mansion of Elizabeth's great minister, Lord Burghley, indicated from afar by its turrets and stacks of quaint chimneys, many of which were what Fuller would call "cypher tunnels, or mock chimneys, merely for uniformity of building." A few years before, this mansion had opened its gates to welcome and entertain King James, on his way to the throne of the "promised land." Of Lord Mountagu's mansion at Boughton, near Geddington, west of Aldwinckle, we shall afterwards speak. There were, besides, many other well-known mansions hereabouts: "no county in England," says Fuller, "yielding more noble men, no noble men in England having fairer habitations."³

At *Geddington* village, young Fuller might have been able to indicate the site of the ancient palace, which was associated with many of our earliest Kings and Parliaments. And here there is yet to be seen, at the point where the three ways meet, what is now the most perfect of the crosses erected by Edward I.

¹ Alluding to an author who had made Richard Crookback comely, Fuller says: "For mine own part, I confess it no heresy to maintain a paradox in history, nor am I such an enemy to wit as not to allow it leave to disport itself for its own content and the delight of others." In the same book (ix. 204), he gives a curious account of another local celebrity who may fittingly accompany Richard Crookback. This was *William Hacket* of Oundle, "of so cruel and fierce a nature, that he is reported to have bit off, and eat down the nose of his school-

master!" He became an informer against Recusants, and came to the "gibbet near to the Cross in Cheapside," 1591.

² *Ch.-Hist.* Bk. ix. 181. In 1625 the castle was surveyed and was then described as being "very strong:" its several courts are mentioned,—"a fair court," "goodly lodgings," and "a large room at this present well-furnished with pictures." Soon after this date it was consigned to ruin, but its demolition was most probably very gradual. (*Bonney's Hist. of Fotheringhay*, pp. 29, 30.)

³ *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire.

in memory of Queen Eleanore. This singular triangular erection seems in almost the same condition now as in Fuller's time, for it has had the good fortune to escape "restoration." There is another of these erections in Fuller's native shire; and Fuller afterwards lived in the neighbourhood of yet another of these interesting memorials (viz. at Waltham) which has experienced the effects of being better known.¹

Grafton-under-Woods, also west of Aldwincle, is associated with another Queen—Elizabeth Woodeville. Fuller adduces "strong presumptions" that she was born here. "Her memory," says he, "is most remarkable to posterity for finishing *Queens' College* in Cambridge (wherein I had my first breeding; and for it, and all therein, [I] shall ever have an unfeigned affection)."²

Other antiquities in the district make it a paradise for an antiquary; and we need not wonder that Fuller, whom it nurtured, became in an antiquarian age a prince of antiquaries; or that towards our own times it should have given birth to one who has produced a model county history.

With a commendable iteration, Fuller has once more to refer to the village of his birth. For he thus relates a coincidence which adds further interest to his neighbourhood: "God in his providence fixed my nativity in a remarkable place, . . . Alwincle. . . . This village was distanced one good mile west from ACHURCH, where *Mr. Brown*, founder of the

¹ Notwithstanding his familiarity with these relics, Fuller, strangely, does not anywhere directly allude to them, although he has special paragraphs in his *Worthies* for the *buildings* of the various counties. Nor is there mention of Waltham Cross in his *History of Waltham Abbey*. Probably the commonness of such objects before the civil war was the cause of the omission. In one place, however, in the former work (cap. xxvi. p. 79), he acknowledges and defends the omitting of "many rarities and memorables." The battered condition of many of these crosses must have been in his mind when (1647) he sarcastically wrote: "Our age may seem sufficiently to have provided against the growth of idolatry in England." (*Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Occ. Meditations*, vii. p. 101.) Fuller casually refers to Stamford and Coventry Crosses (*Worthies*); and thus mentions another:—

"I know the village in Cambridge-

shire (Cottenham), where there was a cross full of imagery. Some of the images were such, as that people, not foolishly factious, but judiciously conscientious, took just exception at them: hard by, the youths of the town erected a maypole, and to make it of proof against any that should endeavour to cut it down, they armed it with iron as high as any could reach. A violent wind happened to blow it down, which falling on the cross, dashed it to pieces. It is possible, what is counted profaneness may accidentally correct superstition. But I could heartily wish that all pretenders to reformation would first labour to be good themselves before they go about the mending of others." (*Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Hist. Ap.* xxiv. p. 64.)—Cottenham, a wealthy rectory six miles north of Cambridge, was the birthplace of Archbishop Tenison in 1636.

² *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, page 282.

Brownists, did dwell, whom out of curiosity, when a youth, I often visited. It was likewise a mile and a half distant east from LIVEDEN,¹ where *Francis Tresham, Esquire*, so active in the Gunpowder Treason, had a large demesne, and ancient habitation."²

We have in this extract an intimation as to how young Fuller was spending part of his leisure time. The person of *Brown* was no doubt very familiar to him and to his father, inasmuch as Brown had been connected with the Church from 1591 to 1630. Curiosity to see a personage who had given enormous trouble to the powers that were, seems to have often taken Fuller to Achurch. There is another similar allusion to Brown in the *Church-History*: "For my own part (whose nativity Providence placed within a mile of this Brown his pastoral charge), I have, when a youth, often beheld him." Fuller therefore had facilities for knowing more about him than others; and hence the full account he has left of him.³

With regard to FRANCIS TRESHAM'S demesne, the "mile and a half" alluded to is at least double the distance. The walk thither, after leaving Wadenhoe, becomes very delightful. For the greater part of the way the road passes through some of the many long avenues of trees, now so frequently to be met with in this neighbourhood. The fashion originated with, or was most extensively followed by, one of the Dukes of Montagu, who obtained on that account the *sobriquet* of "John the Planter." After two miles the road enters a path cut through a dense plantation of young trees, forming a sylvan archway of about a mile in length; having emerged from which, the pedestrian has before him a curious secluded building on the rising ground. It is a large stone-built Elizabethan edifice in the shape of a Grecian cross, having wings of equal length springing from a centre. There is a doorway at the extremity of one of the wings, which must have been approached by a lofty flight of steps. The building never seems to have been made use of, and was probably unfinished at the death of the builder, Sir Thomas Tresham, in 1605. The windows running all round open into what were evidently intended to be oratories; and

¹ In most modern editions of the *Mixt Contemplations*, this word has been misprinted *Lavenden* (see Russell's *Memoirs*, p. 2; Howell's Edit. p. 385), which is in Bucks. It is *Liveden* in the original edition from which I quote; and Fuller also correctly writes it *Lifden* in *Worthies*, chap. xvi. 49. In the extracts from Fuller

published by the Religious Tract Society, the place is turned to *Lavender*. *Levden* or *Lefden* occurs in the Aldwinckle registers.

² *Mixt Contemplations on these Times* (pt. ii.), xliii. 64.

³ xi. 166—169. See the note appended to this Chapter.

the "dim religious light" of most of the rooms attest to this supposed purpose of the erection. In the chief room Tresham's arms are united with those of Throckmorton—*gu.* on a chevron *arg.* three bars gemels *sa.* The building is roofless, the oaken beams and other woodwork having entirely disappeared. The stonework is in good preservation, and the greater part of it is as sharp as if fresh from the mason's hand. Much of it is elaborately chiselled, being ornamented with shields bearing emblems of our Lord's passion and death. This is the "Liveden New Building" of the Ordnance Map—the "Beeld," as the local folk call it. The "Old Building," the house alluded to by Fuller, Tresham's mansion, lies in the valley close by. This is now a lofty farmstead, substantially built of stone, having extensive out-buildings. The forest in which it once stood has been pretty well cleared. The house was in the extensive parish of Fuller's father, though parts of the premises were within the bounds of three other parishes—Brigstock, Pilton, and Benefield.

The Sir Thomas Tresham (father of the conspirator) who erected the curious religious edifice just alluded to, was a Protestant in his earlier days, and, as such, had been knighted at Kenilworth by Elizabeth in the eighteenth year of her reign. He married Muriel, daughter of Sir R. Throckmorton, Knt., and died a Papist in 1605. "Hard to say," records Fuller, "whether greater his delight or skill in buildings, though more forward in beginning than fortunate in finishing his fabrics. Amongst which the Market-house at Rothwell, adorned with the arms of the gentry of the county, was highly commendable."¹ With those already indicated another curious building still standing at Rushton may be mentioned. This is *triangular* in form, like the Eleanore Cross at Geddington; other indications show that it was evidently intended "to symbolize the Trinity, as Liveden from its form, carvings, &c., was the Passion."

The Tresham family was, during Fuller's boyhood, especially notorious from its connection with the various plots of the Papists. Sir Thomas just alluded to had been repeatedly fined and imprisoned under the Recusancy Acts. Francis, his son, referred to by Fuller, had intrigued with Spain, implicated himself in Essex's insurrection, and ultimately associated himself with the Gunpowder-plot Conspirators (or "Powder-traitors," as Fuller terms them), engaging to supply £2,000 towards their designs. It was this Tresham who was the cause of its discovery, in consequence of his wish to save his brothers-in-law.

¹ *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 300.

He died in the Tower a few weeks after his arrest; and the chase and capture of the other conspirators is told by Fuller in his *Church-History* in a most droll way.¹ We may rest assured that the villagers of Aldwinckle, on account of their acquaintance with Tresham, the conspirator; with Sir Gilbert Pykering of Tichmarsh, whom the conspirators intended to make away with on account of his bitter hostility to the Roman Catholics; and with the worthy Knight who proposed the religious anniversary,—kept the 5th of November with an exemplary devotion, which was not without its effect on young Fuller,² who also devoutly observed the annual commemorations when, in after days, it came to be disregarded.³

It was probably on the occasion of Fuller's retreat to Boughton in this neighbourhood, in 1647, that he received from members of the Tresham family documents in illustration of his Church history. When speaking of the Commissioners sent to inquire after missing church ornaments, he quotes the instructions, signed by Edward VI., to the Marquis of Northampton, adding that "the original" was lent to him "by *Mr. Thomas Tresham*, late of Geddington, in Northamptonshire."⁴ Again, Fuller also alludes to Sir Thomas Tresham (the grandfather of him who delighted to build), who was by Queen Mary made Lord Prior of the Hospitallers of St. John's of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, and who lies buried at Rushton: "If the dimension of his body," says Fuller, "may be guessed by his finger and his finger by his ring (which I have seen in the possession of his kinsman *William Tresham, Esq.*, of Newton

¹ Bk. x. p. 36.

² He has given the following passage, —evidently ale-house gossip,—in his *Church-History* (Bk. x. p. 35): "Some few days before the fatal stroke should be given, Master Keyes being at Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, at the house of Master Gilbert Pickering his brother-in-law (but of a different religion, as a true Protestant), suddenly whipped out his sword, and in merriment made many offers therewith, at the heads, necks and sides of many Gentlemen and Gentlewomen then in his company. This then was taken a mere frolic, and for the present passed accordingly; but afterwards (when the treason was discovered) such as remembered his gestures, thought thereby he did *act* what he intended to *do*, if the plot had took effect, hack and hew, kill and slay all eminent persons of a different religion from themselves."

³ Liveden, which with Francis' other estates was forfeited by his treason, after being in his possession but a few months, appears to have been given back to his brother Lewis, and remained for some time in the possession of others of his name who were settled in the neighbourhood. Rushton, between Geddington and Rothwell, was the chief seat of the family; the churches of the latter place and of Newton, contain Tresham memorials. Rushton is deserving of a visit from its connection with Dryden. In one of the retired walks in the grounds of the Hall an urn may be seen bearing this inscription: "In memory of Dryden, who frequented these shades, and is here said to have composed his poem of *The Hind and Panther*." At this time the mansion was in possession of Cockayne, Viscount Cullen.

⁴ *Church-Hist.* vii. 417.

[a hamlet close to Geddington], in Northamptonshire), he was a little giant, and far greater than his pourtraicture on his monument almost demolished in Rushton Church in the same county." ¹ So also he alludes to the tomb, in Rushton Church, of Clementine Tresham, one of the nuns of Sion College.

The Thomas and William Tresham alluded to in these citations belonged to younger branches of the Treshams of Rushton and Liveden, as did also the Treshams of Pilton.²

From the position of his birthplace with respect to the residences of both Brown and Tresham, Fuller, at the conclusion of the passage from the *Thoughts* which we have already cited, thus quaintly proceeds to draw the following lesson: "My Nativity may mind me of *Moderation*, whose cradle was rocked between two rocks. Now seeing I was never such a churl as to desire to eat my morsel alone, let such who like my prayer join with me therein: 'God grant that we may hit the golden mean, and endeavour to avoid all extremes—the fanatic *Anabaptist* on the one side, and the fiery zeal of the *Jesuit* on the other, that so we may be true Protestants, or which is a far better name, *real Christians* indeed.'"

This sentiment is one of many similar passages penned by Fuller in the eventful year 1660, when he was fearing that the leaders in Church and State would by no means endeavour to let their moderation (or "sweet amiableness," as it has been rendered) be known unto all men. Fuller as clearly then as throughout his life saw the necessity for the exercise of moderate counsels, which it was often his sad fate to see most lamentably neglected by those in power. He himself suffered more than a little at the hands of those whom he would have reconciled; yet he held steadily to his convictions, finding, to use his own words, that "the very work of moderation was the wages of moderation." There is every reason to believe that this kindly virtue took an early and "quiet possession" of his soul; and it became one of the strong points in his character. We may see this from his first published piece—his poem on David—where he made allusion to the pleasant dwelling-place of moderation.³ Similar passages abound in his early sermons. In the *Holy State*⁴ he wrote an admirable essay on the subject,

¹ *Church-Hist.* vi. 357; *Worthies*, § Northampton, p. 300.

² The Treshams of Liveden and of Newton had the same coat for essentials,

"but disguised in colours." (*Worthies*, chap. xvi. 49.)

³ See the passage on our title-page.

⁴ Page 201.

beginning with a saying of his friend Bishop Hall : " Moderation is the silken string running through the pearl-chain of all virtues." He exemplified the maxims of this essay in his public life. With great persuasive force he has commended moderation on the readers of his larger works. Among similar passages in his book on Palestine, he dwells on two brooks in the tribe of Reuben, one sweet and the other bitter, but which both together made a sanative bath,—“ as if Nature would thereby lesson us that moderation wherein extremities agree is the best cure for all distempers.”¹

He often shows a fondness for adducing opposite opinions on subjects or persons, and after discussion finds the truth with neither, but between both. He has a discussion in his *Church-History* on the King's evil, and says that between two authors “ violent in opposition ” regarding it, “ haply we may find the truth whose constant dwelling place is pleasantly seated betwixt two swelling extremes.”² Again, in the same book—one of the most unbiassed and candid of histories—he says : “ The Philosopher gives us this note of direction whereby to find out a virtue, viz., that it is accused by both extremes.”³

From his being brought up and educated in this district, it would be interesting to ascertain how far the influence of the local speech affected his style. The Northamptonshire dialect is remarkably pure even on the lips of ploughboys ; and it is noteworthy that the glossary of it is an exceedingly meagre compilation. It is now generally acknowledged by Latham and other philologists that the district where the purest English is spoken is in or near the county of Fuller's birth,⁴ just as Blois and Tours are said to be the parts where the purest French is heard. Fuller himself notices this purity of speech as a peculiarity in his time : “ The language of the common people is generally the best of any shire in England. A proof whereof, when a boy, I received from a hand-labouring-man⁵ herein, which since hath convinced my judgment : ‘ We speak, I believe,’ said he, ‘ as good English [as] any shire in England, because, though in the singing psalms, some words are used to make the metre unknown to us ; yet the last translation of the bible, which no doubt was done by those learned men in the best English, agreeth perfectly with the common speech of our country.’ ”⁶ And again, in one of his *Thoughts* : “ The

¹ *Pisgah-Sight*, Bk. ii. 59.

² Bk. ii. 147.

³ Bk. v. (184).

⁴ Craik's *Outlines of the History of the English Language*.

⁵ Fuller seems to have taken pleasure in conversing with countrymen. See again *Pisgah-Sight*, i. 40.

⁶ *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 278.

English of the common people therein (lying in the very heart of the land) is generally very good."¹

A curious peculiarity of the speech of the neighbourhood of the villages in which Fuller and Dryden were born is that at this day there are current many *Bible* words commonly regarded as almost obsolete elsewhere. Washerwomen, e.g., do not condescend to speak of their "tubs:" they are "vessels." "Disannul" is also common. A gardener will wish for rain to "mollify" the earth. "I suppose" = I think, is also common. Fuller's writings contain a very large quantity of old *Bible* words.

Just as in the vigorous diction of Dryden—who also, like Fuller, received part of his education in this neighbourhood, viz. at the neighbouring village of Tichmarsh—we can trace a connection with the dialect of the county; the same result follows from an examination of the prose of Fuller. His style is emphatically Saxon. There is in it an extensive use of uncommon but expressive old English words, which could only be gathered from a lengthened intercourse with the people. When Fuller uses a word "of learned length" the chances are that it is chosen to point a pun, or to make his quaintness the quainter. Marsh, in allusion to our Fuller and Sir Thomas Browne, says that "they are both remarkable for a wide range of vocabulary, Fuller inclining to a Saxon, Browne to a Latinized diction; and their Syntax is marked by the same peculiarities as their nomenclature."² Archbishop Trench, who also has made a careful study of Fuller's language, states that few writers are more important than Fuller for the study of English;³ and Coleridge uses the following strong language in reference to a remark made by Mr. John Nichols (Editor of Fuller's *Worthies*), to the effect that much might be said against Bishop Nicolson in "vindication of the language of Dr. Fuller," a word or two of which Nicolson had called in question:—"Fuller's language! Grant me patience, Heaven! A tithe of his beauties would be sold cheap for a whole library of our

¹ *Mixt Contemplations*, xxvii. p. 44. "And yet," he continues, "they have an *odd phrase*, not so usual in other places. They used to say when at cudgel play (such tame were far better than our wild battles) one gave his adversary such a sound blow as that he knew not whether to stand or to fall, that he SETTLED him at a blow." This was written in 1660; and his moral which follows is adapted to the time: "The

relicts and stump (my pen dares write no worse) of the long Parliament pretended they would settle the Church and state; but surely had they continued, it had been done in the dialect of Northamptonshire: they would so have settled us we should neither have known how to have stood, or on which side to have fallen."

² *Lectures on the English Language: Student's Manual*, p. 86.

³ *English Past and Present*, p. 315.

classical writers, from Addison to Johnson and Junius inclusive. And Bishop Nicolson!—a painstaking old charwoman of the Antiquarian and Rubbish Concern! The venerable rust and dust of the whole firm are not worth an ounce of Fuller's earth."¹

While Fuller was growing up from boyhood to youth, his uncles were being rapidly advanced in the Church. In 1617 Townson was introduced at Court, and was made Chaplain to King James, whom he had attended into Scotland. Townson was next promoted to the Deanery of Westminster, when he left the neighbourhood of his Northamptonshire relations. At the end of 1618 it was the Dean's melancholy duty to attend the execution of the brave Sir Walter Raleigh in Palace Yard; and he has left us a very graphic and touching account of the last hours of the great Elizabethan hero, commending his resolute calmness and confidence in God at that trying moment.

The admiration which Fuller seems to have ever felt for Raleigh was probably excited by his uncle's conversation about him. Townson likewise may be the authority for much that is contained in Fuller's notice of Raleigh; how, *e.g.*, Raleigh "spread his new plush cloak on the ground; whereon the Queen trod gently."² Raleigh's fate created a profound impression. "His head," says Prince, catching up the popular opinion about him, "was wished on the Secretary of State (that then was³) his shoulders, and his life valued at a higher rate than the choicest daughter of Spain."⁴

Higher preferment was in store for Dean Townson. He was appointed in March to the see of Salisbury, and on July 9th, 1620, he was consecrated thereto at Lambeth, Williams succeeding him at the Deanery. The Bishop did not hold his office long; for on the 15th May, 1621,⁵ he died prematurely in consequence of a fever which he contracted "by unseasonable

¹ *Notes Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous*, p. 101.

² *Worthies*, § Devon, p. 262.

³ Sir Robert Naunton, agent whom Fuller tells one of his capital stories: "One Mr. Wiemark a wealthy man, great Novilant, and constant Paul's Walker, hearing the news that day of the beheading of Sir Walter Raleigh, 'His head' (said he) 'would do very well on the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton.' These words were complained of, and Wiemark summoned to the Privy Council, where he pleaded for himself that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, whose known worth was above all detraction. Only he spake in reference

to an old proverb, 'Two heads are better than one.' And so for the present he was dismissed. Not long after, when rich men were called on for a contribution to St. Paul's, Wiemark at the council-table subscribed a hundred pounds; but Mr. Secretary told him that *two hundred* were better than *one*; which betwixt *fear* and *charity*, Wiemark was fain to subscribe." (*Worthies*, § Suffolk, p. 64.)

⁴ *Worthies of Devon*, p. 679.

⁵ Fuller erroneously gives 1622 as the year. By a singular fatality the two preceding Bishops of Salisbury—Abbot and Fotherby—had almost as brief tenures of office.

sitting up to study," when preparing, at a short notice, to preach before the Parliament. He was interred in Westminster Abbey. His arms were—*Gules*, five crosslets fitchy in saltire between four escallops, *or*.¹



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 Weldon'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: ²— "Now, although both these persons here praised were my godfathers 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 causelessly traduced! How would they condemn such uncharitable commendations, which are (if not founded on) accompanied with the disgrace of others of their order! Wherefore I their nephew, in behalf of their memories, protest against this passage, so far forth as it casteth lustre 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."³

Hacket speaks of Townson as "a person of singular piety, eloquence and humility." His nephew, too, gives him a large character: "He had a hospital heart, a generous disposition, free from covetousness; and was always confident in God's providence, that if he should die, his children (and those were many) would be provided for; wherein he was not mistaken."⁴

¹ Gutch's *À Wood's Oxf.*, p. 476. See also Cassan, p. 110. Guillim' (*Display*, p. 247) ascribes these arms to his son, Ralph Townson, "a Northamptonshire man born, M.A., Senior Student of Christchurch."

² A document is in existence in the

State Paper Office, which refers to "the restitution of temporalities" to Dr. Davenant. * (*Calendar*, Dom. Ser., Nov. 21, 1621, p. 311.)

³ *Worthies*, § Cambridgeshire, p. 154.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Townson seems to have made no provision whatever for his children. Aubrey speaks of the "mean condition" in which he died; and Fuller adds that it was this "which rather hastened than caused the advancement of John Davenant, his brother-in-law, to succeed him in the bishopric of Sarisbury." Davenant's courtier friends interested themselves in his behalf: under date of 18th May this year he informs his correspondent, Dr. Ward, that it had "pleased the Marquis and many other honourable personages to send comfortable messages unto my afflicted sister, with promise to move his Majesty that some special regard may be had of her and her fatherless children."¹ The King, who was very fond of both the divines, made the appointment in favour of Davenant. In the course of our story we shall again meet with the Townson family.

Davenant, thus advanced to "the great and rich benefice" (as Fuller calls it), had, in 1609, been presented by Archbishop Abbot to the wealthy Rectory of Cottenham, hard by Cambridge; a place, as we have seen, familiar to his nephew. Three years later, he was for a short time Vicar of Oakington, a village also near the University, being in the gift of his College. While here an amusing incident occurred, thus related by his nephew:—"A reverend Doctour in Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Sarisbury, was troubled at his small living at Hogginton [Oakington] with a peremptory Anabaptist, who plainly told him, 'It goes against my conscience to pay you tithes except you can shew me a place of Scripture whereby they are due unto 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 shew 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,' saith the Doctour; 'tithes being confirmed unto me by many statutes of the land, time out of mind.' Thus he *drave 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

¹ Tanner MSS., quoted in Brewer's edition of *Church-History*, v. 502. Aubrey (*Letters*, ii. 301) adds that "the Duke of Bucks. gave bishop Davenant the bishoprick out of pure charity." Mede (Cambridge, May 26): "We say

here that Dr. Davenant shall be bishop, and keep his livings for two or three years. The revenue of the bishopric in the meantime to be, as it were, sequestered for Dr. Townson's wife and poor children." (Birch's *James I.*, ii. 25.)

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

When Davenant held this Vicarage, and when yet a private Fellow, he was chosen Margaret Professor of Divinity (1609). He had become widely known as a writer of much research and erudition, and few excelled him in that age of great divines. In 1619 he had been selected as one of the delegates to the Synod of Dort, of which Fuller gives an interesting account in Book x. of his History: Hall and Carleton (afterwards bishops) and Dr. Samuel Ward, Master of Sydney-Sussex College, were his associates. Fuller quotes the King's instructions to them which he "saw transcribed out of Dr. Davenant his own manuscript."² "Gualter Balcanquall," as representative of the Church of Scotland, was afterwards added to them. As to Davenant, 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." One of the acts of the Synod was to order a translation of the Bible with annotations for the United Provinces, and it was printed in 1637. Divines of the Reformed Church gave their assistance in this work, and among them were Dr. Davenant, Dr. Hall, and Dr. Samuel Ward. They returned after seven months' absence.³ They met with their reward. In addition to liberal payment by the States, a golden medal was bestowed upon them, representing the Synod sitting; and King James gave them early preferment. When Davenant returned he betook himself, says Fuller, to his constant lectures⁴ in the Schools, in addition to his collegiate cure, until called away by his preferment to the bishopric, to which, "by an unusual rise," he was elected within a month after the death of his brother-in-law.

¹ *Church-History*, ii. 112.

² Page 77.

³ *Ath. Oxon.*, iv. 279.

⁴ D'Ewes speaks in high terms of Davenant's divinity lectures:—"I was present . . . 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."—*Autobiography*, i. 120.

NOTE TO CHAPTER III.

ROBERT BROWN.

FROM Fuller's *Church-History* and other sources, we learn that Robert Brown was the son of Christopher Brown, of Tolethorpe, Rutland, Esq. The family was ancient and worshipful, and allied to the Cecil family, which had frequent occasion to intercede on their kinsman's behalf. Brown's grandfather was that Francis Brown whom Henry VIII. privileged by charter, confirmed by Act of Parliament, 1527, to wear his cap in the presence of the King, or any lord. The patent is given by Fuller, *Worthies*, § Rutland, p. 354. This descent in some degree explains the disposition of the grandson.

His early life is in striking contrast to his closing days. He was bred at the neighbouring university (probably at Corpus College), and was some time preacher of Bene't Church, "where the vehemence of his utterance passed for zeal among the common people, and made the vulgar to admire, the wise to suspect him." Fuller questions if he were ever graduated. He seems to have begun to broach his peculiar views about 1571; at any rate, he was then in trouble, but being chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, Brown was by him screened from any severe censure. He became schoolmaster at St. Olave's, Southwark, and afterwards lecturer at Islington; and he then began with great zeal to carry on his crusade against the principles and practices of an endowed Church. He is said to have been at this time a fiery, hot-headed young man. He next went over to Zealand, says Fuller, "to purchase himself more reputation from foreign parts; for, a smack of travel gives a high taste to strange opinions, making them better relished to the liquorish lovers of novelty. Home he returns with a full cry against the Church of England, as having so much of Rome, she had nothing of Christ in her discipline." His views were embodied in books, which in 1582 he wrote against the Church, entitled, *The Life and Manners of True Christians*; and *A Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for any*. The Bishop of Norwich had soon cause of complaint as to the circulation of these books. For this cause two ministers and a layman, his disciples, were imprisoned and hanged, dying "unmoveably of the same mind," July 1583.

In 1585 we find Brown busily disseminating his opinions, chiefly among the Hollanders in Norwich—"a place which then spake little more than *medietatem linguæ*, having almost as many Dutch strangers as English natives inhabiting therein." His preaching gave offence, and accordingly the bishop committed him to the custody of the sheriff. Through the influence of his kinsman, the great Cecil, Secretary of State, the offender was brought to London, where Archbishop Whitgift brought him to some "tolerable compliance." Cecil now sent him home to the paternal roof, praying the father that he would not withdraw his affection from his son, "not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered and withdrawn from the reliques of some fond [foolish] opinions of his." He proved incorrigible, however; and the old gentleman disowned him a few months afterwards. (See the letters quoted in Fuller. One of the dates, however, is wrong; and hence Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, has concluded that he was four years at his father's.)

He now began to visit various parts of the country in advocacy of his

opinions. His life at this time is a continued repetition of his connection with officer, judge, and prison, ending usually with his liberation by Elizabeth's powerful minister. To this period his boast applies that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not, as he said, see his hand at noon-day. His assistant, Richard Harrison, who, though "a petty pedagogue," had more stability of character than his master, was his companion; and he too passed through many hardships.

At length Brown endeavoured to form a *separate* church, and he was thereupon forced by the Queen's advisers to quit the country. Several of his followers went with him. Settling at Middleburg, in Holland, he became pastor of the exiles. He wrote in defence of their principles, and remained abroad some years.

Brown's followers were termed "Separatists." Unlike the Puritans, they denied that the Church of England was a true church, maintaining that it was Popish in its ordinances and its ceremonies, and that its ministers were not properly ordained. Every church, they said, moreover, should be a single congregation under democratic government, and the civil magistrate ought not to interfere with them. Fuller was referring to the Brownists, when, speaking in a sermon in 1642 of the Schismatics hindering peace, he said: "I have heard (when a child) of a lawless church: sure these, if they might have their will, would have a lawless church and a gospelless church too!" The Brownists at length became a numerous body, and their principles were extending. Many adherents were obtained in Northamptonshire; at the county town of which shire Brown had personally advocated his opinions. In 1593, when a bill was introduced into Parliament for their suppression, we find Raleigh stating that the Brownists were at least in number twenty thousand persons, and were scattered all over England. But the name "Brownists" covered others besides the Separatists. The Puritans were often saddled with the name: a common phrase in their petitions during James' and Charles' reigns is "Brownists falsely so called."

This rapid rise of dissent is alluded to by Fuller, when he says that it was conceived in the reign of Edward VI., born in the reign of Mary at Frankfurt, nursed and weaned in the reign of Elizabeth, growing up a youth or tall stripling under James; "but towards the end of King Charles his reign shot up to the full strength and stature of a man, able not only to cope with, but conquer the hierarchy its adversary." (*Ch. Hist.* vii. 401.)

Brown returned to England in 1589 (Neal), in consequence of dissensions in his church; and now, to the great regret of his most earnest followers, his zeal waxed cold. A few months of suspicious inactivity now occur. He gradually separated himself from his old associates, until finally he received absolution, and was, in 1590, re-admitted into the Church from which he had been formerly excommunicated. He probably renounced his principles at the instigation of the Lord Treasurer, whose brother Thomas, Earl of Exeter (the patron of the elder Fuller), owning the rich living of Achurch, bestowed it in 1591 on his troublesome relation. Thus, notwithstanding the persecution and sufferings Brown had passed through, "he came off at last," as Fuller says, "with saving his life and keeping his living (and that none of the meanest, Achurch, in Northamptonshire), until the day of his death." On becoming pastor here, "he used to say," says A Wood, "that there was no church in England but his, and that was *A church*."

The village of Achurch is picturesquely situated on the east side of the river Nene, the views along which are exceedingly pleasant. The village, which adjoins the dense woods of Lilford Park, is now comparatively insignificant: it is adjacent, we have been reminded, to Fuller's native village. The Early English church and spire possess much architectural beauty. It is dedi-

cated to St. John Baptist, and contains monuments of the Elmes, Powys, and other local families.

This living Brown held about forty years, as the parish register, a very old one, testifies. The latter is written up by him with care, each page being certified by himself and his churchwardens. To the baptisms and deaths he occasionally makes comments of his own, and even thoughtfully notes when any of the parish are baptized or are buried in other parishes. The entries begin in 1591 and extend to 1617. In 1602 another unusual way of authenticating the entries is adopted. We now begin to read: "The register since the 25th March past [*i.e.* the beginning of the year] is true and perfect, *read in the church*, and kept according to law and order, by me Robert Brown." After 1617 there occurs a break of some years, during which "curats" attended to the ministrations. Among these it is curious to notice the name of Fuller's schoolmaster, the Rev. Arthur Smith. (See a paper by the Rev. H. Ward, in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Ser. ix. Feb. 25, 1860.)

Brown was tempted to occupy this living, "the rather," says Heylyn, "in regard that he was excused as well from preaching, and from performing any other part of the public ministry; which offices he discharged by an honest curate, and allowed him such a competent maintenance for it as gave content unto the bishop [Dove] who had named the man." Fuller also says: "His parsonage he freely possessed, allowing a sufficient salary for one to discharge the cure; and (though against them in his judgment) was contented (and perchance pleased) to take the tithes of his own parish." In 1626 Brown's handwriting again appears in the register, and it continues until 1631, making an entry on "21 Maie" in that year. Hence he did not die in 1630, as has hitherto been stated on the authority of Fuller, Neal, and others. Among the last entries is the following: "Nov. 7, 1630. The child of my ungracious godson, Robert Greene, baptized els were in schisme."

As to his domestic relations, Fuller says that he had "in my time a wife, with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste; and a church wherein he never preached, though he received the profits thereof." This wife seems to have been his second wife, and the mother of his children—Francis, Thomas, and John; Bridget, Grace, and Alice; all born between 1592 and 1603. "I have heard it from reverend ministers," says Baillie, "that he was a common beater of his poor old wife, and would not stick to defend publicly this his wicked practice."

Notwithstanding Brown's defection, the principles which he had advocated in his early life were independent of the man: they took deep root under Harrison and other leaders; and from the churches they formed, the "Independents" take their origin.

Fuller alone gives the particulars attending Brown's death, the elder Fuller, who did not die till 1632, being probably the authority:—"Being by the Constable of the parish (who chanced also to be his godson) somewhat roughly and rudely required the payment of a *rate*, he happened in passion to strike him. The Constable (not taking it patiently as a castigation from a godfather, but in anger as an affront to his office), complained to Sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring Justice of the Peace, and Brown is brought before him. The knight of himself was prone rather to pity and pardon than punish his passion; but Brown's behaviour was so stubborn that he appeared obstinately ambitious of a prison, as desirous (after long absence) to renew his familiarity with his ancient acquaintance. His *Mittimus* is made, and a cart with a feather-bed provided to carry him, he himself being so infirm (above eighty) to go, too unwieldy to ride, and no friend so favourable as to purchase for him a more comely conveyance. To Northampton jail he is sent, where soon after he sickened, died, and was buried in a neighbouring

churchyard ; and it is no hurt to wish that his bad opinions had been interred with him." In reference to the debt, Baillie adds that it was a small pittance which Brown "owed to him whom laziness in his calling made him keep for the supply of the cure of his parsonage." His friendless position at this time illustrates the bitter hatred with which the local squires regarded the Brownists. Many of them were of Sir Andrew Ague-Cheek's opinion : "An't be any way, it must be with valour, for policy I hate ; *I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician.*" (*Twelfth Night*, Act iii. Sc. ii.)

Fuller explains Brown's early escapes and his enjoyment of this preferment, while his accomplices were arraigned and executed, by his general promise of compliance, and the countenance of Thomas Cecil. He adds that he will "never believe that he ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main of what he maintained." Fuller's "observation on him" is, in fine : "He was of an imperious nature, offended if what he affirmed, but in common discourse, were not instantly received as an oracle. He was then so far from the Sabbatarian strictness to which some preciser Brownists did afterwards pretend, that both in judgment and practice, he seemed rather libertine therein." Baillie, too, had heard that he was an open profaner of the Sabbath.

Fuller's view of Brown's character is, like all his judgments, impartial ; and Neal, Mosheim, and Collier agree with him in the main. Without a doubt Brown is referred to by Fuller in the following very characteristic description of those qualities which dispose a man to be a father and founder of heresy. "1. He must be abominably proud. Pride is the key of the work, especially spiritual pride. When one is elated with conceited sanctity above others, chiefly he will snarl at his superiors, and quarrel with men in authority, that those are before him in place, which are behind him in piety. 2. To pride add discontentment, that his preferments bear not proportion to his supposed deserts. Thus Arius would be an Arian, because he could not be a bishop. 3. Learning void of humility. 'The serpent was the subtlest of all the beasts in the field.' In this kind a dunce is no dish for the devil's tooth. But in default of learning, good natural parts will serve the turn, especially memory (which is *θαυματουργός*, a 'wonder working' faculty), and a fluent expression ; so that when he calleth for words, *Gad*, behold, *a troop cometh*. If both learning and natural parts be wanting, yet (as, when the golden shields were taken away, Rehoboam's brazen shields did the deed, and made as much glittering [2 Chron. xii. 10], boldness and brazen-faced impudence will supply the place, especially if he trades with the vulgar, broaches dregs, and founds a dull and sottish heresy which hath no affinity with learning. To varnish all these, there must be pretended piety and austerity of life ; and how foul or filthy soever the postern or backdoor be, the door which opens into the street must be swept and garnished. Put all these together . . . and they spell *hæresiarcham*, one cut and carved out to be ring-leader and captain of a heresy." (*Joseph's Parti-coloured Coat*, 1640, page 18, Tegg's edition.) See also Fuller's *The Heretic and The Rigid Donatists (Holy State)*. "Brownism," said Fuller, "was Donatism vamped with some new additions."





CHAPTER IV.

STUDENT-LIFE: QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, (1621-29.)

ADMISSION TO QUEENS' COLLEGE.—ADVANCEMENT OF DR. DAVENANT.—FULLER'S TEACHERS: DR. MANSEL; EDWARD DAVENANT; JOHN THORPE.—CELEBRITIES OF QUEENS'; DR. PRESTON, ETC.—COLLEGE STUDIES: "THE GENERAL ARTIST."—CAMBRIDGE LIFE.—ROYAL VISITS, ETC.—PLAYS.—FULLER PROCEEDS B.A.—HIS COLLEGE FRIENDS.—ELECTION OF CHANCELLOR, ETC.—DAVENANT'S CORRESPONDENCE ABOUT FULLER.—THE "COMMENCEMENT" OF 1628.—FULLER TAKES HIS M.A. DEGREE.—LOSES A FELLOWSHIP.—FAREWELL TO QUEENS'.

"Epistles are the calmest communicating Truth to Posterity; presenting History unto us in her night-cloths, with a true Face of things, though not in so fine a dress as in other kinds of writings." (*Worthies*, § Middlesex, p. 179.)

FULLER'S removal to Cambridge occurred about the time of the death of his uncle, Bishop Townson. The young student was then about twelve years of age, and his education had been so far successful that he was fully ready for this important advance in life. The early age at which this event occurred is noticeable. It must, however, be remembered that pupils were at that time sent to college at a time of life earlier than is now usual. Jeremy Taylor, *e.g.*, entered when even younger than Fuller; so that admissions in tender years are not altogether to be set down to the fact that the youths were *precoces fructus*. Of his uncle Townson, however, Fuller admits that he was admitted "very young" to Queens' College,—“but twelve years of age.” There is mention of this subject in our author's history of his Alma Mater, where he says that at Cambridge the Franciscans, A.D. 1384, “surprised many when children into their order before they could well distinguish betwixt a *cap* and a *cowl*, whose time in the University ran on from their admission therein, and so they became Masters of *Arts* before they were masters of *themselves*.” To remedy this, an order was issued that no scholar should be admitted under the age of eighteen. Fuller

believes that the order was "never retracted, though it stands not in force this day, wherein many of younger age are daily admitted. And seeing man's life is now shortened, it is but reason that what we want of our ancestours in *long running*, we should supply in *soon starting*. Let the Watermen of London (whose violent work requires robustious bodies) make an order in their Hall that none under the age of eighteen should be bound apprentice in their Company: *ability* is more to be respected than *age* in the sons of the muses, in whom, often *eruditio supplet aetatem*. Nor is there to my knowledge any prohibition in this kind observed, save that they fright scholars of a low stature with a jocularie tradition, That none are to commence which are not higher than the Bedles staff!"¹

Mr. Fuller had still many friends at Cambridge on whom he might rely for the care of his son's education. His own duties in connection with the college often, indeed, called him thither. In the matter of his choice of a college for his son, his brother-in-law Davenant, resident at the University until he became Bishop, would chiefly be consulted; he was now head of Queens' College, and also Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. Dr. Samuel Ward seems also at this time to have had intimate relations with Davenant and the Fullers: he was, in the academical year 1620-1, Vice-Chancellor of the University. After due deliberation, to Cambridge, accordingly, Fuller—"this hopeful slip," as his eulogist styles him,—“was translated;” being entered at his uncle's college, Friday, June 29, 1621.² For some reason—perhaps to save a term—he entered towards the *close* of the academic year, which began on the 10th October. Like the bulk of the students, he no doubt took the standing in the college of a lesser-pensioner, the annual expense of whose maintenance was about £50.

QUEENS' COLLEGE took its name from Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI., who began to build it in 1448; and from Elizabeth, 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 towered gateway, upon which are emblazoned the arms of Queen Margaret; it had, however, other coats, as Fuller says, "laid up in her wardrobe." The gateway is said

¹ *Hist. Univ. Camb.* § iii. ¶ 46—84, p. 55.

² "1621. Thomas Fuller, Northampt. admissus Junii 29^o. Tutore Magistro

Davenant." (*Queens' Coll. Records.*) The anonymous biographer misplaces this event in 1620, and the Sydney College register (see p. 47) in 1622.

to contain the oldest brickwork in England; and there is still an air of antiquity about it and the rest of the buildings. In Fuller'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. By 1655 the number had decreased to 190. 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"—was a student. This great scholar 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." He further says that Erasmus' labour to mount so many steps was recompensed with a pleasant prospect, which would put him in mind of his own country. Across the bridge, now called the "Mathematical Bridge," are extensive gardens and grounds, in which there are some fine elm trees, and a walk named after Erasmus. "He 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 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 oftenest 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 school-boys. He justly remarks that Erasmus was a greater scholar than divine. The dining-hall of the college contains a portrait of Erasmus, the foundresses of the house, and others.

At the time when Fuller's college life began, Dr. Davenant, the President of Queens', was already Bishop-designate of Salisbury, having received the latter appointment during May this year. Davenant had been at the head of the college since 1614, and had discharged his office with faithfulness; his qualifica-

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

tions for it being very high. By interesting himself in the progress of his students, he had acquired great influence among them. His nephew relates that "taking his 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 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.'—*Praefuit qui profuit* was the motto written in most of his books, the sense whereof he practised in his conversation."¹ Upon his advancement he seems to have been disinclined to entirely sever his connection with the college, for he desired to retain the Presidentship with his Bishopric; and even when made Bishop he sends (June 7, 1621) directions for the Moderation at the approaching Commencement.²

Davenant was thoroughly acquainted with his nephew's parts, and before leaving the University he would, in connection with his brother-in-law, interest himself in providing for the efficient supervision of the young scholar's future studies, showing himself as ready now as heretofore to foster his talents. There is in the present chapter ample proof of his anxiety in this respect.

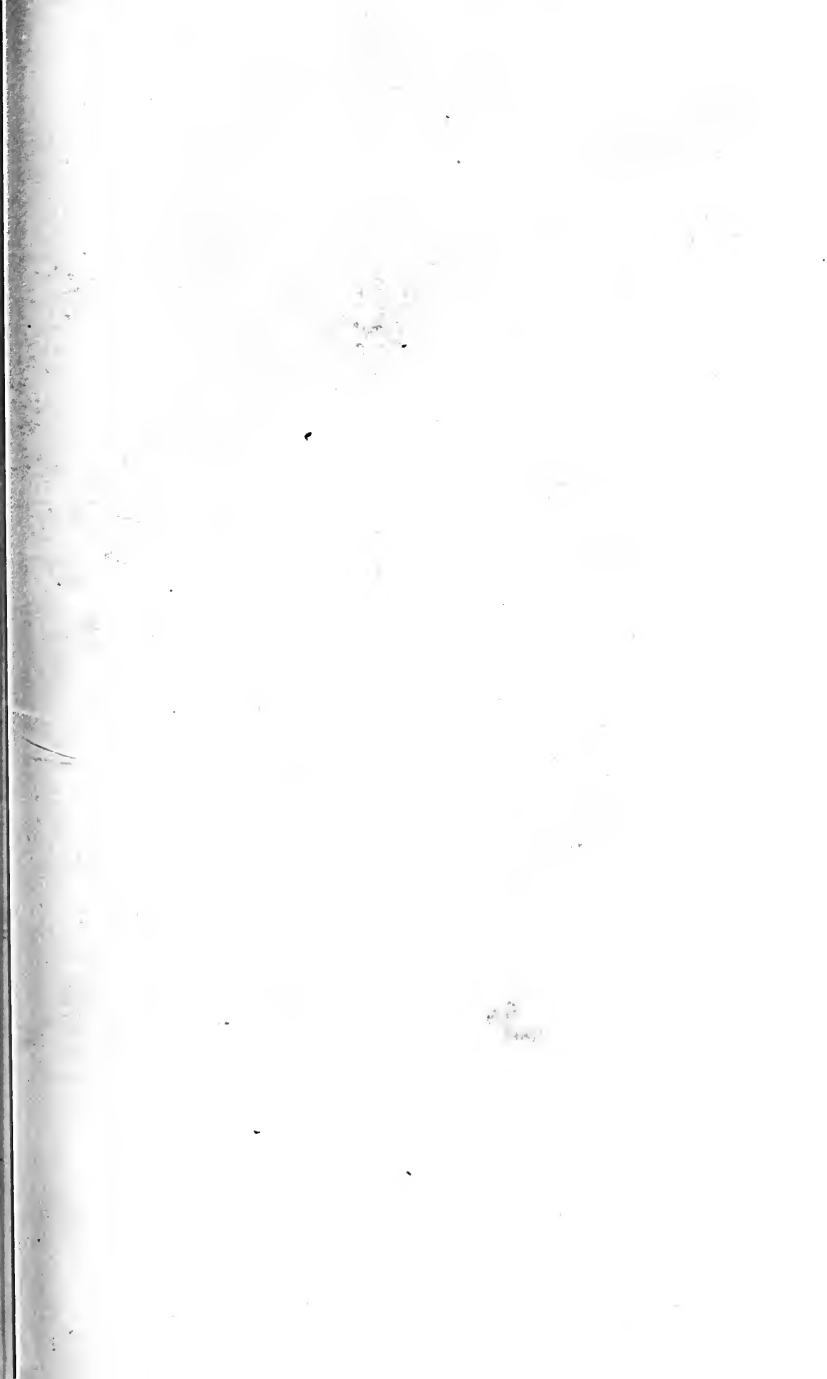
It was not until 18th November following that Davenant was consecrated Bishop. On the same occasion Laud was consecrated to St. David's, and Carey to Exeter—appointments which also were partly due to the influence of the Lord Keeper Williams, who had himself just been advanced to the see of Lincoln. Young Fuller, who regarded his uncle in all things as the true pattern of clerical propriety, says that Davenant received consecration from Archbishop Abbott, notwithstanding the irregularity under which that prelate was supposed to lie by "some squeamish and nice-conscienced elects" on account of Abbott having accidentally shot a gamekeeper. 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, not only accepting his excuse, but also commending his seasonable forbearance." Davenant afterwards "magnified King James' bounty to him, who, from a private Master, without any other immediate [intermediate] preferment, advanced him by an unusual rise."³

We are told by Aubrey that many leases of the lands of the

¹ *Worthies*, § London, p. 207.

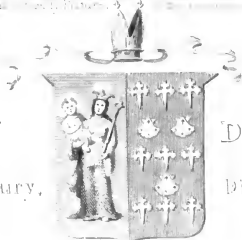
² Tanner MSS., lxxiii. 25, 36.

³ *Worthies*, § London, p. 207; *Ch.-Hist.* xi. 139.





Engraved by J. Smith from a portrait by Sir Peter Paul Rubens.



JOHN

DAVENANT,

Bishop of Salisbury,

Died April 20th 1631

see "were but newly expired when Davenant came to this see ; so that there tumbled into his coffers vast summes."

Upon his final removal to Salisbury his widowed sister, Margaret, and her children took up their abode with him, finding at his palace, as her epitaph records, "consolation and a home." The Bishop exerted himself to advance these children in life ; and we shall find him especially solicitous to settle his niecès. He himself was never married. Camden relates that the King, on bestowing the Bishopric, forbade him to take a wife.

Davenant had been connected with Queens' College long enough to give it the reputation of a distinct theological tone. Like many of the divines who received their advancement in the reign of King James, Davenant had strong Calvinistic leanings, had a great hatred of the doctrines of Popery, but was supposed to have an inclination to Arminianism. Moreover, he treated the Puritans with kindness and tolerance ; was a gentle presser of conformity when Bishop ; and generally kept to the old canonical ceremonies of the early part of the reign of James. He strongly advocated the doctrine of universal redemption. His divinity was of a practical cast ; and his opinions had been firmly implanted in Queens' College, and, as Margaret Professor of Divinity, in the University. Fuller, 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 he (with the very large circle of Davenant's connections) 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."¹

Davenant was succeeded in the Mastership of Queens' by Dr. JOHN MANSEL (1622-31), who continued president during Fuller's residence. Of him Fuller has left no particulars whatever, except that he was Vice-Chancellor in 1625. His name ; it will be seen, occurs in unfavourable connection with our student, whose prospects in life he could not be induced to advance.

According to the register of Sydney College, Fuller's tutors at Queens' were Mr. Edward Davenant and Mr. [John] Thorpe.

EDWARD DAVENANT was the late President's nephew, and therefore Fuller's cousin. His father, who is described as a merchant of London, was a distinguished mathematician, and

¹ Russell's *Memorials*, p. 303.

“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 Taylors’ 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.”² Upon his uncle’s accession to the bishopric of Sarum, Davenant received a prebendal stall therein (1623), and afterwards the treasurership (1630)—“the best dignity.” He dwelt mostly at his Vicarage of Gillingham in Dorset. Other patronage came in his way, for he was made Archdeacon of Berks (1630), and received Paulshot Parsonage, near Devizes. The latter post he resigned during the troubles to his wife’s brother, Mr. Grove. Davenant is described as being “not only a man of vast learning, but of great goodness and charity.” Aubrey adds: “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 Algebrists.”³ Sir C. Wren, it is said, spoke very highly of Davenant’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 juggle out other arts.”⁴

It was under this tutor, too, that Fuller most likely cultivated his memory, the exercise of which faculty brought him, in later days, an extraordinary fame. Aubrey makes reference to a rough and ready method practised by Davenant, who, we do not doubt, also 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 or, &c., and then they were (*sur le champ*) to repeate what they remembered, which did exceedingly profitt them; and so for sermons, he did not let them write notes (which jaded their memorie) but give an account *vivâ voce*. When his eldest son, John, came to Winton-Schoole (where the boys were enjoined to write sermon-notes),

¹ “Frō Dr. Edward Davenant” is added *in margine* of his notice of Fuller.

² *Letters, &c.* ii. 297.

³ ii. 300.

⁴ *Holy State*, p. 67.

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 of it, as they that do, I am much mistaken.’”¹ Doubtless, therefore, this method of his tutor was in Fuller’s mind, when he afterwards wrote his essay on memory.

As to Mr. JOHN THORPE, his grateful pupil made brief mention of him in *The Worthies* about forty years after this time. For when speaking of Dr. John Thorpe, a violent persecutor of Wickliffites, he adds: “His name causeth me [1660] 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.”²

One cannot read Fuller’s encomiastic notices of his teachers, penned so long after the connection had ceased, without dwelling on the potent and lasting effects of such pleasant intercourse. Hartley Coleridge has justly said of the kindly feeling to which such a connection is calculated to give expression: “The human heart is capable of no more generous feeling than the genuine gratitude of a scholar to his instructor. It is twice blessed; honourable alike to the youth and to the elder, and never can exist where it is not just.”³

Among the celebrities who had been or were still in connection with Queens’ were, in addition to those elsewhere mentioned, 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 association with Fuller’s. Preston’s skill in philosophy was held in high respect. “He was,” says Fuller, “the greatest pupil-monger⁴ in England in man’s memory, having sixteen fellow commoners [*i.e.* greater pensioners] (most heirs to fair estates) admitted in one year in Queens’ College, and provided convenient accommodations 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 Col-

¹ *Letters, &c.* p. 302. Aubrey and others allude to Fuller’s art of memory.

² § Norfolk, p. 257. [p. 96.

³ *Northern Worthies*, § Roger Ascham,

⁴ This word is not a term of *contempt*,

as it has been taken. (Thus Grosart, *Memoir of Herbert Palmer*, p. 29, calls it, “the angry nickname phrase.”) It often occurs in an honourable sense in Fuller and others.

lege,¹ 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!'" Just about the time when Fuller entered Queens,' Preston was in trouble, "being suspected of inclination to Nonconformity." A crowd, on one occasion, pressing to hear him preach, the Chancellor of Ely enjoined that service should be said without sermon. "In opposition whereunto," says Fuller, who records the event "warily," "a sermon was made without service." Preston was afterwards made to declare his opinions, and with a discretion worthy in all respects of Fuller himself "neither displeased his own party, nor gave his enemies any great advantage."² He became Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, chaplain to Prince Charles, and ("generally desired by the townsmen") Preacher at Trinity Church. For the latter office he waived the bishopric of Gloucester, offered to him. He infused his principles into those who attended his lectures. "And some conceive that those doctrines, by him then delivered, have since had their use and application." Preston was befriended by the Duke of Buckingham, under whose sinister influence he engaged in politics. Fuller, who knew Preston well, adds: "He had perfect command of his passion; with the Caspian Sea never ebbing nor flowing; and would not alter his composed pace for all the whipping which satyrical wits bestowed upon him." He belonged to Fuller's natal county; and he died in 1628.³ From a reference made to him in a letter of Dr. Davenant's—hereafter to be quoted—we may conclude that he was well acquainted both with the person and the merits of Fuller. He was inclined to Puritan opinions; and he gave Emanuel College its marked reputation for Puritanism.

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 Fellow in 1617, and had probably left the College ere Fuller joined it. Opposed as Fuller was to Goodwin's ecclesiastical opinions, there were

¹ It appears from Mede's correspondence that Preston (being a great favourite) was surreptitiously elected to this office; and a disturbance thereupon occurred which must have come under Fuller's notice. The fellows and students of Emanuel College noisily fetched the Doctor from his old quarters.

² *Hist. Camb.* § viii. ¶ 6, p. 163. Clark gives a more detailed account of the circumstances in his *Lives of Thirty-two English Divines*.

³ *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 291. See also *Church-Hist.* book xi. 131.

many points in this great Independent's character that the former could appreciate. But perhaps on account of Goodwin's defence of the court which adjudged King Charles to death, Fuller nowhere mentioned him by name; just as for the same reason he never named Milton.

Another well-known pupil-monger at Queens' was pious HERBERT PALMER, who, admitted a year after Fuller, became Fellow in 1623, and ultimately President (1644) in place of the ejected Dr. Martin. Though a Puritan, Palmer had meanwhile been presented by Laud to the vicarage of Ashwell, Herts. "He took many pupils," says Clarke, "of whom he was more than ordinarily careful, being very diligent both in praying with them in his chamber and instructing them in the grounds of religion; as also keeping them to their studies and the performance of disputations and other exercises of learning privately in his chamber, beside the more public exercises required of them by the College, to the great benefit of those that 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.

Under such excellent teachers, and equally good examples, Fuller's student-life was spent. He entered zealously upon his studies. "The College," says the eulogist, "was a sphere wherein his relucant abilities had room to exert themselves, so that he filled the eyes of that University with a just expectation of his future lustre."¹

The daily routine of college life at that period was different from 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), or to hear and take part in the public disputations of those students of all the Colleges who were preparing for their degrees." After dinner (twelve o'clock) there was a further shorter attendance required at the disputations, &c. The students were further to attend evening

¹ *Life*, p. 3.

service; also supper at seven o'clock; the intervals and the time after supper up to nine or ten o'clock being at their own disposal.¹

According to the University Statutes, the indicated course of study in "the Liberal Arts" extended in Fuller'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 Fuller himself in his character of *The General Artist*,² which is here given.

"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 grand 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 but one by nature he gets cloven 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 turns 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 over all 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 them though long, never tedious, because significant.

"3. *Hence he proceeds to the 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.

"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. There are *sylogisms*, long swords; *euthymemes*, short daggers; *dilemmas*, two-edged swords that cut on both sides; *sortes*, chain-shot: and for the defensive, *distinctions*, which are shields; *retortions*, which are targets with a pike in the midst of them, both to defend and oppose.³ From hence he raiseth his studies to the knowledge of Physics, the great hall of nature; and meta-

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 Gloss.* p. 9.)

³ Of Logic he has also thus written: "Logic, in itself, is of absolute necessity, without which St. Paul could never have disputed 'two years' (no, nor two hours), 'in the school of Tyrannus,'

Acts xix. 9. So highly did the Apostle prize it, that he desired to be freed *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων* (from men who have no topics),—from abshrd men who will fix in no place to be convinced with reason.' (*Hist. Univ. Cambridge: Dedication.*) He here also alluded to the subjects taught at 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 learn-

physics, the closet 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 of 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 shipwracks 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.

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

"Thus, taking these sciences in their general latitude, he hath finished the round circle or golden ring of the arts; only he keeps a place for the diamond to be set in; I mean for that predominant profession of law, physic, divinity, or state-policy, which he intends for his principal calling hereafter."

It was by the aid of the course of training here indicated that our earnest student himself became "so general a scholar that it was his insight into everything he had read (together with his thinking and meditating nature, out of which he could not be got sometimes for several hours together), made his fancy so nimble that as soon as he heard any subject, he was able to speak to it, taking not above two hours' time to recollect himself for his sermons."

While our young scholar is walking through the groves of Academus, we may take a passing view of the condition, &c., of the town and University in his day. From his 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 brief and uninteresting way; but in the *Church-History*, or earlier part of the work, he is more loquacious, and the reading is therefore more engaging.

The students formed a larger body then than now: an "exact" survey, taken in the year 1621-2, quoted in Fuller's *History*, gave 2,998 as the full number;² the town population

ing." "True Philosophy, thus considered in itself, is, as Clement Alexandrinus termeth it, *Aeternae veritatis sparagmon* (a spark or splinter of divine truth): *Res Dei ratio*, saith Tertullian, God himself

being, in a sort, the great grand-father of every *Philosophy act*."

¹ *Holy State*, pp. 65-8.

² § viii. ¶ 8, p. 163.

was about 8,000. A writer speaks of the University, as being a tedious horse-journey of two days from London, and destitute of any better conveyance for letters than its well-known carrier, Hobson. It was, however, "still one of the great centres of the literature, the science, the talent, and, unhappily, the religious strife of the nation."¹ Fuller thus concisely and fondly sketches it in his *Worthies*: "Cambridge is the chief credit of Cambridgeshire, as the University 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, yet there is *more* in the colleges of Cambridge; for Oxford is an University in a town, Cambridge 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."²

It is apparent from the various references in the literature of the time, 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 tells us that the King made the learned exercises of scholars the greatest and best part of his royal entertainment.³

On the occasion of the King's visit in March 1622-3, Fuller was doubtless among the "young scholars" who, dressed⁴ according to their degree, were placed in order "from Jesus Coll. gate unto Trinity Coll. gates." "The Proctors, Presidents, and Deans of the several colleges did walk up and down in the

¹ Ed. of Thorndyke's Works, vi. 170.

² § Camb. p. 149. [p. 154.]

³ Memorials of Bp. Brounrig (1660),

⁴ The usual dresses of the students were such as would have charmed Goldsmith. They consisted of "new-fashioned gowns of any colour whatsoever, blue or green or red or mixt, without any uniformity but in hanging sleeves; and their other garments light and gay, some with boots and spurs, others with stockings of divers colours reversed one upon another, and round rusty caps." Some of the college-masters were more strict. Thus of Dr. Goslin, of Caius College, who was an M.D., Fuller says: "I remember when this Doctor was last Vice-chancellor [1625], it was highly penal for any

scholar to appear in boots, as having more of the gallant than civil student therein. Now a scholar undertook for a small wager, much beneath the penalty, to address himself *ocreated* [*i.e.* wearing an *ocrea*, a legging or boot] unto the Vice-chancellor, which was beheld by others as a desperate adventure. Carrying his state in his urinal, he craved his advice for an hereditary numbness in his legs (and something of truth therein), which made him in his habit, to trespass on the University's statutes, to keep them warm. The Vice-chancellor pitying instead of punishing him, prescribed him his best receipts, and so by this *fraus honesta*, he effected his desires." (*Worthies*, § Norwich, p. 275.)

streets to see everyone in his degree to keep his rank and place." The King was feasted at Trinity, patiently sat out five hours of speeches, and then went to a comedy. "Then we brought him to the chamber of presence again, where he did refresh and rest a little while, and then we carried him to the door entering into the Court, where his coach did wait for him; but his majesty was pleased to stay while the Orator, Mr. [George] Herbert did make a short speech unto him." The King then thanked them all round; "and as he passed along the Court, the non-regents and regents and fellow-commoners and all the rest standing in their ranks, said with a loud voice *Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex!*"¹ Fuller certainly joined lustily in this salutation; for in spite of the disfavour which his college, with other colleges, came to be regarded by the High Anglican party, it was a most loyal house. As an historian, Fuller afterwards noted, with a sense of quiet satisfaction with the college which bred him, how, at the Visitation of the University under the Earl of Manchester, in 1643, there was made in that college "a thorough reformation, — neither Master, Fellow, nor Scholar being left of the Foundation." A "new plantation" was put in their room "who, short of the former in learning and abilities, went beyond them in good affections to the Parliament."²

The news of the return of Prince Charles from the impolitic matrimonial journey to Spain, reached Cambridge on the 6th October, 1623, and made young and old wild for joy. "Ten thousand persons of quality are still [1659] alive," said Fuller, "who can and will attest that a panic fear for that match invaded the nation." Hearty festivities betokened the delight of the students, and all studies were put aside for a few days. "Our bells rang all that day," says Mede, "and the Towne made bonfires at night. Tuesday, the bells continued ringing. Every college had a speech, and one dish more at supper, and bonfires and squibbes in their courts. . . . Wednesday, the University assembled, in the forenoon to a gratulatory sermon at St. Mary's; in the afternoon, to a public oration. The close at night was with bonfires, drummes, gunnes, fireworks till past midnight—all the town about."³ Fuller relates that on this occasion Herbert, the University Orator, made "a speech no less learned than the occasion was welcome."⁴ Of course verses in celebration of the event were composed.

Next year (1624), in December, the King with the Prince of

¹ Cooper's *Annals Camb.*

² *Hist. Univ.* § viii. ¶ 40, p. 169.

³ Birch's *Fames I.* ii. 420.

⁴ *Worthies*, § Montgomeryshire, p. 46.

Wales again visited the University, keeping his court at Trinity College. This is the only visit of the King which Fuller mentions in his annals: it is remarkable as being the occasion when the marriage-treaty with Henrietta Maria was signed. The King was suffering from gout; but the court were entertained with the usual ceremonies and celebrations. It was perhaps on this occasion that King James made a well-known remark on the question of the position of the "altar," thus recorded by Fuller: A great person complained to the King "of the inverted situation of a college-chapel out of design to put the house to the cost of new-building the same. To whom the King answered, 'It matters not how the chapel stands, so their hearts who go thither be set aright in God's service.'"¹ James was at this time under the influence of such prelates as Williams and Andrewes, Laud not yet having attained the power to throw into such matters his notions on "the beauty of holiness."

In common with many other students, Fuller in these his younger days derived huge delight in attendance at the *Latin plays* which, besides occurring in connection with royal visits, were allowed to be commonly acted by the students. He may indeed have participated in them. At this time he probably became familiar with the works of the dramatists of that dramatic age, as to whom he has left well-known appreciative notices. With the plays of Shakespeare, indeed, we know that he was acquainted: of Sir John Oldcastle, Falstaff's prototype, he complained that "stage-poets" had made themselves very bold with his memory; and afterwards said in the *Worthies* that he had "so worn out the neb² of my pen in my *Church-History* about clearing the innocency of this worthy knight," that he had nothing to add.³ Under § Norfolk, however, he complains that the stage had been over-bold with Oldcastle's memory, and holds "our Comedian" inexcusable for it (p. 253).

Attempts were often made to abolish these theatrical entertainments. When Fuller's father was studying at Cambridge, "some grave governours," records Fuller, "maintained the good use thereof, because thereby in twelve days they more discover the dispositions of scholars than in twelve months before."⁴

"There have been more, in some one play,
Laughed into wit and virtue, than have been
By twenty tedious lectures drawn from sin
And foppish humours."

¹ *Church-History*, xi. 151.

³ § Herefordshire, p. 36.

² *Neb*: always so spelled by Fuller.

⁴ *Meditations on the Times* (1647), xviii.

Some of the colleges were especially famous for the plays which they produced, and among the number Queens' occupies a prominent place. Thus a Latin comedy entitled *Senile Odium* was acted there by the students in 1631. It was written by PETER HAUSTED, who, born at Oundle, near Aldwinckle, and educated at Queens', was very well known to Fuller. In these theatrical diversions Hausted became indispensable to the students. Another of Fuller's associates, whom he speaks of as having been a good actor when young, was JOHN TOWERS, also of Queens'. He became chaplain to William, Earl of Northampton, who settled him at Castle-Ashby; he was afterwards Dean of Peterborough, and died bishop of that see, 1649, "rich only in children and patience."¹

Fuller's interest in these college theatricals seems to be inferred from his numerous references to them in his writings. Of another student he records that "he was so possessed with his lively personating of *King Richard the Third*,² in a college comedy, that ever after he was transported with a royal humour in his large expenses, which brought him to beggary though he had great preferment!"³

But notwithstanding these and other attractions, Fuller with youthful ardour plunged into those studious pursuits of which he was ever afterwards enamoured. If he found them troublesome or wearisome at first, they soon came to be (as they were to his fellow-student 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 his life, is shown by the early age (17) at which he took his first degree (1625). 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 "respondent" and twice as "opponent." 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

¹ *Worthies*, § Norfolk, p. 249.

² Written by Dr. Legg, Master of Gonville and Caius College, as we gather from the *Worthies*. The scholar

who took to this "royal humour" was John Palmer, afterwards Dean of Peterborough. (§ Norwich.)

³ *Profane State*, p. 375.

on the Thursday before Palm-Sunday to be full Bachelors of Arts.¹

Accordingly, on Commemoration Day at the end of the Lent Term, 1624-5, Fuller's undergraduate period came to an end. Having creditably performed the duties, and subscribed his name

Thomas Fuller

in the University Subscription-book, to the newly-introduced Articles, he, with fifty-seven other students of Queens',² received his B.A. degree. It is expressly stated that he took it with unusual credit; and hence it was the result of assiduous application to his studies. Nine or ten terms were now before him ere he could obtain the next higher degree.

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 in Queens', November 25. The elevation of Dr. Davenant proved to be the means of the early advancement in the Church of his numerous relatives. Immediately after his election, he had given to the elder Fuller (1622) the Prebendal Stall of Highworth, Wilts., in the cathedral of Sarum. Hence, our Fuller spoke of himself afterwards as "Prebendarius Prebendarides." The Bishop's nephews, the Townsons, and Edward Davenant were also advanced. The latter further received the lease of a great manor worth £1,000 a year. The cousins, we may suppose, during their vacation visited their uncle and his household at Salisbury. It may be that it was on one of these occasions, at a service for the King's Evil, that Fuller "had the honour" to see the King solemnly heal in the choir of Salisbury,—“though being so long since,” he says in 1658, “I cannot recover all particulars.”³ Fuller, like his character of the Good Yeoman, seeing the King once, prayed for him ever afterwards.

During the summer and autumn of 1625, the plague—"an

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

² In the list of graduates in Brit. Mus., Cole's MSS. 5885, fol. 85, Fuller's name occurs about the middle of the list.

³ *Appeal*, pt. ii. 413. James I. was frequently in Salisbury, as the guest of the Bishop, for many days at a time. These visits occurred in 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 1625, 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 it is not mentioned. It is probably to the latter visits of King James that Fuller is referring.

Extraordinary Ambassador in this city of London to denounce God's anger against it," Fuller reminded a London audience in 1642¹—again raged with violence in London; and for fear of the infection spreading to Cambridge, the public college-exercises and local fairs were omitted during the vacation. Among other precautions Hobson's well-known wain was stopped. The victims amounted to over 35,000—about half the number that suffered by the next great visitation in 1665. It had not entirely ceased when in October the Cambridge students again assembled; but the town escaped the dreaded visit.

Fuller's cheerful disposition soon began to manifest itself: even at this early time he was surrounded by a circle of friends. His lively conversation and genial humour, set off we may be sure by a sober gravity, made him a general favourite at college. Now, as throughout his life, "he was a pleasant facetious person, and a *bonus socius*."² The friendships which he formed at this time were lasting: upwards of thirty years later, Fuller remembered many of his former associates, or those with whom he was on terms of friendship. Never, perhaps, did an author perpetuate the names of so many personal friends as Fuller. His college-acquaintance lay amongst both young and old. A few of the friends who were connected with his own college may conveniently be mentioned here.

WM. BUCKLY, B.D., once a fellow of Queens', Fuller about 1654 speaks of as "my worthy friend, lately gone to God." Buckley was beneficed near Haunes, Beds., whence, at his friend's request, he sent for the *Church-History* the interesting particulars of Thomas Brightman, the Puritan, a former student of Queens', also settled at Haunes. Buckley's information was from aged credible persons, familiar with Brightman.³

STEPHEN NETTLES, who was also a fellow of the college, wrote, in 1625, an answer to Selden's book against the divine right of tithes, "applying himself to the Judaical part." Fuller records that never a fiercer storm fell on all parsonage barns since the Reformation than that which Selden's treatise called up.⁴ Heylyn informs us that Nettles, "a country minister," "was skilled in Talmudical learning," and that Selden, in consequence of the reply of Nettles and of others, "never came off in any of his undertakings with such loss of credit."⁵

WILLIAM JOHNSON, another fellow of Queens', was one who took great delight in the plays acted in the college. He was a

¹ Innocents'-day Sermon. ² Aubrey's *Letters*, ii. 355. ³ *Ch.-Hist.*, x. 50.

⁴ *Church-History*, x. 70.

⁵ *Appeal: Examen*, ii. 539.

friend whose disposition resembled Fuller's, becoming in after times the "most witty and most pious man living." His wit no doubt recommended him to Charles II., to whom he became chaplain and sub-almoner. He wrote (1638) laudatory verses for the *Holie War* of his "worthy friend," telling him that—

"Though it of blood relate
And horrid war, whose very name we hate,
Yet clad in arras-language and thy phrase,
Doth not affright but with delight amaze."

When Fuller was writing the *Church-History*, Johnson was of Warboise, Hunts., "where my worthy friend is well beneficed."¹ He died Archdeacon of Huntingdon, a few years after Fuller. He seems to have been fond of the sea; for in his *Deus Vobiscum*, a sermon preached on the occasion of a great deliverance at sea, 1648, he states that he was twice shipwrecked, lived four days without food, and lay two days and two nights upon a rock in the sea. His death occurred in the Levant.

EDMUND GOURNEY, B.D., of Queens' and Corpus Christi Colleges, afterwards beneficed in Norfolk, was another of Fuller's witty associates. He was, says his friend, "an excellent scholar, who could be *humourous*, and would be *serious*, as he was himself disposed; his humours were never prophane towards God, or injurious towards his neighbours; which premised, none have cause to be *displeased* if in his fancies he *pleased* himself. Coming to me in Cambridge when I was studying, he demanded of me the subject whereon I studied. I told him 'I was collecting the witnesses of the truth of the Protestant religion through all ages, even in the depth of Popery, conceiving it feasible though difficult to evidence them.' 'It is a needless pains,' said he; 'for I know that I am descended from Adam, though I cannot prove my pedigree from him.' And yet, reader, be pleased to take notice that he was born of as good a family as any in Norfolk. His book against Transubstantiation, and another on the Second Commandment, are learnedly and judiciously written."² He died in the beginning of the Civil War.

Fuller makes casual references to other fellow-students in the same college. Among them was that scandalous Presbyterian writer, THOMAS EDWARDS, the author of *Gangræna*. Fuller says: "I knew Mr. Edwards³ very well, my contemporary in Queens' College, who often was transported beyond

¹ *Church-History*, vi. 321.

² *Worthies*, § Norfolk, p. 258.

³ M.A., Cambridge, 1609, and Oxford, 1623.

due bounds with the keenness and eagerness of his spirit; and therefore I have just cause in some things to suspect him; especially being informed and assured the contrary from credible persons."¹ Edwards' disposition seems to have got him into trouble in February 1626-7, when he was charged by the Vice-Chancellor with having, in a sermon at St. Andrew's, preached against obedience to superiors. His book, which was written in 1646 in the spirit of rigid Presbyterianism, was directed against the errors, practices, &c. of the "Sectaries," or Independents.² The rising influence of the latter party caused him to flee to Holland, where he died in 1647. He wrote other books against religious toleration.

We also find Fuller making allusion to SIDRACH SIMSON, as of Queens' College, and as one of the five "dissenting brethren" or "Congregationalists" in the Westminster Assembly of 1643.³ He was made Master of Pembroke Hall in 1650.

On Wednesday, 30th March, 1625, King Charles was proclaimed. A contemporary Cambridge letter thus refers to it:—"I know not what the omen of it was, but the joy of the people devoured their mourning. We had thunder the same day, presently upon the proclamation, and 'twas a cold season; but all fears and sorrows are swallowed up in joy of so hopeful successor."

Under the year 1625, Fuller notices the death of *Andrew Downes*, one of the celebrities of the University, having been Regius Professor of Greek forty years. Fuller characterises him as "one composed of Greek and industry; whose pains were so inlaid with Sir Henry Savile's⁴ edition of Chrysostom that both will be preserved together." Five candidates (one of whom was Abraham Whelock)⁵ appeared for the vacant office: "How much," exclaims Fuller, "was there now of *Athens* in Cambridge, when (besides many modestly concealing themselves) five able competitors appeared for the place!"⁶ Robert Creighton (who was also University Orator in Fuller's time) succeeded: his Greek lectures Fuller most probably attended.

The remaining years of Fuller's residence at Queens' were spent in a steady preparation for the next degree. For it, a

¹ *Appeal*, pt. iii. p. 630.

² Fuller says that "Mr. Herbert Palmer (an anti-Independent to the height), being convinced that Mr. Edwards had printed some falsehoods in one sheet of his *Gangrana*, proffered to have that sheet reprinted at his own cost, but some intervening accident obstructed it." (*Appeal*, iii. 631: see Wood's *Fasti*.)

³ *Church-History*, xi. 208.

⁴ "Our worthy English knight, who set forth the golden-mouthed father in a silver print." (*Holy State*, p. 186.) This literary enterprise cost about £8,000.

⁵ An acquaintance of Fuller, who terms him his good friend. (*Church-Hist.*, ii. 63 and 71.)

⁶ *Camb. Hist.* § viii. ¶ 12, p. 164.

higher course of study, with three years' residence, was required by the Statutes, as also the performance of fresh Acts both in the public Schools and in the separate colleges.

While the young student was thus engaging himself, the University and the town were fully alive to the struggle then agitating the political world—a struggle which was soon to be followed by momentous results. Very many students were then in residence who were destined to take prominent parts in the conflict, which indeed might be said to have already begun. As reflecting the politics of the day, the entire body of students in June 1626 were greatly excited by the circumstances which attended the disputed election of Buckingham as Chancellor of the University, over whom at this very time an impeachment hung in consequence of his shameful conduct in the Spanish war. Fuller, as usual, mentions the circumstances briefly. The heads, it appears, were in favour of electing him in obedience to the King's demand; the students generally, who took a most active interest in the matter, supported his opponent, the *Earl of Berkshire* (son of the former Chancellor, who was "loving and beloved of the University.") Great efforts were made by the Court party to carry the Duke. Queens' College was heartily opposed to him; for Mede records that, two days before the election, "about dinner time, the Bp. of London [Mountaine] arrived unexpected, yet found his own colledge [Queens'] most bent and resolved another way to his no small discontentment. . . . Divers in town got hackneys, and fled to avoyd importunity. Very many, some whole colledges, were gotten by their fearful masters, the Bp. and others, to suspend, who otherwise were resolved against the Duke, and kept away with much indignation." The Duke gained the day by a majority of four; but Fuller states that the Earl lost "not for lack of voices, but *fair counting them.*"¹ "You will not believe," continues Mede, "how they triumphed (I mean the Masters above-named), when they had gott it. Dr. Park made his college exceed [accede] that night, &c. Some since had a good mind to have questioned the election for some reason; but I think they will be better advised for their own ease. We had but one doctor in the whole town durst (for so I dare speak) give with us against the Duke, and that was Dr. Porter of *Queenes*. What will the Parliament say to us?" Some of the names of Fuller's friends are among the minority; and he also was presumably at one with his college in resenting this act of interference on the part of the King. Parliament took steps

¹ *Worthies*, § Essex, p. 329.

to censure the proceedings, but its speedy dissolution made an immediate end of the matter.

To descend from "grave to gay," it falls to be mentioned here that Fuller records a curious incident which took place at Midsummer eve, this year, "during my abode in Cambridge." A book containing "A Preparation to the Cross," and two other treatises on religion, afterwards published, was found in the belly of a cod-fish which had been brought to Cambridge for sale. The affair created a great sensation. The book "was wrapped about with canvass, and probably that voracious fish plundered both out of the pocket of some shipwrecked seaman. The wits of the University made themselves merry thereat, one¹ making a long copy of verses thereon, whereof this distich I remember :

‘ If fishes thus do bring us books, then we
May hope to equal *Bodlyes library*.’

But, whilst the youngsters disported themselves herewith, the graver sort beheld it as a sad presage : and some who then little looked for the *cross*, have since found it in that place !”²

Young Fuller, it may confidently be asserted, was foremost among these "wits." We wonder whether any of the bad jokes which follow may be attributed to him ! "A young scholar (who had in a stationer's [printer's] shop peeped into the titles of the civil law) there viewing this unconcocted book in the cod fish made a quiblet thereupon, saying 'that it might be found in the *Code*, but never could be entered into the *digest*.' Another said or wrote 'that he would hereafter never count it a reproach to be called *Cod'shead*, seeing that fish is now become so learned an *helluo librorum*,' which signifies a man of much reading, or skilful in many books. Another said, that 'at the Act or Commencement for degrees, two things are principally expected, good learning and good cheer, whereupon this seaguest, against the very time of Commencement brought his book to furnish the one and his carcase to make up the other.'"³

We have another recollection of Fuller's college days in the following passage, where he is speaking of Latimer's sermon on the Cards—blunt preaching, he says, which was then admirably effectual, but ridiculous now:—"I remember in my time a country minister preached at St. Mary's; his text, Rom. xii. 3, 'As God hath *dealt* to every man a measure of

¹ Tho. Randolph.— F. This was the poet, who had been admitted to Trinity in 1623. See chap. vi.

² *Worthies*, § Gloucestershire, p. 359.

³ *Cambridge Folio*, quoted in Cooper's *Annals*, iii. 196, 197.

faith.' In a fond [foolish] imitation of Latimer's card-sermon, he prosecuted the metaphor of *dealing*, that men should *play above-board*, that is, avoid all dissembling, not *pocket cards*, but improve their gifts and graces, *follow suit*, wear the surplice, and conform in ceremonies, &c. All produced nothing but laughter in the audience. Thus the *same actions* are by several persons and times made not the *same actions*, yea, differenced from commendable discretion, to ridiculous absurdity. And thus, he will make but bad music, who hath the *instrument* and *fiddlestick*, but none of the *rosin* of Mr. Latimer."¹

Dr. Davenant, still manifesting great interest in the progress of the most promising of his many nephews, was now, amidst the cares of his bishopric, making earnest entreaty by letter with Dr. Mansel, President of Queens' College, to obtain a fellowship for the young bachelor. The nepotist's autograph letters, now preserved in the Bodleian, refer to this matter. They are addressed to Dr. Ward, his very intimate friend, who at this time was at the head of Sydney-Sussex College, Cambridge. The first letter which makes mention of Fuller is dated July 17th, 1626, and is as follows:—

To y^e right wooll his very loving freind Dr. Ward
Master of Sydney Colledg and one of y^e Publick
Readers in Divinity give this.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR. WARD ; I hope you will make a iorney this summer into these Western parts and visitt us here at Salisbury in your way. Had not God taken from vs our woorthy friend I might perchance have accompanied you unto Wells ; but now those viadges are wth mee at an end. I would intreat you to cast about, wher I may have y^e best likelihood for preferring my nephew Sr.² fuller, to a fellowship, yf hee cannot speed in Queens Colledg. Dr. Mansell 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 busines yt I may enioy your company here as long as your occasions will p'mitt : you cannot doe mee a greater kindeness. And thus wth my harty comendations I comitt you to God, and rest alwaies

Your very loving friend

JO : SARŪ.³

Fuller's name does not again occur in the correspondence for upwards of a year, the next letter which mentions him being dated 23rd Sept., 1627. It was written from Lacham, near Chippenham, in Wiltshire, the seat of James Mountagu (third son of Henry Mountagu, created, 1626, Earl of Man-

¹ *Hist. Cambridge*, sect. vi. § 38, p. 103.

² The academic title "Sir" was at

this time applied to those who had taken degrees, or who were in holy orders.

³ Tanner MSS., vol. lxxii. fol. 148.

chester), who had acquired the estate by marriage: from him descend the Mountagus of Wiltshire, The Fullers, we shall see, were intimate with the Montagus; and this circumstance may in part account for the presence of the Bishop at Lacham. The letter shows that the subject of it was still as present in the writer's mind as when he last wrote:—

To y^e right woor^{ll} his very loving freind Dr. Ward
Mr. of Sidney Colledg, and one of y^e Divinity
Professors in Cambridg give this.

Salutem in Christo.

GOOD DR. WARD; So soon as I have opportunity, I shall think of those 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 Sarū. The number of those that die weekly is not great; but y^e danger is, that ever and anon some new howse is infected. I pray Godwee 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 vnto the Master of Queens Colledg [Dr. Mansel] to know what likelihood ther is for y^e preferment of my nephew Thomas fuller vnto a fellowship. Hee is to bee Master of Artes next comencement [*i.e.* July 1628]; and therefore I am resolved (yf ther bee no hope ther) to seek what may bee doon els where. And herein I must crave your favour and assistance. I pray therefore, (yf you can preferr him in your own Colledg) let mee intreat your best assistance therin: or yf you have no means to doe 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 bee 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, unles I first might vnderstand 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 woorll his very loving friend Dr Ward
Mr. of Sidney Colledg and one of y^e Divinity
professors in Cambridg give this.

Salutem in Xpō.

GOOD DR. WARD; I have spent some time in considering those pointes concerning ffreewil, w^{ch} 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 ther-

¹ Tanner MSS., vol. lxxii. fol. 207.

fore 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 know my opinion.

Dr. Mansell has not yet given mee a resolute answer, whether Sr. fuller bee in possibility of beeing chosen at thar 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 think 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 donne 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 mariadg, you would (as from your selfe) wish him to bee a suiter unto some of our maidens [*i.e.* the Townsons], wherof two are now mariadgable. My sister will give reasonable portions and I shall bee ready to doe somewhat for any woorthy man that shall match wth any of them, as occasion is offered mee. The sicknes continews so at Salesbury, 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, *Octob. 25,*
1627.

JO: SARŪ.¹

Dr. Ward seems to have accordingly busied himself in the young student's behalf, all the more willingly when he found the 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 28th Nov., 1627, also from Lacham, and containing further particulars of his nieces, the Townsons, is as follows :—

To y^e right woorth his very loving friend Dr. Ward
Master of Sidney Colledg in Cambridg give this.
Leave this at y^e Bull in Bishopsgate street to bee
given unto the carrier [*i.e.* Hobson] of Cambridg.

Salutem in Christo.

DR. WARD, I hartily thank you for your mindefulnes of my nephew Sr. fuller ; what Queens colledg will doe for him I know not ; I have writt unto his ffather to make a iorney to Cambridg, & to see whether anything is likely to bee done for him in our own Colledg, y^t yf bee no hope there, wee may seek abroad in time. As for my neeces, y^e elder² is seventeen yeer ould : a maide of a sober & gentle disposition, & every way fitt to make a good wife for a divine. The next³ is but fiveteen yeer ould not yet ripe for mariadg, but will bee by that time a good husband bee found for her ; & I doubt not, but shee will in all good qualities match her sister. The greatest portion w^{ch} my sister gave was £300 ; and in truth it is by y^e one halfe more then 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. Her two

¹ Tanner MSS., lxxii. p. 213.

² Anne? See page 37 *antea*.

³ Bridget. *Ibid.*

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 upon it so y^e time of payment bee reasonable; & 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."]

JO: SARŪ:¹

The annual Commencement of the 1st July, 1628, must have been anticipated by Fuller with far more interest than he had hitherto taken in these celebrations, from the fact that he was expecting to receive his Master's degree. The usual ceremonies and rejoicings in connection with these Commencements began in St. Mary's Church, where the University officials and visitors assembled. An interesting description of the annual proceedings, and of this year in particular, will be found in Masson's *Life of Milton*.² The Vice-Chancellor was, it appears, Dr. Bainbrigg, the President of Milton's college. We may suppose that the divinity disputations would be of special moment to Fuller since the Respondents in the Act—Dr. Belton, of *Queens'*, and Mr. Chase, B.D., of *Sydney-Sussex*—were his associates. The Divinity Act occupied the whole morning. The Philosophical Act, in which Fuller upon this occasion was more personally concerned, began usually about mid-day at the same place. The candidates for the degrees were first sworn; then followed the speeches and replies from the magnates of the University and others. Among them was one called the Prevaricator, whose speeches and comments were always appreciated, and the choice of whom was always a matter of great attention by the students. This personage was an Academician who was allowed by the Heads to act the part (to which he was appointed the year beforehand), provided his "graceful witticisms" were "concocted with literate elegance." The word literally meant one who halted on two unequal legs, then one who colludes with a defendant in a sham prosecution. He was also called the *Varier*, from his varying the question proposed either by a play on words, or by a transposition of the terms in which it was expressed. Masson terms him the licensed jester or humorist of the occasion. Witty Dr. Brounrig (soon to become, if not already, one of Fuller's friends) was one who acted well this part of Prevaricator. Fuller states that Brounrig was appointed to perform the *Joco-serious*³

¹ Tanner MSS., vol. lxxii. p. 230.

² Vol. i. 165 *seq.*

³ "A mixture of Philosophy with wit and oratory which is there called the

Praevaricator, as in Oxford the *Terrae filius*." (Dr. Gauden, *Memorials of Bishop Brounrig*, p. 155.)

part in a Philosophy Act at Cambridge before King James. He did both, says Fuller, a good judge in such matters, and one who could enter into the spirit of such a character, "to the wonder of the hearers. Herein he was *like* himself, that he could on a sudden be so *unlike* himself, and instantly vary his words and matter from mirth to solidity. No man had more ability, or less inclination to be satyrical, in which kind *posse et nolle* is a rarity indeed. He had wit at will; but so that he made it his page, not privy-councillor—to obey, not direct his judgment."¹ When the Prevaricator had exhausted his topic or *quaestio*, and when other speeches had been delivered, the "Answerer in Philosophy" advanced his thesis. After replies and other speeches, the Respondent was then complimented by the Moderator; and the remaining ceremonies of graduation were partly gone through on the spot and partly in the public Schools.

Two hundred and sixteen Masters of Arts were graduated on this occasion. Fuller received his degree with applause. Both his degrees, indeed, were (we are told) "taken with such general commendation, and at such unusual age that such a Commencement was not within memory."² His signature is thus attached to the subscription-book:

Thomas Fuller.

To this time of Fuller's life belongs his acquaintance with the classic authors and with the Fathers, with which his writings—in common with many other wonderful authors of these times—shew such a surprising familiarity. But his course of studies was soon to be somewhat modified.

The long-continued endeavours of the Bishop to obtain for his nephew a fellowship were of no avail; for at the election in 1628, perhaps from the want of inclination on the part of the President to advance his promising scholar, he was passed over. Fuller's future life now came under the consideration of his friends, his seven years' studies being at an end. His father probably began to feel the burden of the expense of maintaining him at college, for he had a large family now growing up. And yet it was necessary that his son, being intended for the Church, should continue at Cambridge to qualify himself for the degrees in Divinity. Ere the first of these degrees could be taken, Masters of Arts, according to the

¹ *Worthies*, § Suffolk, p. 62.

² *Life*, p. 4.

statutes, were to remain in full residence for a further term of five years. There is evidence to show that Fuller's friends were now considering how they might keep up his connection 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 & master of Sidney Colledg, deliver
this.

Salutem in Christo.

DR. WARD, I am informed that they have made a late election at Queens Colledg, & utterly passed by my nephew. I would the Master had but donne mee that kindenes, as not to have made mee expect some kindenes from him. I should have taken it much better, then his dooing of lesse then nothing, after some promise of his favorable assistance. I am loath Mr. ffuller should bee 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 & discouragement to his sonne to continew in that Colledg, where hee shall see many of his punies step before him in preferment. In w^{ch} respect hee is very desirous that hee should remoov vnto your Colledg there to live in fellowes comons, 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 & study, & in admittance into fellowes comons, 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 Comons wthout giving plate or any other such like burdens w^{ch} lay uppon young gentlemen fellow comoners. I make no doubt of your readines to doe him any lawfull favour; but y^e cheife thing w^{ch} I aim at in his remooval is, that hee may also have your sup^vision & direction bothe in y^e course of his life, & study. And thus wth remembrance of my love I comitt you to God & rest alwaies

Your very loving friend

JO: SARU.¹

The anonymous biographer gives another account of the reason why Fuller did not obtain the Fellowship. Referring apparently to the same circumstance, he states that, during Fuller's stay at Queens', a Fellowship fell vacant, and that the young 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 at the same time must not be admitted from one county. Now there was already one student from Northamptonshire already elected. He may have been Fuller's cousin, Robert Townson, elected two

¹ Tanner MSS., vol. lxxii. p. 296.

years before, who, we presume, stood more in need of the fellowship than did Fuller. 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 that 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 afterwards severed. His course of study had begun with eagerness and finished with credit; and he must have left his associates with a mind well informed. At this time, then, he was something more than a mere "general scholar." In after years he looked back with a grateful remembrance to the years he had spent within the college walls. He thus affectionately concludes his notice of the house in the annals of his University: "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."¹

¹ Sect. v. ¶ 39, p. 82. As to the 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 (p. 47 *anted*). Fuller perhaps took a long holiday before entering his new college in the following year.





CHAPTER V.

STUDENT LIFE : SYDNEY-SUSSEX COLLEGE.

FIRST CURACY. (1629-31.)

ADMISSION TO SYDNEY COLLEGE.—DR. MOUNTAGU.—DR. SAMUEL WARD : HIS RELATIONS TO FULLER.—RICHARD DUGARD.—FULLER AND THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.—FULLER'S FRIENDS AND CONTEMPORARIES : ROWLAND LITTON, JOSEPH MEDE, EDWARD BENLOWES, ETC. ; TAYLOR, D'EWES, ETC.—FULLER APPOINTED TO A CURACY BY THE FELLOWS OF CORPUS CHRISTI.—THE PLAGUE.—FULLER AND HOBSON THE CARRIER.—FULLER'S VERSES ON THE ROYAL CHILDREN.—DR. JAMES DUPORT.—SIR WM. PASTON.—DRAINAGE OF THE FENS.

“ [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.” (*Holy State*, p. 38.)

IN September, 1629, there occurred at Cambridge the ceremonious installation of Lord Holland as Chancellor of the University, in the place of the Duke of Buckingham, then recently assassinated. In November, Fuller was admitted at Sydney-Sussex College, not as “*Tanquam Socius*,” as has been stated, but only “*ad convictum Sociorum*,” *i.e.* as a fellow-commoner.¹ Fuller says that in Pembroke Hall “*a Tanquam* it seems is a fellow in all things save the name thereof ;” and he again defines the word as “*a fellow's fellow*.”² To acquire the privilege of a fellow-commoner, higher fees had to be paid, the necessary annual charges being about £60 or £70.³ The extra expense in Fuller's case was perhaps defrayed by Bp. Davenant. Our author refers to his college maintenance in one of his Cambridge sermons, making an appeal to “*us who are or should be*

¹ Register, p. 47, *anted.*

² *Church-History*, xi. 141 ; *Worthies*, § London, p. 207.

³ D'Ewes' *Life*.

scholars, whom our parents have bred up at the Fountains of Learning and Religion, till our Portions are almost shrunk into our Education."¹

SYDNEY (or more correctly Sydney-Sussex) COLLEGE was a new foundation in Fuller's time, having been erected at a cost of £5,000, by Frances Sidney, aunt of Sir Philip Sidney and widow of the Earl of Sussex. Here originally was a house of the Franciscans, founded by Edward I. In Fuller's day the area of their church was "easily visible in Sydney College garden, where the depression and subsidency of their bowling-green east and west, present the dimensions thereof; and I have oft found dead men's bones thereabouts." The site, which was purchased from Trinity College by the foundress' executors, was formerly very extensive; and the church was one of the largest in the town, being used by the University for their public Exercises and Commencements up to 1507. After the erection of the new college, the refectory of the Friary was converted into a chapel, and was so used up to 1776. Fuller tells us that some had falsely reported that the building was once a stable. Accordingly both it, and Corpus Christi and Emanuel Colleges, were in 1629 "presented" by Bishop Wrenn to Archbishop Laud, and by him to the King, as unconsecrated; "with which his majesty was much displeased, and determined for their consecration." But Fuller with others "their equals in learning and religion" contended that the continued series of divine duties performed in the chapel for more than thirty years did effectually consecrate it.² Fuller quaintly terms the foundation a *Benjamin* college, "the least, and last in time, and born after the death of its mother." Though a "little babe," the college was, says Fuller, "well battelled"³ under the fostering care of its early Masters and others, who increased its small revenues. Its first Master was *Dr. James Mountagu* (afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells), who was a benefactor both to it and the University. He was the advocate of "Low Church" views, being known for his Puritan inclinations; and his opinions gave a reputation to the college for many years. The promotion of Mountagu was

¹ *Sermon Of Assurance*, p. 15.

² *Hist. Camb.* sect. ii. § 23 *seq.*; Cole's MSS. vol. xx. fol. 107, vol. xlvii. fol. 93.

³ *Grew fat.* Fuller often employs this word, obsolete but for the fact that *battels* are still the daily allowances of food to the students at Oxford, as also expenses for provisions. In the *Pisgah-Sight*, e.g.,

we have: Bethsan, in Issachar, "afterwards called *Nysa* by humane writers from *Nysa*, *Bacchus* his nurse, whom he is said there solemnly to have buried. A jolly dame, no doubt, as appears by the well battling of the plump boy her nursery" [*i.e.* a nurse's charge]. (ii. 177. See also ii. 217 and iii. 347.)

very rapid: he was highly in favour with King James, "who did ken a man of merit as well as any prince in Christendom." The works of the pedant monarch he translated into Latin, "and improved his greatness to do good offices therewith."¹ His influence at the Court was great. He it was who was the mover in the design for sending representatives to the Synod of Dort. He died (1618) Bishop of Winchester, being succeeded by "that gulf of learning" Andrewes.

Fuller duly notes in his *Worthies* that Francis Cleark, Knt., was one of the noble benefactors of Sydney College, augmenting the scholarships and extending the buildings. And yet the worthy knight, he tells us, was a stranger to the foundation; and some said that his charity "pitched upon it" because it was the "youngest foundation." "But I have been informed that Sir Francis, coming privately to Cambridge, to see unseen, took notice of Doctor Ward his daily presence in the Hall, with the scholars' conformity in caps, and diligent performance of exercises; which indared this place unto him."² In the same book, Fuller alludes to a bequest paid by Chief Justice Bramstone, as an instance of the integrity of the Judge, "effectually relating to the foundation wherein I was bred."³ Dr. Ward gave our author particulars relating to these benefactions, to which there are also allusions in his *Hist. Camb.* Of John Lord Harrington, he says in *The Worthies* that his days were "not according to the hopes and desires of the lovers and honourers of virtue in this nation, especially of the Society in Sydney College, whereto he was a most bountiful benefactor."⁴

Among the curiosities of Sydney College was a skull, said by Fuller to have been brought from a well in Candia, which, says he, "was candied all over with stone, yet so as the bone remained entire in the middle, as by a casual breach thereof did appear. This skull was sent for [through Dr. Harvey] by King Charles; and, whilst I lived in the house, by him safely again returned to the college, being a prince as desirous in such cases to preserve other's propriety, as to satisfy his own curiosity."⁵

Dr. SAMUEL WARD,⁶ who became Fuller's tutor—"my Reve-

¹ *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 284.

² *Ibid.* § Bedfordshire, p. 118.

³ *Ibid.* § Essex, p. 329.

⁴ *Ibid.* § Warwickshire, p. 130.

⁵ *Ibid.* § Northamptonshire, p. 280.

⁶ Dr. Seth WARD (afterwards Bishop of Sarum) was also of this college, being a Servitor to Dr. Samuel Ward, to whom

he was not akin. (Aubrey's *Letters*, iii. 572.) Seth entered the college in 1632, being taken by Dr. Ward into his "more especial care, lodging him in his own apartment and allowing him the use of his library; in a word, treating him as if he had been his own and only son." (Pope's *Life of Bishop Ward*, chap. ii.)

rend Tutor," he terms him¹—had been Master of Sydney College since 1609. We have already met with him as interested in young Fuller, through the friendship of the former with Dr. Davenant. As the connection between Ward and his pupil was now, and had been for some time, very intimate, a few particulars of him may be noted. Ward belonged to a Durham family "of more ancience than estate," and had received his education at Christ and Emanuel Colleges: He soon acquired the reputation of being one of the most learned theologians of the day, and was accordingly chosen as a representative at the Synod of Dort. He became chaplain to Mountagu, the former Master of Sidney, through whose influence he was afterwards made chaplain to the King. At one time of his life, Dr. Ward was beneficed at Much-Munden, Hertfordshire: he had other preferment in the diocese of Bath and Wells, and in the province of York. He was an exact linguist, and was one of the translators of the Bible. To him, with eight other divines at Cambridge, was assigned a portion of the Apocrypha; and so well did they perform their task that the revisers of the whole volume—Drs. Smith and Reynolds—complimented Ward upon the production. On the promotion of his friend Dr. Davenant, then Margaret Professor, to the See of Sarum, Dr. Ward succeeded to the former office,—an appointment entirely in accordance with Dr. Davenant's wish:² he held it for above twenty years. He followed the theology of Calvin; and in 1628, *i.e.* about the time that Fuller entered, Laud complained of this college, Emanuel (under Dr. Preston), and St. John's, as being "nurseries of Puritanism," and as calling for "reform." Towards the close of his life, Dr. Ward was much opposed to the practices of Laud and the Court clergy.

Under Dr. Ward's conscientious mastership the college was very prosperous, having about 140 students. He devoted himself to the advancement of his pupils. And how entirely the college was devoted to him is proved by the particulars which have been put on record by his pupils, Fuller and Seth Ward. Lloyd also gives us the following particulars of Dr. Ward's college life: "[He was] so good a man that he was Tutor as well as Master to the whole college; yea, kept almost as big a college by his goodness, as he governed by his place; more depending upon him there and abroad as a benefactor, than did as a governour. Being a great recommender, as well as an encourager of worth, he used to say that he knew nothing that

¹ *Worthies*, § Warwickshire, p. 128.

² Tanner MSS., lxxiii. 25.

Church and State suffered more by, than the want of a due knowledge of those worthy men that were peculiarly enabled and designed to serve both. And, as another argument of his goodness, he went always along with the moderate in the censure of preachers in the University, practices in the courts that were under his jurisdiction: and, in opinions in the Convocation whereof he was a member, much pleased with a modest soft way."¹ As regards the Master's college-duties, documents are in existence which seem to show his almost morbid sensitiveness in relation to them.² As to his connection with the measures proposed for Church-government, the Long Parliament assigned him an important position in the Assembly of Divines; but he preferred the quiet of his college to the strife of debate.

It seems to have been Fuller's lot during his college-life to have been closely associated with those whose characters were not marked by extreme opinions. This was pre-eminently the case with Dr. Ward. His pupil says of him that "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.*" Fuller afterwards included Dr. Ward among his *Worthies*,³ where, however, he does not in his own words speak of him at any length, "because the pen of a pupil may probably be suspected of partiality." What little he does say is finely put. "*He turned with the times as a rock riseth with the tide;*"⁴ and for his uncomplying therewith was imprisoned in St. John's College in Cambridge. . . . He died [Sept.] anno 1643, and was the first man buried in Sidney College Chapel." One of his former pupils, the Earl of Manchester, attended the funeral. Another, Seth Ward, accompanied him throughout all his imprisonment, and received his last words, which were, "God bless the King and my Lord Hopton!"⁵ Fuller again mentions Ward in the *Hist. Camb.*, whence we gather that the cause of his imprisonment was that in March 1643 he with other heads of houses refused to contribute to the Parliament the money which was demanded "so to redeem their forwardness in supplying the King," in July, 1642. "Yet was he a Moses," says his pupil, "not only for slowness of speech, but, otherwise, meekness of nature. Indeed, when in my private thoughts I have beheld him and *Dr. Collins*,⁶ (disputable whether more different or

¹ *Memoires*, p. 166.

² See Sanford's *Studies of the Rebellion*, p. 205.

³ § Durham, p. 298.

⁴ Fuller was very fond of this simile, and uses it on other occasions.

⁵ Pope's *Life of Bishop Ward*, chapter iii.

⁶ *Dr. Samuel Collins* was Provost of King's College and Regius Professor. With Brounrig, these friends were often the guests of Bishop Williams at Buck-

more eminent in their endowments,) I could not but remember the running of Peter and John to the place where Christ was buried. In which race, John came first as the youngest and swiftest, but Peter first entered into the grave. Dr. Collins had much the speed of him in quickness of parts; but let me say (nor doth the relation of a pupil misguide me) the other pierced the deeper into under-ground and profound points of divinity. Now as high winds bring some men the sooner into sleep, so I conceive the storms and tempests of these distracted times invited this good old man the sooner to his long rest, where we fairly leave him and quietly draw the curtains about him."¹ Dr. Ward was characterised for his gravity of deportment. The connection between him and Fuller seems to have been almost paternal; and during the remaining part of his stay at Cambridge it was entirely under Dr. Ward's direction (*auspitiis*) that Fuller's studies were conducted. That pupil and mentor were linked together by very close ties is shown by the frequent references of the former to the latter. Dr. Ward furnished his pupil with particulars for *The Life of Mr. Perkins* which accompanies the character of *The Faithful Minister*.² Ward had been acquainted with Perkins at Cambridge; and on the authority of the former, Fuller states that Perkins would "pronounce the word *damn* with such an emphasis as left a doleful echo in his auditors' ears a good while after." We are told again that old Philemon Holland, "the translator general in his age," "solemnly kept" the quill with which he wrote some of his books; which quill he showed "to my reverend tutor Doctor Samuel Ward."³

• RICHARD DUGARD⁴ was a tutor here in Fuller's time: he and

den. Collins was a witty man, but given to eccentricities. Fuller describes him as "that oracle of eloquence" (*Worthies*, chap. x.), and as "one of an admirable wit and memory; the most fluent Latinist of our age, so that, as Caligula is said to have sent his soldiers vainly to fight against the tide, with the same success have any encountered the torrent of his tongue in disputation. . . . In these troublesome times (affording more preachers than professors) he lost his church but kept his chair; wherein he died about the year 1651." (§ Bucks, p. 137.)

¹ *Church-History*, § ix. ¶ 34, p. 168. There is a short biography of Dr. Ward in Cole's MSS., Brit. Mus., vol. xx. fol. 107, whence we gather that Bp. Brounrig preached his funeral sermon.

² *Holy State*, p. 80.

³ *Worthies*, § Warwickshire, p. 128.

⁴ *William Dugard* also belonged to Sydney. He was successively Master of Stamford School and of Merchant Taylors' School (1644). It was at Sidney College that Cromwell—*hic fuit grandis Impostor carnifex perditissimus*—had entered as a student. His tutor, Mr. RICHARD HOWLET, B.D., was still resident when Fuller was entered. Howlet was a Fellow of the college; he became Dean of Cashel; but on the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland he lost all he had, and fled to England with his family. His wife was Archbishop Laud's "near kinswoman," and that prelate tells us that if he had not relieved the family it might have begged. The gratitude of one of his old pupils at Sidney, Edward Mountagu, Lord Man-

Fuller became well acquainted. He had been educated at the grammar-school of his native town, Worcester, by Henry Bright, whom he always held in respect, as Fuller avers. He was chosen Fellow of Sydney College, "where in my time (for I had the honour of his intimate acquaintance) he had a moiety of the most considerable pupils, whom he bred in learning and piety, in a golden mean betwixt superstition and faction. He held a gentle-strict hand over them, so that none presumed on his lenity to offend, or were discouraged by his severity to amend. He was an excellent Grecian and general scholar; old when young, such his gravity in behaviour; and young when old, such the quickness of his endowments."¹ Dugard proved a benefactor to his college. He died (1653) Rector of Fulleby, Lincolnshire. He is described as having been a good helper to the distressed Cavaliers. He was an intimate friend of Milton, who saved him from many possible sufferings.

The various excellent teachers under whom Fuller studied, and whose examples were continually before him, afforded him materials for his character of *The Good Master of a College*, in the *Holy State*.² The biographical example is, indeed, that of Dr. Metcalf, of St. John's College, who counted the college his own home; "not like those masters, who making their colleges as steps to higher advancement, will trample on them, to raise up themselves; and, using their wings to fly up to their own honour, cannot afford to spread them to brood their college. But the thriving of the nursery is the best argument to prove the skill and care of the nurse." Among Metcalf's scholars were the great Lord Burghley, Ascham, Sir John Cheke, and others.³

Under the incentives of such preceptors, Fuller entered upon his new studies with the same diligence as he had heretofore manifested. His next degree required a course of study in the higher branches of learning. It comprised Theology, Hebrew,

deville (who had been raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Kimbolton in the lifetime of his father, the Duke of Manchester), now stood him in good stead. Through him Laud, by petition to the Lords, and by the interposition of the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Hertford, and Archbishop Ussher, obtained for Howlet the rich living of Lachingdon, in Essex, April 1642. This prelate states that Howlet, when Fellow of Sydney, was "tutor to two sons of Lord Mountagu, the Lord Kimbolton's

uncle; at which time also the Lord Kimbolton himself was a student in the same College, and knew the person and worth of Mr. Howlet. This his Lordship honourably now remembered, else it might have gone hard with Mr. Howlet's necessities. So upon the order thus obtained [from the House of Lords], I collated Lachingdon upon him." (*History of his Troubles and Tryal*.)

¹ *Worthies*, § Worcestershire, p. 176.

² Pp. 92-95.

³ Page 95, *seq.*

with attendance at Acts, Disputations, and Preachings. Masters of Arts had also occasionally to *preside* as Moderators in the public schools.

As to the Hebrew tongue referred to here as well as in the sketch of *The General Artist* (quoted Chap. iv. 82), Fuller certainly acquired it about this time. Queens' College maintained, indeed, a Hebrew Lector or Lecturer; and the Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University in Fuller's time was Robert Metcalf of St. John's. In his *Holy State*, which was written some ten years after this time, Fuller speaks of the necessity of giving the language *continuous* attention. "Skill in Hebrew," he says, "will quickly go out, and burn no longer than 'tis blown."¹ Occasional references to Hebrew words in his early writings show that he had not altogether forgotten these lingual acquirements of his youth; and if he forgot them he furbished them up later in life. To the latter period belongs his *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, 1650, compiled in part from Jewish writers. Of all his books, this most reveals his skill in the sacred tongue. His occasional sermons have also traces of it. In the *Church-History* (1655) and elsewhere we meet with discussions on Hebrew words. That he, even after this time, continued the study of the Hebrew Bible, is proved by an interesting fact. The Rev. H. Moule, M.A., Vicar of Fordington, Dorset, possesses a copy of Sebastian Munster's Hebrew and Latin Bible (Basle), which has Fuller's autograph, thus written—

Thomas Fuller D.D.

This is most probably an authentic signature, as the style is similar to other specimens of Fuller's writing. The title "D.D." gives an approximate date as to the time when the Bible came into his possession. He was created D.D. in September, 1660,² and in August of the following year he died. Hence, perhaps, it is one of *very* few signatures of Fuller with this degree. It is touching to find that the Bible was one of the last books which he was studying; for Fuller, as we shall see, was not one to buy books and to put them by unused.³ And it is a proof of the determination which he came

¹ *Holy State*, p. 30.

² See Chap. xx.

³ The Bible in question was purchased by the Rev. C. W. Bingham, M.A. (so

that gentleman informs me), in 1852, out of the catalogue of Lumley, the London bookseller: by Mr. Bingham it was given to its present possessor, the Rev. H.

to in his last years, henceforth to keep to his proper study, Divinity.

Here we may fittingly refer to a passage at pens between Fuller and Heylyn, the author of the well-known *Cosmography*. The latter, in his controversy with Fuller, had criticised an observation of Fuller's, that Hebrew had once been the common tongue—"an opinion," Heylyn declared, "weakly grounded; such as I marvel at in our author [Fuller], who, having travelled over [i.e. *described*] all the Holy Land, should have been better studied in the true nature and original of the Holy Tongue." This moved Fuller "more to admire" that Heylyn himself "should be so utterly ignorant in the Brazilian, Mexican, Ethiopian, Persian, Indian and Tartarian tongues; but especially in the China language, one letter whereof he did never understand, although he hath written a general *geography* of the whole world!" Pious Fuller adds, that he will not follow his opponent in discussing what language the saints shall speak in heaven: "let us rather labour to go thither to confute them, than here to believe them." And he severely censures Heylyn for the spirit in which he had related how "some good women of my old acquaintance were once very eagerly bent to learn Hebrew, for fear (as I conceive) that they should not chat it handsomely when they came to Heaven!"¹

We may readily imagine that Fuller met with a hearty reception at the hands of the associates of his new college, and that a place would eagerly be found for him in their society. "Some of his choice and learned friends" (if we may believe his first biographer's statement²) had frequently invited him to join the college. Here, as before, he formed many new friendships. The intercourse of his new friends, and of those whom he had known from his connection with Queens', tended to make his college-life very happy: coupled with the charms of study, to which Fuller was never insensible, we may certainly conclude that to this cause is due the roseate hue which we think is perceptibly spread over this period of his life. A pleasing feature in his college-friendships may be seen in the fact that they were not severed, as many a friendship was severed, by the coming political crisis. About twenty-five years later, we find him, for instance, looking back with pleasure to his intercourse with ROWLAND LITTON, Esq., once

Moule. It was exhibited at a meeting of the Dorset Archæological Society in the year 1865. The fac-simile of the autograph is due to the courtesy of the

last-named gentleman and of his son, the Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A.

¹ *Appeal*, i. 399.

² Page 5.

his "chamber-fellow" at Sydney, a dedication to whom must here be presented entire: "Primam mundi Ætatem, Poetæ dixerunt *Auream*; non ob *auri* abundantiam, cujus ne mica tunc in usu, (cum 'opes, malorum irritamenta' nondum 'effoderenter',) sed ob summam illius *seculi* simplicitatem. Quo quidem sensu, Vita academica mihi vere *aurea* est censenda: cujus me meminisse juvat, cum nos olim in Collegio Sydneyano (Ego, sub auspitiis Doctoris Wardi; Tu, sub *tutela* Magistri Dugardi, τῶν μακαρίτων) literis vacavimus. At præter hanc communem cum aliis felicitatem, mihi peculiaris Honor obtigit, quem idem cubiculum tibi sociavit, Notissimum enim illud, *Noscitur è Socio*: unde spero futurum, ut obscuritas mea inter *Collegas*, beneficio *Contubernii* tui (tanquam notabili Indice) apud posteros illustrabitur."¹

"The poets called the first age of the world *the golden age*, not on account of the abundance of gold, of which there was then but little in use (inasmuch as 'riches the incentives to evil' were not yet 'dug out of the earth'), but on account of the supreme simplicity of that time. And in this sense, indeed, I ought to consider college-life truly *golden*; for I recall with delight our life at the time when we formerly devoted ourselves to letters at Sydney College—I under the chief direction of Dr. Ward; you under the tutorship of Master Dugard, who have now both joined the ranks of the blessed. [Fuller is writing in 1655. Ward died in 1651, and Dugard about two years later.] But besides this happiness which was common to me with others, it was my especial honour to be associated with you in the same chamber, for that saying is well known, 'One is known by one's companion;' wherefore I hope that my obscurity among my associates will be brightened among posterity (as by a noteworthy sign) by the advantage of your company."

The gentleman thus commemorated was of Knebworth, in Hertfordshire—a place which at once connects him with the well-known nobleman lately deceased. His father, Sir William, M.P. for Herts—an honest and able man of some weight in Parliament—was one of the Committee sent to treat with the King, at Oxford, in 1643; and his grandfather, lieutenant of his county, had led the local forces to Tilbury Camp in 1588. He himself was admitted a greater pensioner at Sydney in 1631, being then aged 18. Fuller's reference to their occupying the same chamber reminds us that it was not then the custom for each student to have a sleeping apartment for his own use

¹ *Hist. Univ. Camb.* sect. iv. p. 58. For Fuller's estimate of the influence of such friendships as this, see his life of Foxe, *Abel Redevivus*, p. 377.

alone. "In all college-biographies of the time," says Masson, "we hear of the chum or chamber-fellow of the hero as either assisting or retarding his studies."¹ Fuller's words testify to the harmony of their intercourse. The bent of their minds was somewhat similar, for Litton became afterwards known as an antiquary. Lord Lytton informed me that he had no records of Fuller's friendship with his ancestor.

Another of Fuller's Sydney College acquaintances was CLEMENT BRETTON, who addressed to "his dear friend Mr. Fuller" laudatory verses for the Holy War:—

"Thy quill hath wing'd the earth ; the holy Land
Doth visit us, commanded by thy hand," &c.

He became D.D. in 1640, was sequestered from Church-Langton, and died Archdeacon of Leicester in 1669.

In the *Worthies*, Fuller makes mention of "my old friend, Dr. GEORGE ENT," who also was of Sydney College, where he was admitted in 1624. He became M.D., was President of the College of Surgeons, and was knighted by Charles II. He wrote in defence of the discovery of Dr. Harvey, his particular friend and contemporary at the University.

WALTER MOUNTAGU, brother to the Earl of Manchester, and afterwards a Papist, was also at this time an associate of Fuller's in this house. To it also belonged THOMAS GATAKER, the Puritan divine, and afterwards Fuller's literary colleague in *Abel Redivivus*; and JEREMY WHITAKER, another noted Puritan, afterwards one of Cromwell's chaplains, who in a funeral sermon on one of Fuller's name said (with perhaps a recollection of Thomas Fuller) that "it belonged to the Fullers to be learned."²

Of those who belonged to other colleges, Fuller records his intimacy with Mr. JOSEPH MEDE. Mede was very popular among the students, the younger of whom were fond of playing practical jokes on him. He was a Fellow of Christ's College, and among the writers of that foundation Fuller has included him as "most learned in mystical divinity."³ Archbishop Ussher would have made Mede Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; but being of a retiring disposition, the latter refused the appointment. He zealously occupied himself in abstruse biblical questions, his great work being *Clavis Apocalyptica*. He was also extremely proficient in the studies of History and Chronology, and as such afterwards gave Fuller a ready assist-

¹ *Life of Milton*, i. 109.

² *Funeral Sermon on Francis Fuller*.

³ *Hist. Camb.* § 6, ¶ 9, p. 92.

ance in his literary pursuits. Fuller, in his first work, alludes to him as "my oracle in doubts of this nature," viz. some supposed matter of history which perplexed Fuller; and he inserts one of his friend's replies, dated June 20, 1638, which, says he, "I thought fit to recite, not for his honour, but to honour myself, as conceiving it my credit to be graced with so learned a man's acquaintance."¹ Elsewhere, Fuller says of him: "Of one who constantly kept his cell, (so he called his chamber,) none travelled oftener and farther all over Christendom. For things past, he was a perfect historian; for things present, a judicious novilant; and for things to come, a prudential, not to say prophetic, conjecturer."² Fuller alludes to his memory suffering "for being so great a *Fauter* of the fanciful opinion of the Millenaries. . . . The furious factors for the *fift monarchy*³ have driven that nail which Master Mede did first enter, farther than *he* ever intended it, and doing it with such violence that they split the truths round about it."⁴ Fuller also tells us that his friend could not pronounce the letter R (see Chapter ix.); but that he conquered the defect by his industry, making many an excellent discourse without hesitation. Under § Leicestershire, he also says: "I knew an Essex man⁵ as great a scholar as any in our age, who could not for his life utter *Carolus Rex Britanniae* without stammering. The best was the King had from him in his hearty prayers what he wanted in his plain pronounciation."

When quoting Mede's letter before-mentioned, Fuller adds "since lately deceased." He died October, 1638, leaving the bulk of his estate to his college. His letters contain curious and graphic particulars of Cambridge life, of which we have availed ourselves in this and the previous chapter.

EDWARD BENLOWES was another gentleman whose friendship, which dated from this time, proved of advantage to Fuller's costly literary undertakings. In 1620 he was of St. John's College, of which he was a benefactor. This singular individual affected poetry. He has quaint Latin verses, dated 1634, to Quarles' *Emblems*. He patronised Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight*, where the author says of him that he was born "*Musis ridentibus, Doctis plaudentibus;*" "*qui literas non ex alieno ore sed proprio judicio, non carendo (quod in nonnullis, et laudandum, et dolendum) sed fruendo æstimare novit.*"⁶ In his *Church-History*, Fuller quotes Latin verses by "Master

¹ *Holy War*, book v. ch. xxvi. p. 275.

² *Worthies*, § Essex, p. 335.

³ The Fifth Monarchy men Fuller elsewhere terms "first anarchy men."

⁴ *Worthies*, § Essex, p. 335.

⁵ "Mr. Jos. Mede"—F.—p. 126.

⁶ Book i. 26.

Edward Benlowes, a religious and learned gentleman, no small promoter of my former and present labours."¹ In the supplementary book, a section is inscribed to "Edv. Benlossio, Armigero, Mecaenati suo *benevolo*."² When Fuller thus wrote, Benlowes was of Brent Hall in Essex, where he had a large estate; and they were neighbours. Benlowes' literary expenditure was very profuse; but he was more generous than discriminating. Curious particulars of him may be seen in *À Wood*.³ Pope gave him a place in the *Dunciad* as "propitious still to blockheads;" and he says that some of the "poets" whom Benlowes patronised anagramed his name—Fuller, who was overfond of an anagram, seems to have given them the hint—into *Benevolus*; "to verify which he spent his whole estate upon them." Under this *nom de plume* are verses prefixed, along with Fuller's, to Sparke's *Scintilla Altaris* (1660).

In 1660, Fuller remembered that Sir SIMON STEWARD had lived (after he was knighted) a fellow-commoner in Trinity Hall, where his arms were in the time of the former fairly depicted in his chamber with a distich. His epitaph upon his monument in Ely Minster was copied for insertion in *The Worthies*, by Fuller's son John,—being inserted to show how "the royal name"⁴ of Steward came into Cambridgeshire.

Many young men afterwards destined to become famous were now in residence at the University; and it is interesting to think of Fuller's contact with them. Edmund Waller, with whose poems Fuller was familiar, was now studying at Trinity. George Herbert also, who, although residing at Court, came down on high occasions to discharge his duty of Public Orator "with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or since his time." His path in life often ran parallel to Fuller's. Here too was Milton, known to the students as "the Lady of Christ's College," diligently pursuing his studies; as to whom, Fuller's words in his brief *Life of Ridley*, already quoted, might imply an intimacy.⁵ To a mind inspired by poesy, as we know Fuller's was at this period of his life, this group of kindred spirits would not altogether be unknown. Among other students, Jeremy Taylor, a native of Cambridge, who was then a sizar at Caius College, ultimately became Fuller's "respected

¹ Book x. 103.

² *Hist. Camb.* vi. 89.

³ *Fasti*, ii. 204.

⁴ § Camb. p. 169.

⁵ *Holy State*, p. 279. See *ante*, pp. 52,

53. Milton's tutor was William Chappel,

ultimately Bishop of Cork. The latter was at this time noted for his skill in disputation. "No one tutor in our memory," Fuller avers, "bred more and better pupils, so exact his care in their education. (*Worthies*, § Notts., p. 317.)

friend." To him,¹ as well as to Symonds D'Ewes, the antiquary and historian, Fuller was afterwards indebted for literary help. D'Ewes was resident at St. John's, Cambridge, but for a short time only: he was glad, he says, to get back to his father out of the swearing, drinking, rioting, and hatred of all piety and virtue abounding generally in Cambridge.² D'Ewes was afterwards made a baronet by King Charles I., and died 1650. John Lightfoot, Fuller's distinguished colleague in sacred letters, was then likewise receiving his education, being known as "the best orator of all the undergraduates in the town;" but as yet he had not turned his attention to those special studies in which he afterwards excelled.

The good feeling with which Fuller was regarded soon manifested itself in an unexpected way. The Master and Fellows of CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE presented him to the perpetual curacy of St. Bene't's (*i.e.* Benedict's) Church, in Cambridge, of which they were the Rectors. This event occurred in 1630,³ Fuller's biographer stating that it was "not long" after the admission to Sydney College.

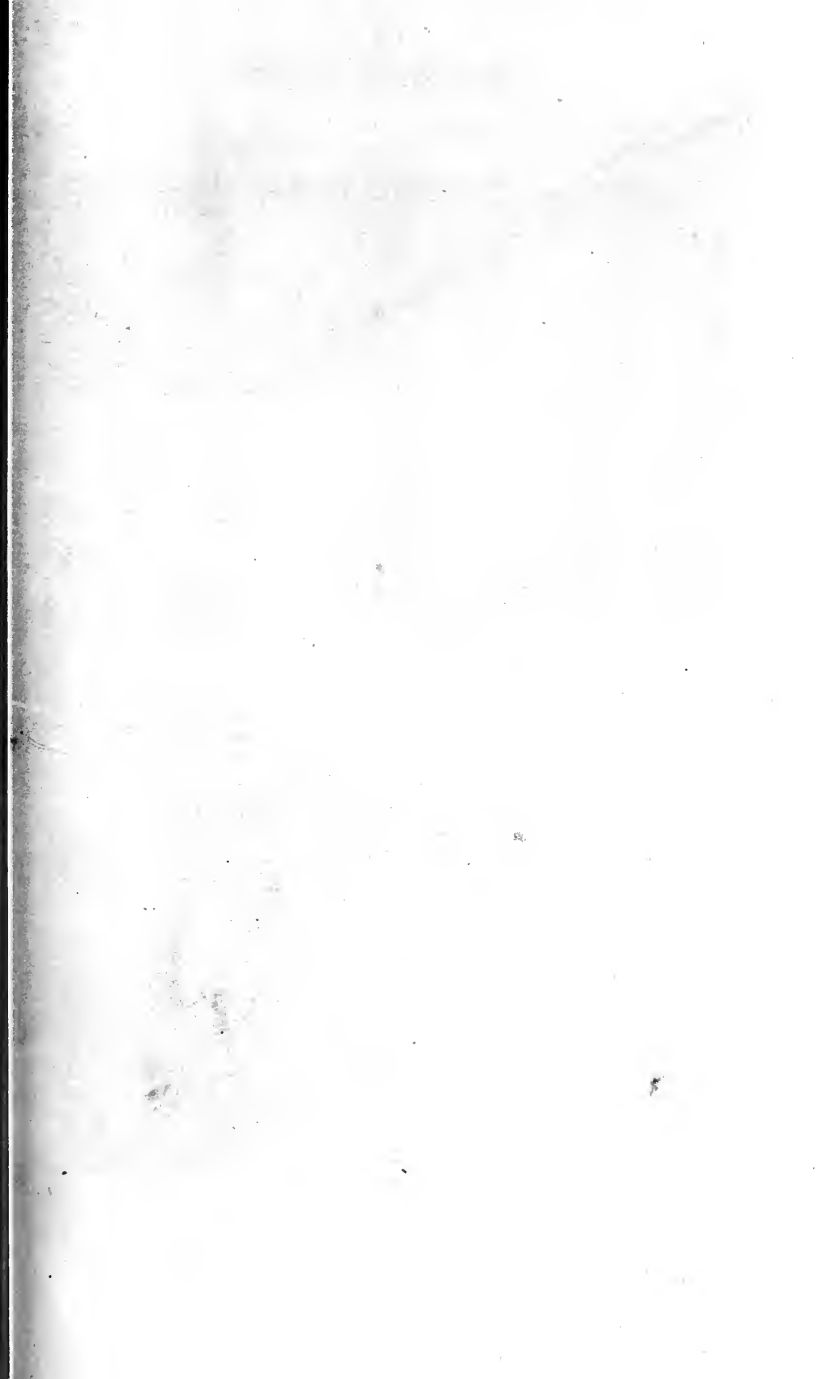
Corpus Christi College took its rise from the combination of two guilds about the middle of the twelfth century, one of which was called the Guild of Corpus Christi. Our author has a very lively account of the foundation in his History,⁴ where he gives all due honour to Archbishop Parker, who procured new statutes for the college and enriched it with many benefactions, and with literary treasures which from his time have been zealously guarded. From Fuller's map of Cambridge, 1634, we may see

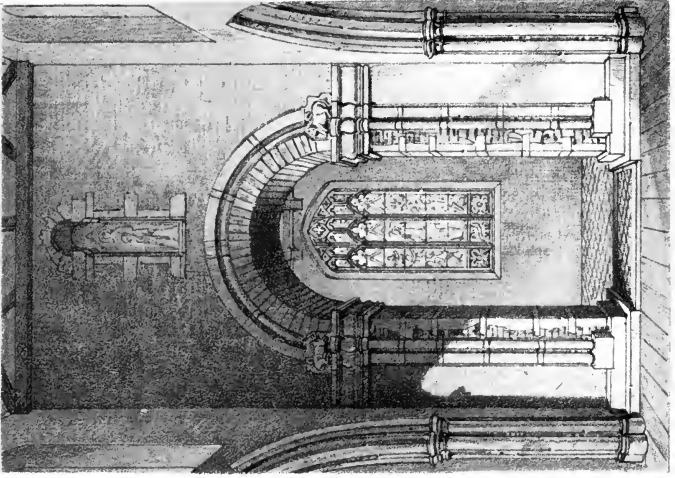
¹ In his account of All Souls' College, Fuller thus mentions Taylor: "Know, reader, I was promised by my respected friend, Dr. Jeremy Taylor (late Fellow of this house), well known to the world by his worth, a catalogue of the Eminent Scholars thereof; but it seems the Press (like time and tide) staying for no man, I have not been so happy seasonably to receive it." (*Church-History*, iv. 182.) This passage was written about 1654 or 1655, about which time Taylor was in prison for certain passages in his prayers in *Golden Grove*, written when under the patronage of the Royalist Lord Carberry. Fuller in common with Taylor, both "wandering" divines, suffered during the interregnum, and were persecuted for their connection with Royalists; and the chequered career of both was alleviated by the "courtesies of friends" and the "gentleness of a noble enemy."

² *Life*, i. 141. Fuller said that D'Ewes was loving to learned men, to whom he desired to do all good offices. (*Worthies*, § Suffolk.)

³ Masters, *Hist. C. C. C.* (Lamb's ed.), who gives 1630-33 as the time of Fuller's curacy; a period which agrees with the signatures to the Registers of the parish. Fuller was appointed in succession to one Thomas Fowle, who had held the living for three years.

⁴ *Hist. Camb.* § iii. p. 43 *seq.*, the historical facts of which were communicated to him by "Mr. [Richard F.] Crofts" (who was admitted in 1625, and became Fellow in 1635) "with the courteous consent of Dr. Richard Love, the worthy master." Fuller (1655) speaks of Mr. Crofts, "my good friend," as "lately gone to God." He was B.D. in 1640, and had remained Fellow throughout the troubles.





KELL BROS LITH LONDON E.C.

S. BOND'S, CHURCH, ST. JAMES'S, LONDON

that the college buildings were arranged in a large court, having also a chapel, built in 1594 by Sir Nicholas Bacon. This old court still exists; from it, looking over the high-peaked roofs of the buildings, St. Bene't's ancient tower may be seen. The walls and buttresses of these old college buildings are covered with ivy; and the associations seem all of bye-gone days. The present kitchen was once the dining-hall. Another quadrangle has since been formed, with a new chapel, entrance, &c.

The college was formerly entered, not as now from Trumpington-street, but from St. Bene't-street, near the tower of the church. It was from this circumstance, as also because (before the erection of the chapel) the students "kept their prayers" in the church, that the latter gave its name to the college. Such was its popular name in Fuller's day: "It hath another *working-day* name," saith he, "commonly called (from the adjoined church) *Bennet college*." The advowson was afterwards purchased for the college, and the two foundations became more related. Latterly, however, its first name has been returning into use.

At the time when Fuller was admitted to the foundation, Dr. Henry Butts was Master; but in 1632, upon his melancholy death—arising partly from his being concerned in putting forward (at the bidding of the Chancellor) unworthy names for the doctorate degree at the last royal visit¹—DR. RICHARD LOVE succeeded. Love, whose portrait is preserved in the college, was Vice-Chancellor in 1633-4; and as such we find him writing a licence in Latin verse for Quarles' *Emblems*. He was one of the heads of colleges who, at the Visitation in 1643, "continued in their places by the special favour of their friends and their own wary compliance."² He afterwards sat with the Westminster Assembly. There were eleven fellows on the foundation,—126 persons being in 1634 maintained therein. Fuller thus expresses his indebtedness to them: "I must thankfully confess myself once a *Member at large* of this house, when they were pleased, above twenty years since, freely (without my thoughts thereof) to chose me minister of St. Benedict's Church, the parish adjoining, and in their patronage."³

THE CHURCH to which Fuller was thus appointed takes us back to Saxon times, dating from about 650. It adjoins the northern part of the college, and is of rather small dimensions. It was originally the University Church; and

¹ D'Ewes' *Autobiography*, ii. 68.

² *Hist. Camb.* § ix. ¶ 43, p. 170.

³ *Hist. Camb.* § iii. ¶ 15, p. 47.

the Vice-chancellor, Masters of Arts, &c., still officially attend it every Easter Tuesday. The main portion of the church seems to be Early English; but the edifice is chiefly remarkable in having a square, lofty, unbuttressed and unornamented Saxon tower, which was restored many years ago by the Camden Society. The tower contains a peal of six "tuneable" bells, upon one of which, dated 1607, is inscribed: OF . AL . THE . BELLS . IN . BENET . I . AM . BEST . AND . YET . FOR . MY . CASTING . THE . PARISH . PAID . LEST . A similar quaint sentiment runs round another. Very worthy of notice is the internal massive western tower-arch, distinguished by its peculiar impost mouldings, jambs of what is technically called "long-and-short" work, and pilaster strips,—the two latter features being an evident imitation in stone of the wooden constructions of the Saxons. This arch has been described by a competent authority as "certainly one of the most noticeable Romanesque arches in the country." The window opposite the arch is also seen in the exterior view of the tower here annexed,¹ which gives a fair idea of this its most noticeable feature. We here see that the upper belfry windows are rough and round-headed; and that the lower centre windows have double heads with the square stones for imposts; the division of the lights being by rude balusters or shafts. The "long-and-short" work again appears at the angles of the tower.

The cure was in Fuller's days supplied by the fellows of the college, who had a fixed salary of only £3 per annum, with the contributions of the parishioners, for their labour.² Fuller gives it among the college livings as of the value of £4 9s. 9d. He does not seem to have taken up his abode³ at Corpus Christi College, but to have continued at Sydney College, for which house he had an affectionate regard.

Upon receiving this important charge—his first pastoral duty—Fuller perhaps now obtained ordination at the hands of his diocesan, John Buckeridge (Bp. of Ely, 1628—May, 1631)⁴ who would grant the necessary licence for officiating. No

¹ For the picture from which this sketch is made, I am indebted to the Rev. S. S. Lewis, F.S.A., the courteous Librarian of Corpus Christi College, who also lent me a photograph of a drawing of the tower-arch, being a sketch taken from the chancel by Miss Lucy Holroyd.

² *Masters' Hist.*

³ Another of his name—Thomas Ful-

ler, Essexensis—had been admitted to this college in 1593; M.A. 1597. *Masters' Hist.*, List of Members, p. 21.)

⁴ This prelate had been Laud's tutor. Fuller records that Buckeridge, when examining in his diocese of Rochester some scholars who had not learned Lile's rules, asked "What! are there Puritans also in Grammar?" (*Church-History*, v. (168).)

record of the ceremony, however, exists in the registers of Ely diocese, either at London or Ely.¹ The anonymous biographer tells us that Fuller was ordained by his uncle, Dr. Davenant; while Aubrey, equally inexact; states that he "was [at] first minister of Broad Windsor," in the diocese of Bristol.

At St. Bene't's he "offered the Primity of his ministerial fruits, which like apples of gold in pictures of silver (sublime divinity in the most ravishing elegancies) attracted the audience of the University."² This success was very remarkable, and seemed to forebode his fame as a preacher. His biographer remarks on his early age for such a post; saying that he was "generally known at that age at which most men do but peep into the world."³

But Fuller's ministrations were soon interrupted. For, about April, 1630, when the University assembled for Easter term, the Plague actually appeared, being brought thither by two soldiers from the King of Sweden's army. The town was well adapted for encouraging the scourge; for in 1654 Evelyn described it as "situate in a low, dirty, unpleasant place, the streets ill-paved, the air thick and infected by the fens." Mr. Fuller's *Observations on the Shires* is not less severe upon the town.⁴ The plague had so far increased by May that the students were suddenly sent to their homes. But many of the Heads, such as Dr. Ward, and Dr. Butts, the Vice-chancellor, nobly remained at their colleges, assisting the magistrates (writes Mede, April 24th) "in maintaining the infected and the poor amongst us, which want both means and work." During this interval the colleges were very dreary. "Our University is in a manner wholly dissolved," says Mede; "all meetings and exercises ceasing. In many colleges almost none left. In ours, of 27 Messes we have not 5. Our gates strictly kept, none but fellows to go forth, or any to be let in without the consent of the major part of our Society, of which we have but seven [fellows] at home at this instant; only a sizar may go with his tutor's ticket upon an errand. Our butcher, baker, and chandler bring the provisions to the college gates, where the steward and cook receive them. We have taken all our officers we need into the college and none must stir out: if he doth, he is to come no more. . . . Thus we live as close prisoners, and I hope without danger."

The plague increasing, the colleges were broken up, to re-assemble in the following term. During the raging of the

¹ Dr. Browne, Bishop of Ely, in a letter to the writer.

² Life, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Collectanea Curiosa*, i. 222.

pestilence, five thousand persons were reduced to distress, and exceptional measures had to be taken to provide corn for them. Collections for the sufferers were made in various parts of the country, London (as Fuller notices¹) being especially generous. Three hundred and forty-seven of the townsfolk died.

The scattered students were slow to re-assemble. Under date of Nov. 27, Mede thus pictures the condition of the colleges: "We keep all shut in the college still. . . . We have not had this week company enough to be in commons in the hall; but on Sunday we hope we shall. It is not to be believed how slowly the university returneth. None almost but a few Sophisters to keep their acts. We are now eight fellows. Benet college but four. Scholars not so many. . . . The re-assembling of the University for Acts and Sermons is therefore again deferred to the 16th Dec." When the winter had fully set in the plague abated.

The register of St. Bene't's kept by Fuller would tend to show that he remained at his post in the parish during this serious visitation of the periodic scourge. The interment of very many persons from the "Spittal" is registered. He was not, however, an inmate of Corpus College; for Butts, the Master, who after a while was abandoned by his associates, wrote during the autumn to the High-Steward of Cambridge thus: "Myself am alone, a destitute and forsaken man; not a scholar with me in college; not a scholar seen by me without." If with the rest of the students Fuller did leave, he, like Mede, was one of the first to return.

The result of the visitation was disastrous to the University: it was some years before the students assembled in their wonted numbers. Fuller notes in his *Hist. Univ. Camb.* that meanwhile many students had been made Doctors without keeping any Acts, to the great disgust of those who had fairly gotten their degrees with public pains and expense. "Yea Dr. Collins, being afterwards to admit an able man Doctor, did (according to the pleasantness of his fancy) distinguish *inter cathedram pestilentiae, et cathedram eminentiae*, leaving it to his Auditors easily to apprehend his meaning therein."

For his chief parishioner at St. Bene't's, Fuller had no less a personage than Hobson, the well-known carrier, now one of the oldest inhabitants of the parish. He was a frequent benefactor to Fuller's church, and he might well exemplify Fuller's "Good Parishioner." Thus, in 1628, the pious carrier presented a large Bible for the use of the church;² and among other

¹ *Hist. Camb.* sect. viii. § 20, p. 165.

² Masters' *Hist. C. C. Coll.*, App. 9, 10.

bequests, he made an agreement to pay for ever annually five shillings to some learned preacher for a yearly sermon.

Hobson, the first Englishman who let out hackney horses, was much patronised by the students, especially by the sons of the country gentlemen. One horse out of the forty in his stables was always ready when wanted; but he considerably compelled his customers to take that which was the nearest to the door, and no other. Hence the proverb, *Hobson's choice*: this or none. It is easy to suppose that Fuller would feel proud to have Hobson as a parishioner. He appreciated the worthy waggoner as one who cared for his cattle, whose "dumbness" (as he beautifully says in *Holy State*) "is oratory to a conscientious man; and he that will not be merciful to his beast, is a beast himself."¹

Hobson was among the number of those who died of the plague in this fatal winter of 1630-1: he "sickened," as Milton said, "in the time of the vacancy, being forbid to go to London by reason of the plague." On such occasions it was feared that his waggon-journeys would spread the infection.

"His leisure told him that his time was come,
And lack of load made his life burdensome."

At his own request he was buried in the chancel of the church of his parish, on Jan. 12, 1630-1; but no monument marks the spot. The register of the parish contains a notice of his interment. According to this testimony he was committed to the grave by Fuller, who signs at the end of the year (ending in March), Hobson's name occurring the last but six on the list.²

¹ Page 20.

² For extracts from the Register, as well as for permission to see it, I have to thank the Rev. J. Pullen, B.D., and his successor, the Rev. J. T. Lang, M.A. Thomas Hobson, who was born 1544, on the death of his father came into possession of a wagon and horses, with other small property. With the former as stock-in-trade he began business as a carrier between Cambridge and the Metropolis. He usually put up in London at the *Bull* in Bishopsgate-street: here, afterwards, in allusion to his success, the carrier stood "drawn in Fresco," "with a Hundred Pound Bag under his arm with this inscription: *The fruitful Mother of a Hundred more.*" "Whatever Tradesman will try the Experiment," comments Steele under the name of Hezekiah

Thrift (*Spectator*, No. 509), "and begin the day after you publish this my Discourse to treat his Customers all alike, and all reasonably and honestly, I will ensure him the same Success." Besides Hobson's usual occupation, he was a farmer, inn-keeper, and maltster. He was "a man of great Abilities and Invention, and one that saw where there might good Profit arise, though the duller Men overlooked it." By his prudence, perseverance, and honesty, he had amassed a considerable fortune, and was a wealthy landowner at his death. He bequeathed houses and lands for the erection of a workhouse; as also for the maintenance of the still-existing conduit which he presented to his fellow-townsmen—a sanitary measure which Cambridge needed. John Milton, who had been doubtless intro-

When the students were being dismissed to their homes on the spread of the plague, a royal prince (Charles II.) was born (May 29). "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.] BOOTH, of C[orpus] C[hristi] C[ollege], Cambridge):¹—

'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).²

The birth of the Princess Mary (afterwards mother of William III.) occurred on Nov. 4, 1631. The event, as we see from Fuller's words, exercised the pens of the poetically-inclined Cantabs, who determined to celebrate the births of the two royal infants by the publication of their effusions. They accordingly produced — *Genethliacum Illustrissimorum Principum Caroli et Mariæ a Musis Cantabrigiensibus celebratum. Cantabrigia*, 1631. (4to.) As might have been expected, "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 with January!

duced to the University by the well-known wain, appreciated honest Hobson as highly as did Fuller; and on the occasion of his death he wrote the two well-known epitaphs. His decease Milton humorously attributes (and perhaps in the case of so active a man, truly) to the enforced leisure which the plague entailed on him. The epitaphs have more the quaintness and spirit of Fuller himself than of grave Milton.

¹ Masters' *Hist.* p. 141. Booth was admitted in 1621, B.D. 1636, Fellow in 1637. He was afterwards beneficed in Essex, 1640. One-third of a small bequest to the College he ordered to be given to two youths "who are to make Speeches on the 5th Nov.; the same sum is to be then spent in exceedings at the Fellows and Scholars Tables" (p. 147). He died in 1642.

² *Worthies*, § Westminster, p. 237.

This piece is remarkable as being Fuller's first known published effusion (for it most probably appeared before his *David*; in which latter poem the phrase "my maiden muse" need not be too literally interpreted); but it is in no way worthy of him.

The little volume is of value on another account: one of the poems is by the unfortunate Edward King, Milton's "Lycid." The names of Hausted of Queen's, Whelock of Clare Hall, Randolph of Trinity, also occur.

Among the contributors we have, besides, JAMES DUPORT of Trinity, who belonged to the number of Fuller's friends, and who is often to be met with in these university collections. In 1639 he wrote congratulatory verses for Fuller's *Holy War*; in the course of which he says:—

"Then, Christians, rest secure : ye need not band
Henceforth in Holy leagues for th' Holy Land,
To conquer and recover 't from the Turk :
'Tis done already : Fuller's learned work
And pen more honour to the cause doth bring
Than did great Godfrey or our Lion King.

* * * * *

Thus learned Fuller a full conquest makes,
Triumphs o'er time and men's affections, takes
Captive both it and them ; his History
Methinks is not a war but Victory :
Where every line does crown (such strength it bears)
The Author Laureate, and a Trophy rears."

Duport was born in 1606, at the lodge of Jesus College, where his father, "a reverend man in his generation," was Master. The signature to the above lines shows that he was then B.D. He was "happy," says Fuller, "in the education of many hopeful pupils of worship and honour, as they more happy in so able a tutor."¹ He was afterwards Greek Professor, and Master of Magdalen, whence in 1656 he was ejected. He became Dean of Peterborough and Bishop of Carlisle. At his own expense he edited the Latin pieces of his friend George Herbert. Writing in 1655, Fuller speaks of him as one of the Worthies of Trinity, and says that he was "so much the more priced by others for his modest undervaluing his own worth."² Fuller's college associate John Booth wrote verses to Duport's *Liber Jobis*; and on November 5th in this year (1631) he made a speech in St. Mary's Church before the University which Mr. Dugard in 1648 proposed to publish.³

¹ *Worthies*, § Leicestershire, p. 134.

² *Hist. Camb.* sect. vii. § 21, p. 123.

³ *Masters' Hist. C. C. C.*, p. 147.

Fuller has perpetuated, as usual, the names of other friends who were connected with Corpus Christi College. Among them was SIR WILLIAM PASTON, of Oxnead, Norfolk. His friendship with Fuller may have begun about this time; for writing in 1655, and addressing him as "Patronus colendissimus," Fuller says: "Numerantur anni plus minus triginta ex quo tu Cantabrigiæ, invidendum decus Collegii Corporis Christi, literis operam navasti. Effluxit jam," he adds, "decennium a quo Europam, Asiam, Africam peragrasti."¹ He was made a baronet in 1642, and became a great antiquary and collector. In Book iv. of the *Pisgah-Sight*² (1650) Fuller alludes to Paston (who gave him particulars of a violent rain at Grand-Cairo), as "a right worshipful person and well accomplished traveller, a great patron and bountiful promoter of my present studies." The lower half of the general map of Palestine in that book refers to Paston's "perlustrations," being thus inscribed: "Viro amplissimo, Dno. Guilielmo Paston, Equiti aurato, disjunctissimarum regionum αὐτόπτηρ.

Omnia perlustra quæ profert chartula lapsus
 Condonâ erranti recta tuere precor.
 Nam tibi Iudæa est, tibi tam sunt ostia Nili
 Quam tua mendicis hospita nota domus."

Paston is again alluded to by Fuller in the *Worthies* as the "bountiful promoter of all my weak endeavours."³ He was thus Fuller's constant friend to the last. His death happened 1662. He married Catherine, dau. of Robert Earl of Lindsey, whose eldest son, Mountagu Bertie, belonged to Sydney College.

About this time there was great commotion at Cambridge in reference to the drainage of the fens. Fuller took some interest in the matter; for it was his fate to be born on the edge of the fens, and he was now resident in their midst. He alludes in his *Hist. Univ. Camb.* to the early efforts of Dutchmen to drain the district by the aid of ditches and banks. But "the Bailiff of Bedford" as the county people called the overflowing of the Ouse, "attended, like a person of his quality, by many servants," undid all their work. Fuller says that the wits of that and succeeding ages discussed the feasibility of draining the land; and in his History, the author set down *pro* and *con*, in columns, the arguments brought forward. The generality of the people were possessed of a firm opinion, he says, that the project was utterly impossible. "But the best argument to

¹ *Hist. Camb.* sect. iii. p. 43.

² Page 80.

³ *Worthies*, § Norfolk, p. 263.

prove that a thing may be done is actually to do it." After the negotiations in 1630 with Vermuyden (to which Fuller may be alluding) were broken off, better progress was made in the work; and hence Fuller, who writes in 1655, says that "of late the fens nigh Cambridge have been adjudicated drained." Cambridge, he says, ever regarded the project jealously, as likely to prove prejudicial, "and within my memory an eminent preacher¹ made a smart sermon before the Judges of the assizes on this text: 'Let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream:' wherein he had many tart reflections on the draining of the fennes, inciting the Judges to be tender of the University so much concerned therein. But it seems Cambridge was then more *frighted* than since it hath been *hurt* now the project is effected." Fuller states that the draining brought more commodities; and as the county had got more earth, so it had gained better air. "And Cambridge itself may soon be sensible of this perfective alteration. Indeed Athens (the staple of ancient learning) was seated in a morass or fenny place, (and so Pisa, an academy in Italy), and the grossness of the air is conceived by some to quicken their wits² and strengthen their memories. However a pure air, in all impartial judgments, is to be preferred for students to reside in."³ As regards a foggy air being advantageous for the memory, he has another reference in *Holy State*: "Some say a pure and subtle air is best; another commends a thick and foggy air. For the Pisans, sited in the fens and marsh of Arnus, have excellent memories, as if the foggy air were a cap for their heads."⁴ Be this as it may, Fuller cultivated this faculty and brought it to perfection during his college-life at Cambridge. Other members of his family, however, such as his father and his uncle Townson, were remarkable for vigorous memories.

¹ Dr. Matthew Wrenn, as we gather from the *Worthies* (§ London), p. 208. He was Bishop of Ely in 1638.

² "A famous University of this Land was formerly very much infested with Punns; but whether or no this might not arise from the Fens and Marshes in which

it was situated, and which are now drained, I must leave to the Determination of more skilful Naturalists." (Addison, *Spectator*, No. 61.)

³ Sect. v. ¶¶ 1—10, pp. 69—72.

⁴ Page 162.



CHAPTER VI.

“MATCHES WITH THE MUSES.” ADVANCEMENT IN THE CHURCH. (1631-33.)

PUBLICATION OF “DAVID’S HAINOUS SINNE.”—FULLER’S POETICAL MERITS.—HIS “ODDS AND ENDS OF POETRY.”—THE MOUNTAGU FAMILY: LORD MOUNTAGU AND HIS FAMILY.—FULLER’S “OBSERVATIONS OF THE SHIRES.”—FULLER BECOMES A PREBENDARY OF SARUM.—SERMONS ON RUTH.—DEATH OF THE ELDER FULLER.—JOHN FULLER.—DEATH OF MARGARET TOWNSON: HER FAMILY.—FULLER’S RESIGNATION OF HIS CURACY.—INFLUENCE OF LAUD.—“THE TRUE CHURCH ANTIQUARY.”

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

WE do not know whether at any time in his younger days Fuller, when engaged in what his maturer judgment deemed “the pleasant, but profitless study of poetry,” promised under correction (as it is traditioned Ovid did) “never to make a verse, and made a verse in his very promise;”¹ but it is certain that he early turned his attention to poetry. His inclination in this direction was encouraged by the itch of scribbling which, as we have already partly seen, was ruling supreme at Cambridge. “Quicquid tentabam scribere versus erat.” In these his college days, then, he “made many a clandestine match with the Muses;” and the result was that he became an incorrigible versifier. Milton has confessed that he found the bare and shadeless fields about Cambridge very unsuited for the worshippers of Apollo; and Rowland Hill, if we remember aright, was so depressed with the prospects, that he said it seemed as if nature were holding out signals of distress; but the district affected Fuller otherwise. For some time back he had been at work upon a greater subject than those which passing events inspired; and by it he

¹ *Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Personal Med.*, xi. p. 13.

doubtless hoped to attain immortality at a blow. This, his first important effort, took the form of *poetry*, as is usual with budding *literati*. So Sir John Davies, Donne, and Bishop Hall, with many others, began their brilliant literary careers. But most admirers of Fuller will, we suppose, be astonished to meet with their author in this apparently new walk of “endeavouring” Parnassus, for the poem alluded to has been utterly forgotten. When it has been offered for sale, it was priced at more than its weight in gold¹—“deadly dear,” as Mr. Pepys would say. Short abstracts² of it have appeared in some literary collections; and these notices were, until lately, all that the general reader could obtain of the poem. From the interest which must always be attached to the first utterances of genius, a few particulars of this characteristic poem are here given.

The subject was perhaps suggested by the studies in divinity to which Fuller was at this time giving attention. He entitled the production:—*David's Hainous Sinne, Heartie Repentance, Heavie Punishment*. By Thomas Fuller, Master of Arts of Sidnye Colledge in Cambridge. London: 1631. After reading this odd and alliterative title one can pretty readily guess what is to follow: for Butler has remarked truly that “there is a kind of physiognomy in the titles of books, no less than in the faces of men, by which a skilful observer will as well know what to expect from the one as the other.” The title-page at once gives Fuller a place amongst the quaint poets of that quaint age—Johnson’s “metaphysical” class—which may be said to have begun with Lyly, culminated in Donne, and closed with Cowley. We shall see that Fuller was thoroughly imbued with the mannerisms and spirit of this school of poets, whose example he especially affected even in the titles of his pieces.

Compared with his works published afterwards, this is a very modest and unpretending little book. It contains a gross of verses, of seven lines each, which are divided methodically, as is his wont, into three books; the whole being comprised upon forty leaves.

The subject of Fuller’s “maiden muse” has often attracted the attention of poets; but it is one in which they have never been successful. Before Fuller’s time it had been dramatised by George Peele, who published in 1599 his *Love of King David and Fair Bat'sabe, with the Tragedie of Absalom*; which is said

¹ It is described and priced thus in a late book-catalogue: “Very rare and quite perfect, morocco extra, gilt back, paned sides and gilt leaves, £8 8s. In the British Museum copy, which is

bound in saffron morocco, but cropped, mended, and soiled, there is a memorandum that it had sold for £17 at Brand’s sale (whose book-plate is on it).”

² See our *List of Fuller’s Works*.

to be the best of his plays. Cowley, too, (whose first volume of poems—*Poetic Blossoms*—was written much about this time, and was published two years afterwards, 1633), wrote a poem on the same topic, entitled *Dauidis: a Heroical Poem on the Troubles of David*, published 1636, though written previously. Fuller's production, which Cowley must have seen, may have suggested it. Cowley's poem is long and tedious, and shows, like Fuller's, some amount of study; but, like Fuller's, it also has long been forgotten. The chief poem of Thomas Ellwood the Quaker, to whose suggestion we are indebted for Milton's *Paradise Regained*, was also upon the Life of David, the piety of which is said to be more conspicuous than the poetry.

Our author begins by detailing the argument of the poem:

“ How Zion's Psalmist grievously offended,
How Israel's Harper did most foully slide,
Yet how that Psalmist penitent amended,
And how that Harper patient did abide
Deservèd chastisement,” &c.

which is followed by a reverent invocation for help and furtherance. He then describes how David,

“ When on Bathsheba loose eyes
He fixt, his Heavenly half did him dissuade.”

The latter having concluded her plea (st. 6—13), the Flesh confounds the reasoning; and the result is thus described (st. 19):—

“ Thus he that conquered men, and beast most cruel,
(Whose greedy paws with felon goods were found,)
Answer'd Goliath's challenge in a duel,
And laid the giant grovelling on the ground;
He that of Philistines two hundred slew,
No whit appallèd at their grisly hue,
Him one frail woman's beauty did subdue.”

The other incidents of the narrative are then related. The description of the attempt to make Uriah drunk is very amusingly written. “One common cup” is first pledged to the captains at Rabba; then “one specially unto the general,” *i.e.* Joab;

“ Abishay next is drunk-to, Joab's brother,
And this cup to a second paves the way;
That orderly doth usher in another;
Thus Wine, once walking, knows not where to stay;
Yea, such a course methodical they take
In *ordering* of cups, the same did make
Uriah quite all *order* to forsake.

His *false supporters* soon begin to slip ;
 And if his faltering tongue doth chance to light
 On some long word, he *speedily doth clip*
The train thereof: yea, his deceitful sight
 All objects pairèd doth present to him,
 As double faces, both obscure and dim,
 Seem in a lying looking-glass to swim.”—(25, 26.)

This is followed by as hearty a sentiment as a teetotalter could wish:—

“ My prayers for friends’ prosperity and wealth
 Shall ne’er be wanting ; but if I refuse
 To hurt myself by drinking others’ health,
 O, let ingenuous natures me excuse.
 If men bad manners this esteem, then I
 Desire to be esteemed unmannerly,
 That, *to live well, will suffer wine to die!*”—(27.)

This plan not succeeding, the poet passes on to show how (in Bishop Hall’s words) “sober David was worse than drunken Uriah.” He describes how the treacherous letter was composed, and how Uriah is made to “bear his own *mittimus*.”

“ Thus crafty maisters, when they mind to beat
 A careless boy, to gather birch they send him ;
 The little lad doth make the rod complete,
 Thinking his maister therefore will commend him.
 But, busily imploy’d, he little thought
 He made the net wherein himself was caught,
 And must be beaten with the birch he brought.”—(34.)

We are now introduced to the besieging army, likened to a swarm of bees. Affairs in the town are thus quaintly sketched :

“ Whilst in the town one with his friend did talk,
A sudden stroake did take his tongue away ;
 Some had their legs arrested as they walk,
 By martial law commanding them to stay ;
 Here falls a massy beam ; a mighty wall
 Comes tumbling there ; and many men doth maul
 Who were *both slain and buried by the fall!*”—(38.)

Here, as indeed is the case all through the poem, are conceits quite in Fuller’s vein. In his *Holy War* he repeats the last idea when he says of Aphec, that its “walls falling down, gave both the *death and gravestones* to 27,000 of Ben-hadad’s soldiers!”¹ Cowley introduced a similar figure (speaking of Cain):—

“ I saw him fling a stone, as if he meant
 At once his murder and his monument !”

¹ Bk. i. cap. 19.—“Which wall, if cruel to kill, was charitable to bury them.” (*Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 126.)

We reach the climax of David's sin at the unjust death of Uriah. "He lost his life, not conquerèd, but slain."

The second part of the poem opens with a representation of the anger of the Almighty, and the concern of all creatures, from angels to worms, to see their Lord disgraced. Requests are made to punish David to the following effect:—

" 'Please it your Highness for to give me leave,
I'll scorch the wretch to cinders!' said the Fire.
'Send me,' said Air, 'him I'll of breath bereave.'
'No,' quoth the earnest Water, 'I desire
His soily sins with deluges to scour.'
'Nay, let my Lord,' quoth Earth, 'imploy my power,
With yawning chaps I will him quick devour!'"—(4.)

God is now represented as proceeding to take David's name from the Book of life; but the Son intercedes, and the divine anger is appeased. Fire, Air, Earth, and Water hereupon again come forward:—

"Then said the Fire, 'My fury I recant;
Life-hatching warmth I will for him provide.'
'If David's breathless lungs do chance to pant,'
Said Air, 'I'll fan them with a windy tide.'
'With moisture I'll,' said Water, 'quench his heat.'
'And I his hunger,' quoth the Earth, 'with meat
Of marrow, fatness, and the flower of wheat.'"—(15.)

"Plain-dealing" Nathan is next introduced, whose coming results in David's repentance. Betaking himself to his harp, David "makes one voice both to sob and sing" the penitential psalm.

The opening of the third part treats of the death of Bathsheba's child. In this part there are stanzas more to be tolerated; e.g.—

"As when a tender rose begins to blow,
Yet scarce unswaddled is, some wanton maide,
Pleased with the smell, allurèd with the show,
Will not reprove it till it hath displayed
The folded leaves: but to her breast applies
Th' abortive bud, where coffinèd it lies,
Losing the blushing dye before it dies.
So this babe's life, newly begun, did end."—(7, 8.)

These lines show that Fuller possessed some poetic feeling, although, as is his wont, he has spoiled one of the lines with a pun. But readers of Fuller will easily overlook the blemish, when they remember how naturally inclined he was to such conceits; for, as Lamb puts it, "It would have been going out of his way to have expressed himself out of them." The

account of the tragedy of Ammon follows, wherein we meet with the following sentiment :—

“ Ah, happy age! when ladies learnt to bake,
And when kings' daughters knew to knead a cake.”

After which he passes on to the praise of Rebecca, whom he elsewhere never mentions without commending her skill in cookery :—

“ Rebecca was esteem'd of comely hew [hue],
Yet not so nice her comelinese to keepe,
But that she water for the camels drew :
Rachell was faire, yet fedd her father's sheepe ;
But now for to supply Rebecca's place,
Or doe as Rachell did, is counted base ;
Our dainty dames would take it in disgrace.”—(11, 12.)

Fuller often loved to repeat his own good things, as though when he composed them he did it with a quiet chuckle. “ Absalom killed one of David's sons,” says our author in his *Holie State*, “ but Fame killed all the rest.”¹ We have the same idea in the twenty-first stanza :—

“ She [Fame] gets by going, and doth gather strength,
As balls of snow by rolling more doe gaine,
She whisp'rd first, but loudly blaz'd at length,
' *All the king's sonnes, all the king's sonnes are slaine !*
The pensive Court in dolefull dumps did rue
This dismal case, till they the matter knew :
Would all bad news like this might prove untrue!”

The remaining disastrous incidents of the story ending with the exile of David, are then related. The account of the death of Absalom is too “ *antick* ” to overlook :—

“ The graceless son was plunged in deep distress,
For earth his weight no longer would endure ;
The angry heavens denied all access
Unto a wretch so wicked, so impure :
At last the heavens and earth, with one consent,
A middle place unto the monster lent,
Above the earth, beneath the firmament (!)”—(44.)

The mention of the wise woman who saved the city Abel by giving up the head of Sheba, causes Fuller to turn aside, by a natural association of ideas, to eulogise Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth naturally calls up James I. :—

“ Straight ànother sun
Most happily continuèd the light
Which by the first was hopefully begun ;”

¹ See also his *Joseph's Parti-coloured Coat*, p. 13 (Tegg's ed.).

reminding us of "the appearance of your Majesty as of the sun in his strength." The reigning King is then eulogised in a similar strain, as well as Prince Charles. Bidding his muse "strike sail"—it was quite time—he brings home Joab; and after another digression on the European wars, draws his poem to a close.

The poem quickly passed out of sight, the greater part of the single edition finding its destined way—

"in vicum vendentem thus et odores
Et piper et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis."¹

The author himself would seem to have had no high opinion of it, for he never refers to it; but he has used up most of the fanciful ideas and expressions in his *Pisgah-Sight* and elsewhere. It was forgotten in his own time. His first biographer, with all his admiration of "the good doctor," mentions it under a wrong title; while Aubrey, after his manner, carelessly speaks of it as his "Divine Poems."

It cannot fail to be observed that Fuller's poetical merits do not rank very high. In the *David* all his worst faults are epitomised: play on words, uncouth ideas, "alliteration's artful aid," antithesis, digression; all tending to show that, in his own words, he "snorted rather than slept" on Parnassus; and that many of his sentiments smacked more of Jordan than Helicon.

"O'er-run with wit and lavish of his thought :
His turns too closely on the reader press ;
He more had pleased us had he pleased us less.
One glittering thought no sooner strikes our eyes
With silent wonder, but new wonders rise. . . .
Thy fault is only wit in its excess,
But wit like thine in any shape will please."²

If, however, we place the *David* along with the productions of the poets who were popular in Fuller's day, it would be found to compare in several passages not unfavourably for point, poetic feeling, and smoothness of language. At the same time it must be confessed that he possessed in a full degree all the faults of that vicious literary age—the incongruous allusions, the odd metaphors hunted to death, the quibbling on words, and the far-fetched conceits (often, however, as Johnson reminds us, worth the carriage). Dryden's first piece, on the death of Lord Hastings by small-pox, is full to fulness of

¹ "Down to the street where spice and pepper's sold,
And all the wares waste-paper's used to fold."—*Conington*.

² Addison on Cowley : *Works* (ed. Bohn), i. 23.

these excrescences of style, and he out-Fullers Fuller; and Milton's early poems are not free from them.

As will be seen from our bibliography, Fuller's curious poem has lately been thrice reprinted for the benefit of the curious.

Notwithstanding our author's want of success in poetry, he ceased not to be a versifier. His subsequent voluminous writings contain very many happily selected quotations from classic and other authors (not heaped up, however, to the extent to be met with in many contemporary authors); and these classical scraps, &c. it is Fuller's invariable custom to translate tersely into English verse. In this respect he was much of the mind of Feltham, who said that “they disgrace our language that will not give a Latin verse his English under two for one.” Feltham by so doing showed, as Fuller has often showed, that he could by labour make the English as short and as full as the Latin. In Fuller's works we also meet with a pretty full admixture of *original* couplets and other effusions. To what an extent this is carried out may be judged from the fact that Heylyn, the critic of Prynne's *Histriomastix*, counted for censure (unwitty man!) “six or seven hundred at the least” of these verses “and odds and ends of poetry in Fuller's *Church-History*.” Fuller's original pieces have lately been collected in Grosart's *The Poems and Translations in Verse (including fifty-nine hitherto unpublished Epigrams) of Thomas Fuller, D.D.*: 1868—a volume which, however, does not contain the whole of what Fuller wrote in this way.

Of his verse-translations of classic fragments, &c., there are many happy examples. He thus renders—

*Tres sumus imbelles numero, sine viribus uxor,
Laertesque senex Telemachusque puer:*

“Three weaklings we, a wife for war too mild,
Laertes old, Telemachus a child.”¹

The extempore repartee of Queen Elizabeth to the Spanish Ambassador, who had presented his master's command in a Latin tetrastic which required of her to restore popery, &c.—

Ad Graecas, bone rex, fiant mandata calendae,

is thus Englished:—

“Worthy king, know this, your will
At Latter Lammas we'll fulfil.”²

Other couplets improve upon his originals. Thus of William Perkins, who was left-handed, he says: “Yet this Ehad, with

¹ *Profane State*, p. 377.

² *Life of Elizabeth: Holy State*, p. 303.

a left-handed pen, did shake the Romish faith, and as one [Holland] saith :

*Dextera quantumvis fuerat tibi manca, docendi
Pollebas mira dexteritate tamen :*

Though nature thee of thy right hand bereft,
Right well thou writest with the hand that's left."¹

There are many of his verses in that delightful work *The Pisgah-Sight*. He seems to have been fond of Horace, and thus translates (with reference to Dagon) that poet's

Desinit in piscem, mulier formosa superne :

"Upwards man-like he ascended,
Downwards like a fish he ended."²

So also the line of the same poet, "*Naturam expellas furcâ licet, usque recurret,*" is rendered—

"Beat nature back, 'tis all in vain ;
With tines of fork 'twill come again."³

Specimens of other renderings, and of his original scraps of verse, will be found quoted *passim*. We may, however, add here the lines upon his axiom that "it is the life of a gift to be done in the life of the giver :"—

"Silver in the living
Is Gold in the giving ;
Gold in the dying
Is but silver a-flying ;
Gold and silver in the dead
Turn too often into lead."⁴

The epigrams published by Mr. Grosart⁵ were discovered by Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt in a copy of Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple* ("Steps for Happy Souls to climb Heaven by") with the *Delights of the Muses*, 2nd ed., dated 1648.⁶ They were included amidst "a large quantity of curious manuscript matter, consisting partly of *excerpta* from printed books, but partly of

¹ *Life of Perkins : Holy State*, p. 84.

² *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 220.

³ *Worthies*, § Westmoreland, p. 135.
Tines = teeth: the same word occurs in the Essay on Gravity, *Holy State*, p. 206.

⁴ *Hist. Camb.* § viii. (Dedication), p. 137. Mr. Grosart (p. 166) attributes to Fuller the verses prefixed to Fuller's seven biographies in *Abel Redeivinus* (1653); but none of these lines, except

perhaps those on Foxe, are worthy of him. Fuller ascribes the greater part of the poetry to the Quarleses, father and son; and there is no evidence for laying any of it to Fuller's charge.

⁵ *Fuller's Poems*, pp. 217—235.

⁶ *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Ser. vii. 352; Hazlitt's *Poems of Lovelace*, p. 42. The book is now in the possession of Henry H. Gibbs, Esq., of Regent's Park.

original and inedited compositions ;" and are stated to be by "Mr. Thomas Fuller," Crashaw's epigrams in the same book suggesting them. The handwriting is much abbreviated, but bears a certain similarity to Fuller's in his latter years. The epigrams, however, carry their own authenticity on the face of them. The date of the book in which they are written indicates the time when Fuller was compiling the *Pisgah-Sight* ; and hence in several instances identical ideas occur. In other epigrams also there are easily recognisable conceits, taken from his other books. They are as roughly composed as written ; and were perhaps intended to have been put in a better setting. A few may be cited to show Fuller's skill in such couplets. On Peter's sinking we have—

"Cephas : What's that ? a stone ? Yea, so I think,—
A heavy stone, for it began to sink."

And again, on his successors :—

"If in the sea the Popes durst him succeed,
Where he was *duckt* they would be drowned indeed !"

The lines :

"And every man whereof himself is free
That he conceives the only sin to be"

bear a strong resemblance to a well-known couplet in *Hudibras*.

A perusal of Fuller's fragmentary verses, &c., when read in *chronological order*, leads to the conclusion that except in a more finished point Fuller never improved his early efforts. He wisely attempted in verse nothing so ambitious as *David* till near the close of his life. But his hand never lost its cunning. Poetry and music, he would say, were "excellent sauce ; but they have lived and died poor that made them their *meat*."¹ The observation reads as if it was founded on the experience of many of the would-be bestriders of Pegasus who have lived since Fuller's time. Grosart refers to Fuller's constant itch of versifying. "He kept singing," says he, "to the end. There must have been a string that vibrated to the subtle 'breath' when the music—and words to it—was so inevitable and irrepressible. Biographers and critics have failed, as it seems to us, to recognise this element in the large, rich, most winsome nature of our Worthy."²

Fuller's poem serves to introduce us to a noble and distinguished family to which he was attached throughout life by

¹ *Holy State*, p. 67.

² Page 17.

the ties of friendship and patronage. The author dedicated it in verse to the three sons of the first Lord Mountagu of Boughton, one of whom, at least, was at Sydney College at the time of its publication. But it is more than probable that Fuller had, from boyhood, been acquainted with these youths and other members of the same family. Boughton, their home, was not very far from Aldwinckle; and with that hospitable mansion and with its well-known lord, clergymen of the school of the elder Fuller were very well acquainted. Fuller had, he tells us in 1647, ever been a servant to this family; and he speaks of it at a later period as having "reflected so favourably upon me, that I desire (and indeed deserve) to live no longer than whilst I acknowledge the same."¹ Hence it will be necessary to refer to it here; and following the example given by Fuller himself in his *Appeal*, we have here "plainly set down the pedigree of this noble, numerous, and successful family."

The Mountagus of Northamptonshire were descended from Thomas Mountagu of Hemington (sixth in descent from Sir Simon de Montacute, the younger brother of the third Earl of Salisbury), who married Elizabeth Boughton, of Boughton, Northamptonshire. Edward, their son, was born at Brigstock, was bred to the law, and became Lord Chief Justice. He received considerable grants of lands—spoils from the great abbey of Ramsey—in this county; but he is said to have hesitated before taking them, and to have taken much less than was offered to him. He made Boughton his seat. He was of the Privy Council of Henry VIII., and was appointed one of the sixteen executors left as councillors and guardians to Edward VI. He it was who drew up this King's will, and who signed the articles of succession in favour of the Lady Jane Grey. He was in consequence dismissed from his office in the following reign. In the *Church-History*, Fuller inserted a long paper in justification of Mountagu's conduct, "the original whereof under his own hand was communicated unto me by his grand-child Edward Lord Montagu, of Boughton."² He was a just judge; his motto being *Æquitas Fustitiæ Norma*. His son *Edward* was a knight of Northamptonshire in Elizabeth's first Parliament. "His piety, justice, and other rare

¹ *Appeal*, pt. ii. p. 433.

² Book viii. 1—5. "This passage of consequence," said Fuller, "is defectively delivered by our historians, some circumstances thereof being locked from the world: some have endeavoured to force the lock by their bold conjectures.

I am the first that have brought the true key and opened it, from Judge Mountagu's own hand." (*Appeal*, pt. i. 335.) Fuller was aware of the existence of this document when writing (1640) the *Holy State* (see page 255), where he calls it his "written protestation at his death."

EDWARD MOUNTAGU, Lord Chief Justice, temp. Henry VIII.; died 1557.

EDWARD MOUNTAGU, Knt. "a worthy patriot in the reign of Q. Elizabeth" (F.); died 1602.

EDWD. MOUNTAGU, Knt. of the Bath at the coronation of James I. *First Lord Mountagu* of Boughton. Mar. ELIZ. dau. of Sir JNO. JEFFREY; FRANCES, dau. of THOS. COTTON of Conington, sister to SIR ROBERT COTTON; and ANN CROUCH. Died 1644.

WALTER, Knt. of Northamptonshire; "died without issue." (F.)

HENRY LORD MOUNTAGU, of Kimbolton, *First Earl of Manchester*; Lord Privy Seal; died 1642.

CHARLES, Knt. of Cranbrook, near Barking, Essex, "who did good service in Ireland; and left 3 daus. and co-heirs." (F.)

EDWARD, Baron Kimbolton, 2nd Earl of Manchester; "the fighting Earl" of the Civil Wars. WALTER, became a papist. JAMES, settled at Lacham, Wilts.

EDWARD, 2nd Lord MOUNTAGU of Boughton, m. ANNE, dau. of Sir RALPH WINWOOD, Sec. of State.

EDWARD, 1640-65. RALPH, became *Duke of Mountagu*, 1705. Surrey, 1655.

WILLIAM, of the Middle Temple; died 1706.

ANNE, mar. DANIEL HARVEY (brother to Dr. HARVEY), High Sheriff of Surrey, 1655.

CHRISTOPHER, died 1641.

DANIEL MOUNTAGU, 2nd *E. of Lindsey*; friend of Chas. I. Hereditary Ld. High Chamberlain.

ELIZABETH (by his first wife); died 1654; buried at Weekly. Mar. ROBERT BERTIE, Lord WILLOUGHBY, 1st *Earl* (1626) of *Lindsey*, who died at Edge-hill.

SIR W. PASCAL TON; ROBERT PEREGRINE, m. ANNE, dau. of DANIEL HARVEY; EDWARD BERTIE.

Pedigree of the Mountagu Family;

Showing the MEMBERS with whom Dr. Fuller had relations.

JAMES, Bishop of Bath, 1605, and Winchester, 1616; died 1618. SIDNEY, Knt. of Barnwell, Northamptonshire, and Hinchinbrook; Master of the Requests to Charles I.; M.P. for Huntingdon in the Long Parliament, whence he was expelled. Mar. PAULINA, dau. of JOHN PEPYS, of Cottenham, Cambridgeshire; died 1644.

HENRY, drowned at sea.

EDWARD, a distinguished Parliamentary Captain; M.P. for Huntingdon; associated with BLAKE; "now [1659] Admiral and one of the Lords of the Council." *First Earl of Sandwich*. D. 1672.

EDWARD.

FRANCES, m. JOHN MANNERS, 8th *E.* (1641) of Rutland.

JOHN FRANCES, LORD ROS. m. JOHN CECIL, 4th *Earl* of Exeter.

virtues were much talkt of and for years remembered in his county." Fuller speaks¹ of him as "a worthy patriot and bountiful housekeeper, blessed in a numerous² issue, his four younger sons affording a Bishop to the church [James], a judge and peer to the state [Henry,] a commander to the camp [Charles,] and an officer to the court [Sidney]."³ From them sprang the three noble houses of Mountagu, Manchester, and Sandwich.

Sir Edward's eldest son, *Edward*, served his country in various parliaments. He was the chief promoter of a thanksgiving day every 5th of November; "which day," says Collins, quoting from *Vita ejus MS. penes Joh. Duc. Montagu*, "he hath also honoured by a charitable gift of 40s. yearly to the world's end, to be given to the poor of certain towns in Northamptonshire, if present at divine service the same day." His household formed a picture of old English piety. He had prayers daily offered and the Scriptures read, and after supper two psalms were sung in the hall. He and his household were exemplary in their attendance at church, winter and summer, before nine o'clock in the morning and one in the afternoon; and he is especially commended in that "he never forced minister or people to weary themselves to wait for his coming." On Sunday evenings the notes of the sermon were repeated by the servants in their master's presence. He, like his brother the Bishop, and the rest of his family, was addicted to what is now called Low Churchmanship. "So long as the truth was preached, old Lord Montagu cared not who preached it; and his own chaplain had no sinecure of it in his house, where that reverend official, on Sunday afternoons, assembled the servants and put them through their catechism."⁴ He was as hospitable as pious: twelve hundred persons had been known to have

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* bk. xi. p. 115.

² Under date of 22nd Sept., 1665, Pepsys and some friends were talking of longevity. "Among other discourses my Lord Sandwich did tell us how few there have been of his family since King Henry VIIIth; that is to say, the then chiefe Justice and his son and the Lord Montagu, who was father [brother] to Sir Sidney, who was his [the relater's] father. And yet, what is more wonderfull, he did assure us from the mouth of my Lord Montagu himself that in King James time . . . he did shew that there were 4,000 persons derived from the very body of the chiefe Justice. It seems the number of daughters in the family had been

very great, and they too had most of them many children, and grandchildren, and great grandchildren. This he tells as a most known and certain truth."

³ At this or a later period of his life Fuller was intimate with Sir Sidney, who was Master of the Requests to Charles I. When giving the particulars of the death of his brother, Bp. Mountagu (1619), Fuller says: "I must not omit one passage at his burial, having received it from the mouth of his younger brother Sir Sidney Mountagu, present at his funeral solemnities." (*Ch.-Hist.* x. 86.)

⁴ Duke of Manchester's *Court and Society*, vol. i. 270.

been fed at his gate. “His cottagers paid no fine; and rents so small that they scarce deserved the name of rents; and that the poorest of them had bread, broth, beer, and broken meat.” Men of letters also were patronised by him, and his mansion was often the resort of many divines and poor clerks,¹ who bear testimony to his admirable qualities as a man and a Christian. He abhorred pluralists. Two scholarships were founded by him at Sydney-Sussex College, of which his brother James was first Master; there many of his family were educated. “Of his worth,” says Fuller, “I will say nothing, because I can never say enough.”² He well exemplifies Carlyle’s representation: “The English Squire of the seventeenth century clearly appears to have believed in God, not as a figure of speech, but as a very fact, very awful to the heart of the English Squire. ‘He wore his bible doctrine round him,’ says one, ‘as our squire wears his shot-belt;’ went abroad with it nothing doubting.”³ Lord Montagu was thrice married. “I behold him,” says Fuller, “as bountiful Barsillai,⁴ superannuated for courtly pleasures, and therefore preferring to live honourably in his own country where he was generally beloved, so that popularity may be said to have affected him, who never affected it: for, in evidence of the vanity thereof he used to say, ‘Do the common sort of people nineteen courtesies together, and yet you may lose their love if you do but go over the stile before them.’”⁵

It is, then, to the three sons of this nobleman—Edward, William, and Christopher—that Fuller dedicated his poem. He addressed them thus:—

“Faire branches of a stock as faire,
 Each a sonne and each an heire:
 Two *Joseph*-like from sire so sage,
 Sprung in Autumne of his age;⁶
 But a *Benjamin* the other,
 Gain’d with losing of his mother.
 This fruit of some spare hours I spent
 To your Honours I present.
 * * * * *
 Whilst your father (like the greene
 Eagle in his scutcheon seene:
 Which with bill his age doth cast)
 May longer still and longer last:

¹ Such as Mr. Bolton; and Dr. Estwick, “parson of Warton,” *i.e.* Warkton, to which Lord Montagu presented him. (*Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 291.)

² *Ch.-Hist.* bk. xi. p. 115.

³ *Cromwell’s Letters*, i. 45.

⁴ 2 Sam. xix. 35.

⁵ *Worthies*, § Northamptonsh., p. 293.

⁶ “It was not the least part of his outward happiness, that, having no male issue by his first wife, and marrying his second when past fifty years of age, he lived to see his son enriched with hopeful children.” (§ Northamptonshire.)

To see your vertues o're increase
 Your yeares, ere he departs in peace.
 Thus I my booke, to make an end,
 To you, and you to God, commend.

Edward Mountagu was a member of Sydney College,¹ being admitted on the 2nd March, 1631; to him we shall have frequent occasion to refer, inasmuch as he, of all the members of this numerous family, was best known to Fuller.

William was admitted at Sydney on the 13th April, 1632.² He was afterwards of Little Oakley, Northamptonshire. He took to the study of the law, and ultimately became Treasurer of the Middle Temple, attaining more eminence than either of his brothers. By Charles II. he was made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and he was also Attorney-General to Queen Catherine. By James II. the former office was taken from him for his loyalty to his profession, in the matter of the Test and Penal Acts. There are frequent references to him in *Pepys' Diary*. He was included among the patrons of Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight*, the map "Terra Moriath" being inscribed to him.³ Upon this plate Fuller "Coelestium (post seram senectutem) intima penetralia precatum." He did obtain the desired old age, dying in 1706.

Christopher is often erroneously called the eldest son of the old lord; but we will "allow" Fuller "to be exact" in the family when he makes him the youngest. He was admitted at Sydney 20th March, 1633. He died unmarried in early manhood, and all we gather of him is Fuller's statement that he was "a most hopeful gentleman."⁴

The mother of these youths was Frances, sister of Sir Robert Cotton. Her death affected the old Squire "the most sensible of any [losses], she being a lady of a most amiable disposition and of great prudence and piety."⁵

¹ Other members of the family had also been students at Sydney. We have already spoken of Howlet's connection with certain of them. James Montagu, the third son of the Earl of Manchester, and cousin of the Edward mentioned above, had been entered in 1624; his brothers Edward and Walter were admitted earlier (Jan. 27, 1618). (Sanford's *Sketches of the Rebellion*.)

² Register of the College.

³ Book ii. p. 290.

⁴ *Appeal*, ii. 433; Sydney College Register.

⁵ Duke of Manchester's *Court and Society*, i. 271. There was a daughter,

Anne (also mentioned by Fuller), who married Daniel Harvey. He was of a family settled at Folkestone, being brother to Dr. Wm. Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood, and who, being physician to Charles I., followed the King's fortunes in war. When Daniel Harvey was High Sheriff of Surrey (1655), Fuller dedicated to him a portion of the reign of Elizabeth in the *Church-History* (ix. 139), accommodating him "with company fittest for your converse, being all no meaner than Statesmen, and most of them Privy Councillors." "God, in due time," he adds, "bless you and your honourable consort with such

To the same period as the compilation of the poem on David belongs a paper by Fuller entitled *Observations of the Shires*, perhaps written for the diversion of his fellow-students. This paper, described as by "Mr. Fuller," is in Gutch's extracts from the Tanner MSS. entitled *Collectanea Curiosa*.¹ A date about 1632 is given to the article from its mentioning Sir William Noy, who was made Attorney-General in 1631, and died in 1633 [August, 1634]. The original MS. is in the handwriting of Archbishop Sancroft, and it is entitled "*Mr. Fuller's Observations of the Shires.*" Further on in the same volume of extracts Thomas Fuller's *Church-History* is alluded to. The *Observations* are described in the Bodleian printed catalogue, edited by the Rev. Mr. Hackman, as being by our *Thomas Fuller*, and the style and spirit of the paper is in accordance with this opinion. The *Observations* relate to the peculiarities, trades, &c. of the different counties, which are wittily introduced as impersonations. There is a poem on the Attorney-General; and a pleasant passage which shows that the writer was a Cambridge man.

Meanwhile, in the Cambridge parish, Fuller, spite of his poetical sallies, continued to discharge his duties with faithfulness, success, and credit. It may be presumed that his uncle 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.² The stall was that of NETHERBURY-IN-ECCLESIA, Beaminster, Dorsetshire. It was considered a valuable 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."³ Hence Fuller

issue as may be a comfort to you and a credit to all your relations." At the Restoration Harvey was made Ranger of Richmond Park. He became Ambassador at Constantinople to the Grand Seigneur. His wife showed a genius for politics. At Paris she gave to La Fontaine the subject for his fable *Le Renard Anglois*, which is gallantly dedicated to her.

¹ Vol. i. pp. 222—226, Art. xxii. : Oxf., 1781. I have not ascertained whether this piece was ever printed.

² *Davenant Registers, Sarum.*

³ Hutchins' *Dorset*, 1st ed., i. 263. The value of the prebend (of "Nyther-

bury and Beyminster") was £60 in 1291. In 1379, temp. Richard II., it was certified to be worth by the year £106 13s. 4d. (Foxe, quoted in Brewer's ed. of Fuller's *Church-Hist.* ii. 351.) It was returned, 26 Hen. VIII., to be of the annual value of £43 12s. 6d. (Hutchins' *Dorset*, 3rd ed., ii. 105.) Fuller's composition for £39 5s. 3d., dated 25 Nov. 1631, and paid in four equal sums every six months (the last on 1 Aug. 1633), is in the Record Office. His sureties are his relations "Edwardus Henchman paroch. Sancti Andree in le Wardrobe London et Mauri' Henchman de eadem generos'."

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.

Our author's eulogist makes the following incorrect statement with reference 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 are invariably in the gift of the *bishops*. The King, as yet, knew nothing of Fuller; and as his uncle, the exemplary Bishop Davenant, was now in disgrace at Court, it is not likely to have been obtained at the King's request.

Davenant had got into trouble on this wise: in March, 1631, preaching his course at Court, he incidentally debated (in continuation of a sermon delivered the year before) the question of Predestination, taking the Calvinistic view of that topic. This was regarded as a contravention of the King's Declaration, which is still prefixed to the Articles. Davenant, who was not aware that he was at fault, was forthwith summoned before the Privy Council; and presenting himself on his knees, had so still continued, says his nephew, "for any favour he found from any of his own function there present. But the *Temporal Lords* bade him arise and stand to his own defence, being as yet only accused, not convicted." Archbishop Harsenet, deputed by the King, "managed all the business against him (Bishop Laud walking by all the while in silence spake not one word)." The heads of Davenant's defence, spoken "with much vehemency," are given in the *Church-History*, as also a long letter from Davenant to Dr. Ward, clearing and defending himself. The next day, Davenant was allowed to kiss the King's hand. By his lengthy reference to this episode, which made a great noise at the time, Fuller is anxious to clear his uncle's fame.³ With the increasing influence of Laud and his followers, Davenant henceforth could have had little hope of favour from the Court; and the remaining part of his life was spent in his own diocese.

Fuller's biographer just as carelessly tells us that his hero "retired from the University" upon receiving this prebend. He did not, however, permanently leave for some years, for he was still in possession of the curacy of St. Bene't. Having in

¹ *Appeal*, i. 286.

² Page 6.

³ Book xi. § 2, ¶¶ 14—17, pp. 138—140.

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 the degree in divinity. Possibly he left Cambridge for a short period to enter on the possession of his stall, and to familiarise himself with his extra duties. From this time also there is no doubt but that a greater part of his leisure time was spent at Salisbury as the guest of his uncle.

His biographer, who seems ignorant of the events of this period of his life, now states that when betaking himself to the priestly function (the Prebend), he was "*ordained* by the right reverend father in God the Bishop of Salisbury;"¹ but, as we have elsewhere stated, his ordination must have taken place in the previous year, in the diocese of Ely.

To his position in the cathedral of Sarum at this time Fuller thus alludes in his controversy with Heylyn, who had charged him (Fuller) with being unjust in the *Church-History* to Bishop Wrenn: "My extraction—who was *Prebendarius Prebendarides*, and relation (as the Animadvertor 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

Fuller does not omit, when writing of the buildings of Wilts, to devote a large space to the description of his cathedral, where much of his time was now being passed. The doors and chapels therein, he says, equalled the months, the windows the days, the pillars and pillarets the hours, of the year. "Once walking in this church (whereof then I was Prebendary) I met a countryman wondering 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.'" He shows how the strength of the city consisted in its weakness—"incapable of being garrisoned, which made it in our modern wars to scape better than many other places of the same proportion."³

Fuller has a "Contemplation" which is an evident recollection of his connection with Salisbury:—

"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

¹ *Life*, p. 6.

² *Appeal*, pt. iii. p. 614.

³ *Worthies*, § Wilts, p. 145.

grew out of the ground again. Yea, I often found it and lost it, till at last I came safely to it, and took my lodging near it. It fareth thus with us whilst we are waryfaring to heaven: mounted on the Pisgah-top of some good meditation we get a glimpse of our celestial Canaan (Deut. xxxiv. 1). But when, either on the flat of an ordinary temper, or in the fall of some extraordinary temptation, we lose the view thereof. Thus in the sight of our soul, heaven is discovered, covered, and recovered; till though late, at last, though slowly, surely, we arrive at the haven of our happiness.¹

Fuller's eulogist, whom we have to follow cautiously while treating upon this period, would again lead us astray in his statement that when his hero became Prebendary, his "great sufficiencies" caused him to be elected to a *Fellowship* in Sydney College. But in the registers, computi-rolls, &c., of the college itself, there is no evidence whatever of Fuller's having been a Fellow.² Although Fuller himself often described himself in the title-pages of his early works as "of Sydney College," he never termed himself Fellow. The prebend and the supposed fellowship are jointly spoken of in the *Life* as "eximious preferments as the times then were, the estimation of either being equally great *mutatis mutandis*; but the Doctor's inclination biassed him to the more active and profitable incumbency into which his inbred piety and devotion had from the first of his resolutions inducted him." We are thus again taken back to Cambridge.

In March, 1631-2, the King and Queen visited the town. They were royally entertained as usual with feasting, comedies, and speeches. As connected with this visit, a dispute arose whether Hausted's play *The Rival Friends*, or Randolph's *The Jealous Lovers*, both written for this occasion, should be acted. The influence of Butts, now for the third time Vice-Chancellor, decided that Hausted's play should be first. On account of this rivalry and the references in the play to ecclesiastical scandals, it was ill received. Hausted professed afterwards that he and his fellow-collegians had "gracious signs" of approval from their Majesties! When it was printed, the author stated on the title-page that it was "cried down by boys, faction, envy, and confident ignorance; approved by the judicious." Randolph, being a shrewder man, was more successful with his play. It also was published, and contained commendatory verses by James Duport, who referred to Hausted's "rude and

¹ *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Mixt Contemp.* xxii. 84.

² Dr. Phelps kindly made this search upon two occasions, and each time with the result stated. He says that all they possess as evidence of Fuller's connec-

tion with the college is his admission in 1629, and his B.D. degree in 1635. The admission-entry here referred to is given at page 47, note I; it was copied by Baker, and will be found in *Harl. MSS.* 7038, fol. 355 (Brit. Mus.).

snarling preface." This unfortunate rivalry was connected with the awful suicide of the Vice-Chancellor a few months later.¹ Fuller couples the rivals together in his notice of Randolph, written before 1661: "The Muses may seem not only to have *smiled*, but to have been *tickled* at his nativity, such the festivity of his poems of all sorts. But my declining age, being superannuated to meddle with such ludicrous matters, consigneth the censure and commendation of his poems (as also of his countryman, Peter Haulsted [*sic*], born at Oundle, in this country) to younger pens, for whom it is most proper."² Like his fellow-student Fuller, Hausted afterwards became a chaplain in the army, and met his death at the siege of Banbury, held by his patron Spencer, Earl of Northampton. He held the vicarage of Gretton.

It is about this time also that we must place the delivery of a course of Lectures to his parishioners at St. Bene't's, taking as his text the attractive pastoral of the Jewish maiden—

"Who stood among the shooks
Praising God with sweetest looks."

These sermons he published in 1654 under the title of *A Comment on Ruth*. He then said that the Lectures "were preached in an eminent place when I first entered into the ministry, above 20 years since, and therefore you will pardon the many faults that may be found herein." It seems that one of his ingenious auditors, who had in accordance with the custom of the time imperfectly taken notes of these sermons when first delivered, put them in the way of some enterprising "stationer" at a time when Fuller's literary reputation was established. The notes were not to Fuller's satisfaction; and he therefore published a true copy of the sermons as delivered.

The lectures were a running comment on the first two chapters of the Book of Ruth. He summarises the whole book thus:—"The first chapter sheweth that many are the troubles of the righteous; and the three last do show that God delivereth them out of all." The lectures are characterised by qualities common to his other sermons—earnestness, plain-speaking, moderation, and practical piety. His wit occasionally breaks out as if even sacred topics could not confine it. Parts of the work are written in dialogue. Thus, after a quaint colloquy between Elimelech and "a plain and honest neighbour" dissuading him from his departure into Moab, the author asserts

¹ See Masson's *Milton*, i. 221 *seq.*

² *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 291. He wrote in praise of tobacco.

that to travel in a foreign country is lawful for (1) merchants, (2) ambassadors, and (3)—

“Private persons that travel with an intent to accomplish themselves with a better sufficiency to serve their King and country; but unlawful it is for such to travel which, Dinah-like, go only to see the customs of several countries, and make themselves the lacqueys to their own humourous curiosity. Hence cometh it to pass when they return, it is justly questionable whether their clothes be disguised with more foolish fashions, or bodies disabled with more loathsome diseases, or souls defiled with more notorious vices; having learned jealousy from the Italian, pride from the Spaniard, lasciviousness from the French, drunkenness from the Dutch. And yet what need they go so far to learn so bad a lesson, when (God knows) we have so many schools where it is taught here at home.

“Now if any do demand of me my opinion concerning our brethren, which of late left this kingdom to advance a plantation in New England, surely I think, as St. Paul said concerning virgins, he had ‘received no commandment from the Lord:’ so I cannot find any just warrant to encourage men to undertake this removal; but think rather the counsel best that King Joash prescribed to Amaziah, ‘Tarry at home.’ Yet as for those that are already gone, far be it from us to conceive them to be such, to whom we may not say, ‘God speed’ (as it is in 2 John, ver. 10); but let us pity them and pray for them; for sure they have no need of our mocks, which I am afraid have too much of their own miseries. I conclude therefore of the two Englands what our Saviour saith of the two wines (Luke v. 39), ‘No man having tasted of the old, presently desireth the new; for he saith, The old is better.’”

Fuller’s attractive commentary, which forms a favourable introduction to the series of Fuller’s sermons, has been twice reprinted of late years. Mr. William Nichols, who has edited it with affection and care, regrets its abrupt termination. “Why Fuller did not proceed to draw quaint lessons of wisdom and piety from each line of the last two chapters, we are not informed. . . That he was not deterred by any difficulties in the third chapter is obvious from the skill with which he handled the previous two; not forcing the meaning, as was the wont of many of his contemporaries, but with ready ease pressing choice wine from the ripe fruit of each phrase of the text.”¹

The course of events now takes us back to Aldwinckle, where the elder Fuller, after labouring among his lowly parishioners for more than a quarter of a century, died early in 1632; for towards the end of April that year his successor, John Webster, B.D., was instituted to the Rectory of St. Peter’s, Aldwinckle. Where Mr. Fuller died I have never been able to ascertain. The register at Aldwinckle, although showing that he

¹ *A Comment on Ruth* (1868), p. 178. “While perusing this comment,” adds the editor, “some readers will be reminded, as we have been, of the lines written on ‘Ruth’ by a man of kindred

genius, who, cast in a more mirth-loving age than Fuller’s, fed the public with lighter food than he did, but whose powers were really as great in serious as in comic prose and verse.”

continued there till 1631, contains no notice of his burial. If the registers at Salisbury Cathedral, with which the old man was connected, are also silent, perchance some London register might indicate where he "slept with his fathers." He died intestate, and administration was granted to Thomas Fuller, his son, on the 10th April, 1632, in the Archdeaconry Court of Northampton. He perhaps died poor. His living¹ is given in Ecton's *Thesaurus* as of the clear yearly value of £11 6s. 3d. in the King's books; and his prebend is set down at £62.

Many years after this event, Heylyn alluded somewhat unfeelingly to the condition in which the old minister left his family. In his *Church-History*, Fuller had spoken of Brook's book against Bishops, wherein certain prelates had been said to have belonged to the dregs of the people, and in respect of their studies unfit for Parliament. "A passage," Heylyn declared, "misbecoming no man's pen so much as his [Fuller's] that writ it; whose father neither was of a better extraction than some, nor better left, as in the way of his subsistence, than any of the bishops (whom he thus upbraideth) had been left by their fathers." To which Fuller, with his usual charity and forbearance, replied:—"The Animadvertor will, I hope, acknowledge me a fair and ingenuous adversary, on a token best known to us alone. However, Christianity obligeth me to take no unworthy advantage of my brother in the same profession."²

We find Fuller afterwards asserting that, as for outward estate, the faithful minister lives in too bare a pasture to die fat. "It is well if he hath gathered any flesh, being more in blessing than in bulk."³

The regularity with which the elder Fuller makes the entries in the register of his parish, which he signs for the last time in 1631, affords proof of a constant attention to the duties of his

¹ We omitted to insert in the proper place, at p. 20, the composition for the first-fruits and tenths of Fuller's benefice of Aldwinle Saint Peter's, dated 26th August, 1602: "Thomas Fuller clericus compositus pro primitiis Rectorie predict' extenden' ad xjⁱⁱ vj^s j^d decima xxij^s vij^d ob. Obligantur Hugo Blofield parochie beate Marie Aldemary London generos. et Ricardus Blofield de eadem merchaunttailor." The living is entered on the King's books at £11 6s. 1d., which sum, less one-tenth, makes up the composition of £10 3s. 5d. It was paid as usual in four equal instalments, beginning 1 Jan. 1602-3, and ending 1 Jan. 1604-5.

(*Composition Books*: Record Office.) The position of poor vicars is said to have been a matter in which Laud interested himself, especially with a view to lightening the burden of the subsidies levied upon them by Convocation. Their benefices were rated at an unfair degree in the King's books, and Laud projected a scheme for their relief. The Archbishop (Abbot) disapproved of the measure, because, says Heylyn, it was Abbot's felicity never to have been parson, vicar, nor curate. (*Life of Laud*, page 115.)

² *Appeal*, pt. iii. p. 615.

³ *Holy State*, p. 68.

parish; an attention which is all the more commendable when we remember that he also continued to hold the Prebendal Stall of Highworth, in the Cathedral of Sarum. He, too, "lived sermons;" for he was "a man of a blameless and as private life, who spent himself in the discharge of his pastoral office."¹ What more fitting epitaph could the Christian pastor have?

The Prebendal Stall thus vacated was on the 6th of June bestowed by Bishop Davenant upon his nephew Robert Townson.² Upon his death a few months afterwards, the Bishop collated thereto John Townson, who after sequestration was repossessed at the Restoration, holding the Stall about fifty-four years. The latter does not seem to have been forgetful of the county of his birth, for he left land at Duston, near Wellingborough, the rent of which is still distributed by the Rector and overseers of Old, for the benefit of the poor. His will is dated May 12 and 13, 1668; and he is described therein as of Bremhill, in the county of Wilts, Doctor of Divinity.³

The death of the elder Fuller broke up the household at the quaint parsonage-house of St. Peter's; and the widow, the son John, and the daughters, of whom the youngest was of the age of sixteen years, were now dependent upon others. The elder son probably became the father of the fatherless. The widow did not long survive her husband, for she died before 1638. John Fuller, the younger son, now about seventeen years old, about this time⁴ was admitted at Sydney College, Cambridge. He diligently followed in the steps of his brother, and received his Bachelor's degree in 1635-6.

About two years after the death of the elder Fuller, his sister-in-law, Margaret Davenant (wife of the former Bishop, who had now been dead thirteen years), died at her brother's palace, Salisbury, 29th October, 1634. In common with her sister, she was marked for her circumspection and sanctity of life. She was buried in the cathedral, near the south wall of the eastern transept, where a mural tablet was set up to her memory. The inscription and monument, depicted on the annexed drawing, are equally simple in character. The oval escutcheon contains the arms of Townson and Davenant.

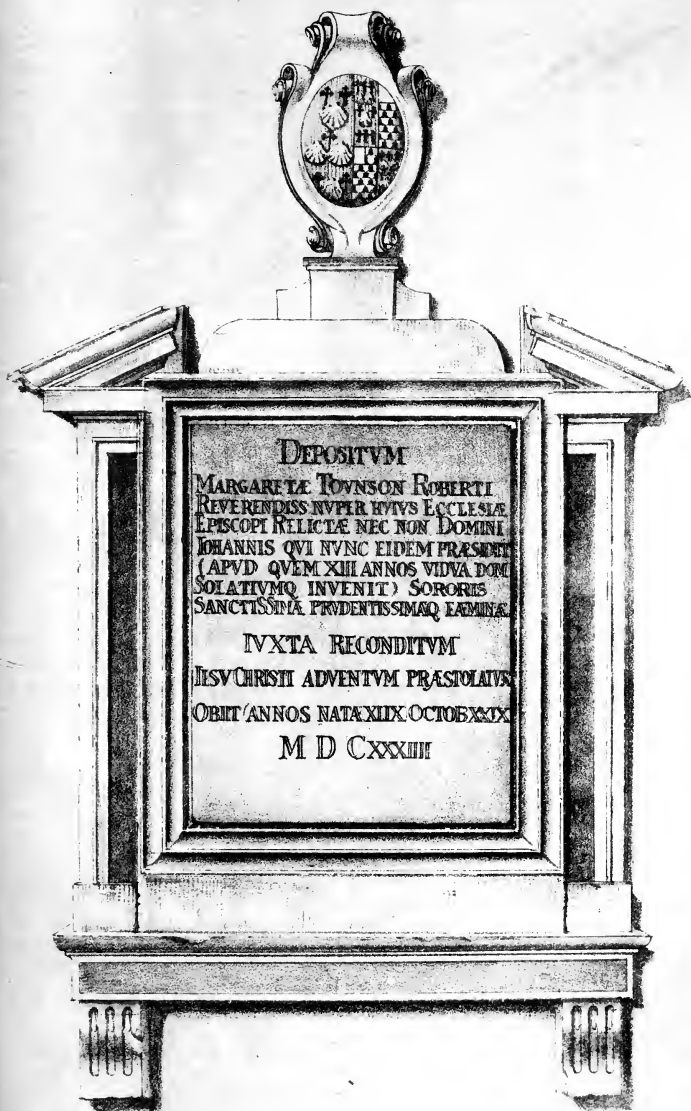
By the time of Mrs. Townson's death most of her daughters were married. "Our maidens" have been alluded to more than

¹ *Life of Fuller*, p. 2.

² Diocesan Records, Salisbury.

³ *Ibid.*; Walker's *Sufferings*, ii. 66; the Rev. T. H. R. Shand, M.A., of Old.

⁴ Feb. 7, 1632-3; *Sydney Coll. Register*. He is described as son of Thomas Fuller, B.D., Fell. Trin., Preb. Sar. (*MS. Baker*, xi. 355 or 356.)



DEPOSITVM
MARGARETAE TOWNSON ROBERTI
REVERENDISS. NYPER HVVS ECCLESIAE
EPISCOPI RELICTAE NEC NON DOMINI
IOHANNIS QUI NVNC EIDEM PRÆSENTI
(APVD QVEM XIII ANNOS VIDVA DOMI
SOLATIVMQ INVENTIT) SORORIS
SANCTISSIMÆ PRVDENTISSIMÆQ FÆMINÆ
IVXTA RECONDITVM
IESV CHRISTI ADVENTVM PRÆSTOLAVS
OBIT ANNOS NATA XLIX OCTOBER XXXIX
M D CXXXIII

MONUMENT TO MRS. TOWNSON
SALISBURY CATHEDRAL



once in the correspondence of the Bishop. The passages in question curiously illustrate a remark made by Aubrey, that the Bishop "when invested married them all to clergie-men; so he was at no expense for their preferment."¹ A further confirmation of the Bishop's anxiety for the marriage of these ladies is given in a contemporary letter in the State Paper Office, in which the writer doubts whether one Mr. Chandler would scarce be had for a husband for one of his (the writer's) sisters; for Bishop Davenant had bestowed a prebend upon him, which he looked upon as a bait to entangle him with one of that kindred.² Hence it is that so many of Townson's daughters are met with as the wives of dignitaries of the Church who received their earliest preferment from Davenant.

MARGARET was the wife of *John Ryves*, who received a prebend from Davenant in 1625. He was also made Archdeacon of Berks in 1634, on the resignation of Edward Davenant.³ — ELLEN married *Humphrey Henchman*, whose family belonged to Wellingborough, the early home of the Townsons: he was born at Burton-Latimer, near Kettering, 1592; and in 1624 he was Rector of St. Peter and All Saints, Rushton, in the same county. In 1622, Davenant made him Chauntor of Sarum; and also gave him (1628) the prebend of South Grantham in the same cathedral, in which he was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Alexander Hyde. After the battle of Worcester, Henchman was instrumental in forwarding the escape of Charles to France. He became Bishop of Sarum in 1660, of London in 1663,⁴ and he died in 1675. — MARY (or Maria) married *Dr. Alexander Hyde* (1597–1667), son of Sir Alexander Hyde of Salisbury, and was first cousin to the historian Hyde. Davenant made him in 1637 Sub-Dean of Sarum, and in 1638 Prebendary of South Grantham. Hyde, in 1660, through the influence of his cousin, became Dean of Winchester, and succeeded Earle as Bishop of Sarum (1665).⁵ His daughter Margaret was married to Sir Henry Parker, Bart., nephew to Alderman Hugh Parker, of London, who was made a baronet in 1681. To another branch of this family belonged *William Parker*, baker, citizen of London, eldest son of Parker, who were both living in 1650, when Fuller addresses the former as his kinsman (*suus necessarius*), and as always very ready to serve him;⁶ but I have failed to establish any

¹ *Letters*, ii. 300. See *Pedigree*, chap. ii.

² *Dom. Ser.* Mar. 31, 1633. Chandler is mentioned in Walker, ii. 67.

³ Walker, ii. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.* 62; Cassan's *Lives*, iii. 1, &c.

⁵ Walker, ii. 64; and Cassan's *Lives*.

⁶ *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 168, where the arms are given thus: A stag's head, cabossed, between two flanches, two pheons in each, a label for the difference.

connection between the two families. There is of course a probability that Fuller's wife belonged to this family.

We further gather from the Bishop's will that JUDITH TOWNSON became the wife of *James White, B.D.*, who is mentioned by Walker as also holding a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral. During the troubles he "was reduced to such poverty and necessities, that at the time of his death (before November, 1661) he left his family in a miserable condition, and they were constrained to sue for relief."¹ ANN was married to *John Cooke*; and another sister, GERTRUDE, to *James Harris, Esq.*, of the Close, Sarum (1605-1679), who was the ancestor of the Earl of Malmesbury, and whose eldest son took Fuller's Christian name. Davénant's testament also shows that another of the Townson kindred, *Ann Townson* (not to be confounded with the daughter of the Bishop), married Fuller's brother, John.

The death of Mr. Fuller is perhaps connected with the resignation of his son's Cambridge curacy; for after March, 1632-3, when Fuller signs the year's entries in the register of St. Bene't's parish for the last time, there is no further trace of his connection with it. On 5th July in the same year, one Edward Palgrave, Fellow of Corpus Christi, was appointed in his stead.² The Chapter-book of Corpus College relating to this time has been unfortunately lost; and the actual period of Fuller's curacy can be determined with no greater accuracy than is here given.

The resignation of this cure points to the severing of Fuller's connection with Cambridge; but this change may not have now taken place. He did not indeed receive his next preferment—the Dorsetshire living—till the following year (1634), but the intervening time may have been spent at Salisbury. His own various references to the time of his leaving Cambridge are hard to reconcile. Thus in the history of his University, having brought his account down to the time when High Anglicanism was beginning to appear there, he interjects the following words: "At this time [1633-4] I discontinued my living in the University, and therefore crave leave here to break off my history, finding it difficult to attain to certain intelligence. However, because I meet with much printed matter

¹ ii. 67; Kennet's *Register*, 563.

² Register, Corpus Lodge. He was ejected at the Visitation in 1644. Before resigning, Fuller seems to have baptised a son of Mr. Abraham Whelock, minister, March 20, 1633. Whelock, who was one of the preachers of the town and the

Keeper of the Public Library, had, in the previous year, been appointed to Mr. Thomas Adams' new Arabic Professorship. Fuller mentions Whelock in his *Hist. Camb.*, 1655, as lately dead, regretting that he did not live to take part in Walton's Polyglott.

about the Visitation of Cambridge in these troublesome times (though after some years' interval) I shall for a conclusion adventure to give posterity an impartial relation thereof."¹ The interval thus omitted extends to 1641-2. Fuller however was there, or in nominal residence, up to June 1635, when he took his degree; and he states that Sydney College was his "mother" up to 1636 or 1637, extending the time still further.

So far as Fuller is concerned, we may fill up the blank indicated in his University History with his well-known diligence. Amidst all his studying and preaching and other duties, he found time for lighter employments. In the summer of 1633 the King, with Laud in his company, had visited Scotland, and on the same occasion was crowned (June 13). The King's return, in the following month, was a fitting opportunity for a volume of verses, and the wits and poets of Cambridge accordingly produced *Rex Redux, sive Musa Cantabrigiensis voti damnas de incolumitate & felici reditu Regis CAROLI post receptam Coronam, Comitiae: peracta in Scotia. Cantab., 1633.* 4to. Fuller has his name attached to two sets of verses—one entitled *Scotiae & Angliæ mutua disceptatio*; and the other *Regina ad Regem*. They are signed "Thom. Fuller, Coll. Sid.," and have been printed in Grosart's *Fuller's Poems*.² There are nearly 140 contributors. In this galaxy of talent we meet with the names of Dr. Ward, Dr. Collins, Dr. Love, Edward King, Duport, Randolph, Whelock, John Pearson, Crashaw, Henry More, and Waller.

It is evident that our poet did not foresee the trouble that this royal Scotch visit, thus eagerly commemorated, was to bring upon his own country. It was in these days that the influence of Laud began to be as apparent in the Universities as elsewhere. The leaven of his system of Church discipline had already entered the colleges of Cambridge: already there were many there whose lives, as my author would say, were very mass-books! Fuller alludes to the restoration of many colleges; "but the greatest alteration was in their chapels, most of them being graced with the accession of organs. . . . Some took great distaste thereto as attendancy to superstition."³ Fuller especially mentions the following "*Smart passage in a Sermon*:"—"A grave divine preaching before the University, at St. Mary's, had this passage in his sermon, that, as at the Olympian games *he* was counted the conqueror who could drive

¹ *Hist. Camb.* § ix. ¶ 27, p. 167.

² Page 111. A more correct copy of the first of Fuller's verses will be found in our general Appendix.

³ *Hist. Camb.* § ix. ¶ 24, p. 167.

his chariot-wheels nearest the mark, yet so as not to hinder his running, or to stick thereon,

‘ Metaque fervidis evitata rotis ;’

so he who in his sermon could preach *near* Popery, and yet *no* Popery, ‘ there was your man.’ And indeed it now began to be the general complaint of most moderate men, that many in the University both in the schools and pulpits, approached the opinions of the Church of Rome nearer than ever before.”¹ Fuller adduces other instances of the new order of things which show that he clearly foresaw the evil results which such Churchmanship would eventually produce.

With regard to Fuller’s carriage in reference to these innovations, we have trustworthy testimony that he was devoted to the principles of Churchmanship in which he had been schooled. His opponent, Heylyn, had stated that Fuller, like some schismatics referred to in the *Church-History*, had accounted “ the Litany, the surplice, and other ceremonies, as superfluous and superstitious.” Fuller made answer : “ This note might well have been spared. I appeal to such as knew my conformity in the College chapel, country parishes, and Cathedral of Sarum, to be my compurgators in this unjust accusation.”² He might to this have added the testimony afforded by his works. Thus he gives sound views as to the disputed points in Church discipline, in his character of *The True Church Antiquary*, written about this very time : “ He is not zealous for the introducing of old useless 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 horse-hairs, 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 jealousy of all. When many popish tricks are abroad in the country ; if then men meet with a ceremony 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.”³

Again : “ Not that I am displeased with neatness or plead for nastiness in God’s Service. Surely God would have the Church, His Spouse, as not a harlot, so not a slut ; and, indeed, outward decency in the church is a harbinger to provide a lodging for

¹ *Hist. Camb.* p. 166.

² *Appeal*, ii. 494.

³ *Holy State*, p. 64.

inward devotion to follow after. But we would not have religion so bedaubed with lace that one cannot see the cloth, and ceremonies which should adorn, obscure the substance of the sacraments and God's worship. And let us labour to be men in Christianity, . . . and not be allured to God's service by the outward pomp and splendour of it. But let us love religion not for her clothes, but for her face; and then shall we affect it if she should chance (as God forbid) to be either naked through poverty, or ragged through persecution. In a word, if God hath appointed it, let us love the plainness of his ordinance though therein there be neither warm water, nor strong water, nor sweet water, but plain water of Jordan."¹

Fuller did not, however, fall in with the opinion of those who indiscriminately censured all the innovations in religion which were encouraged by the Laudian clergy. He afterwards wrote, with the gravity of an historian:—

“In mixt actions, wherein good and bad are blended together, we can neither chose nor refuse all, but may pick out some and must leave the rest. *First*, they may better be termed *Renovations* than *Innovations*, as lately not new forged but new furnished. *Secondly*, they were not so many as some complain. The suspicious old man cries out in the comedy that 600 cooks were let into his house, when they were but two. Jealousy hath her hyperboles as well as her flattery. *Thirdly*, some of these *Innovations* may easier be railed on than justly reprov'd, namely, such as concerned the adorning of churches, &c. *Fourthly*, if these gave offence it was not for any thing in themselves, but either because (1) they were challenged to be brought in without law; (2) because they seemed new and unusual; (3) because they were multiplied without any set number; (4) because they were pressed in some places without moderation; (5) because they were pressed by men, some of whose persons were otherwise much distasted.”²

Mr. Russell says, that while moderation was Fuller's profession, he “appears to have adhered inflexibly to the theology of his early days, not changing for fashion's sake; contented with that in which he had been brought up: not, however, simply because it was the form in which his faith was familiarised to him, but because it came with this recommendation—that those who had received it were as dear to him by their personal piety as they were estimable for their learning and experience.”³

¹ *Joseph's Parti-Coloured Coat*, § Christening Sermon on 2 Kings v. 14.

² *Truth Maintained* (1643).

³ *Memorials of Fuller*, p. 304.



CHAPTER VII.

COUNTRY PARSON. "THE HOLY WAR." (1634-39.)

THE PARISH AND VILLAGE OF BROADWINDSOR.—THE VICARAGE AND CHURCH.—"THE FAITHFUL MINISTER."—FULLER BECOMES A BACHELOR OF DIVINITY.—HIS COLLEGE FEAST.—HIS AFFECTION FOR ALMA MATER.—HIS FRIENDS IN DORSETSHIRE: DENYS ROLLE, ESQ.; SIR JOHN POULETT; SIR GERARD NAPIER; REVS. G. IRONSIDE, R. GOMERSALL, AND EDWARD DAVENANT; HENRY DRAKE, AND GREGORY GIBBES, ESQS.; ETC.—FULLER'S FIRST MARRIAGE.—LITERARY LABOUR.—HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES: ITS CHARACTERISTICS, COMMENDATION, AND POPULARITY.—JOHN FULLER.

"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 prayers 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." (*Holy State*, § "*The Faithful Minister*," p. 74.)



MEANWHILE Bishop Davenant did not forget his favourite nephew in the disposal of the patronage of the See of Sarum. "That Prebend of Salisbury," says the biographer, "was a commodious step to another more profitable place."¹ This was the RECTORY OF BROADWINDSOR, which fell vacant in the year 1634, on the death of Francis Isaac.²

Although this rectory was in the gift of the Bishops of Sarum, it was in Fuller's day in the diocese of Bristol, at that time presided over by Dr. George Coke, who was succeeded in 1636 by Dr. Skinner. It was contiguous to his prebend of Netherbury. The anonymous biographer comments upon the place

¹ Page 7.

² Francis Isaac is entered as Vicar, in Hutchins' *Dorset* (p. 331), next before Fuller; the date of the appointment of the former being Jan. 23, 1622. But it is probable that he was only Vicar for a few months, since William Tilly (who is placed before Fuller and Isaac) was appointed in 1600, and the following is an entry in the register under date of

1634: "Gulielmus Tilly, hujus ecclesiae vicarius, concionator vigilantissimus per annos 35 plus minus, placide in Domino obdormiens, sepelitur." During part of this time Isaac may have been Tilly's *curate*, and Fuller may have received the Vicarage on Tilly's death. No notice of the appointment exists, at the Diocesan Registry Office, Bristol, for most of the records were burnt during the riots of 1832.

being far distanced from Fuller's native country [*i.e.* region], and remoter from the University: "A prophet hath no honour in his own;" and therefore it was doubled to him in another."¹

Fuller did not immediately accept the living. "He did not over-readily entertain the kindness of the proffer," says his biographer, "till after a serious scrutiny of himself and his abilities to discharge the requisite duties the place called for; and after a very full and satisfactory enquiry of his parishioners."² These conscientious preliminaries being arranged, Fuller became a "country parson."

Broadwindsor is a village situated inland between Bridport and Lyme Regis, from the former of which towns it is distant about eight miles, and from Beaminster two miles and a half, in the county of Dorset—one of the shires of that great western region at that time, by reason of its fertility and commerce, the chief part of England. Fuller appreciated the county very highly; saying that it possessed all commodities necessary for man's temporal well-being.³ The village lies near the borders of Somersetshire, and is said to take its name from the *winding* nature of the border which separates the counties.

The parish, which is in Bridport Deanery, is extensive, being about seven miles broad and four wide. It is situated in a rich and well-watered valley; and amidst its fertile meadows there are numerous orchards. The village is situated at the south-east extremity of the parish. Two prominent hills—Lewesdon (960 feet high) in the parish, and Pillesdon (940 feet) on the edge of the parish, partly indicate its boundary. These hills, surmounting all other eminences hereabouts, serve as landmarks to mariners in the Channel, who term them the Cow and the Calf, to which animals they are said at sea to bear some resemblance. The two heights have been rendered classical in English poetical literature by the very elegant "Lewesdon Hill," of the Rev. W. Crowe, the friend of the poet Rogers, and the incumbent of the neighbouring parish of Stoke Abbot. Fuller quotes a local proverb, "as much akin as Leuson hill to Pilsen Pen," *i.e.* no kin at all. "It is spoke of such who have vicinity of habitation of neighbourhood without the least degree of consanguinity and affinity betwixt them. For here are two high hills, the first wholly, the other partly, in the parish of Broadwindsor, whereof once I was minister."⁴

Approaching Broadwindsor from Lyme, it is necessary, after leaving the coast at Charmouth (whence Charles II. attempted

¹ *Life*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*

³ *The Worthies*, § Dorsetshire, p. 277.

⁴ *The Worthies*, p. 278.

to escape after his Worcester defeat) to keep Lewesdon Hill in front and the Char on the right. The visitor then passes along an irregular road (for there is no direct way), and gradually rises till he emerges on the high road, below the summit of Lewesdon. To one climbing this hill for the sake of the prospect, the village associated with Fuller, and its sturdy little church, come suddenly in view, showing themselves to advantage. From this hill the village is about a mile distant; it is somewhat loftily situated on the same spur of hills which extends from this part of Dorset to Swanage. The undulating fields, with their scattered homesteads, the distant view of the sea and the numerous cliffs, with the blue sky mingling on the horizon with the ocean, make up a scene not easily forgotten. Crowe alludes to it as a—

“ Variegated scene, of hills
And woods and fruitful vales, and villages
Half hid in tufted orchards, and the sea
Boundless, and studded thick with many a sail.

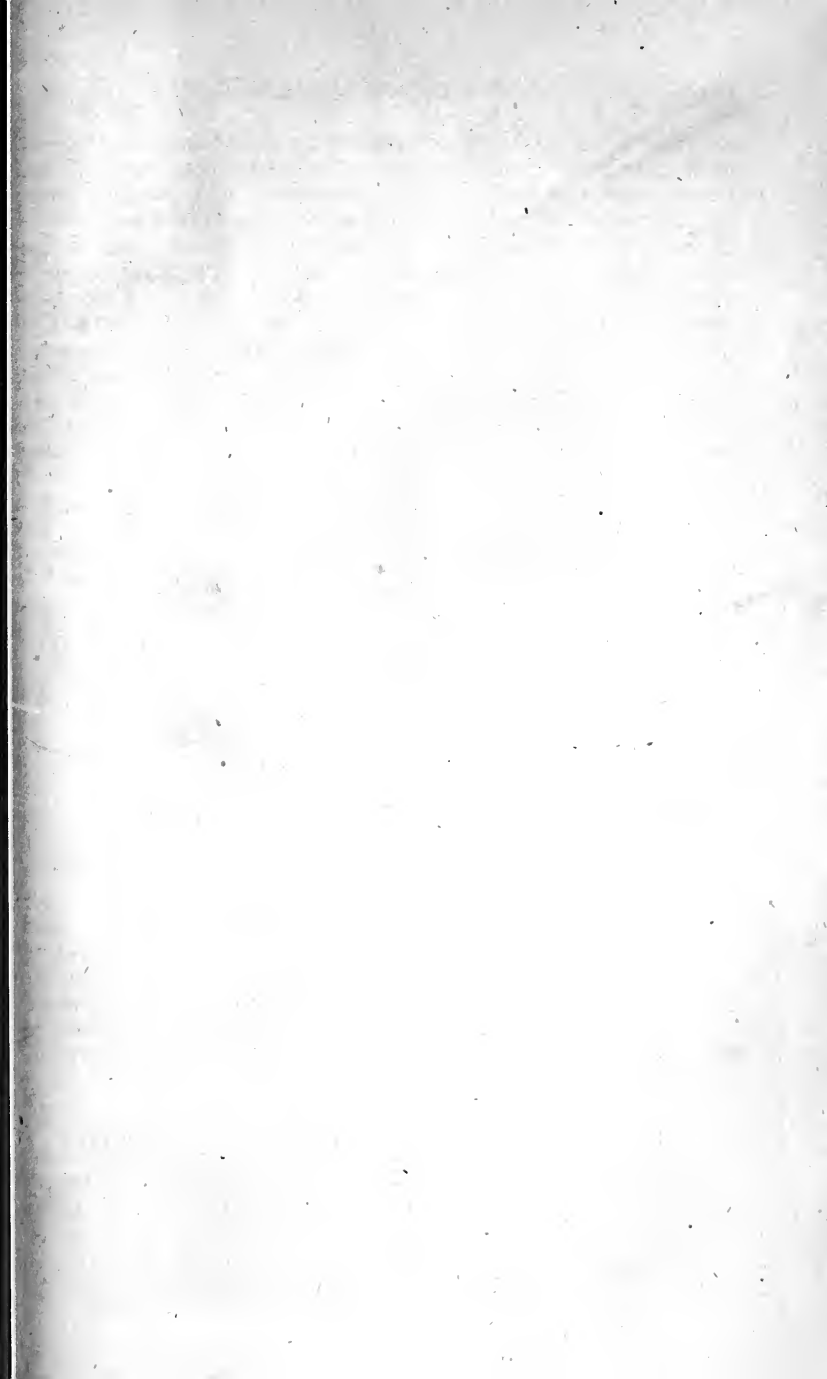
* * * * *
From this proud eminence on all sides round
Th’ unbroken prospect opens to my view,
On all sides large; save only where the head
Of Pillesdon rises, Pillesdon’s lofty Pen:
So call (still rendering to his ancient name
Observance due) that rival height south-west,
Which like a rampart bounds the vale beneath.
There woods, there blooming orchards, there are seen
Herds ranging, or at rest beneath the shade
Of some wide-branching oak; there goodly fields
Of corn and verdant pasture, whence the kine
Returning with their milky treasure home
Store the rich dairy: such fair plenty fills
The pleasant vale of Marshwood.”¹

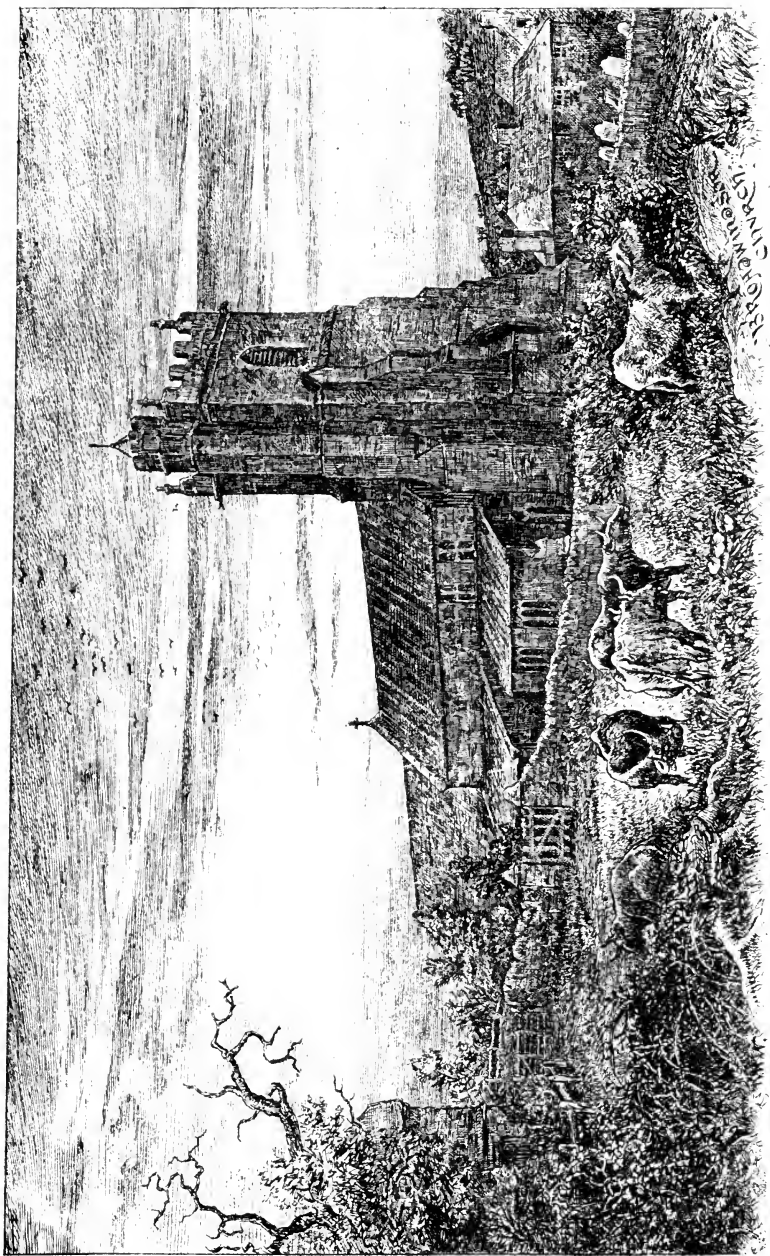
Could it have been that Fuller, when enjoying this view—and he must have often enjoyed it—imagined himself as “standing where Moses stood” when “the Lord showed him all the land?” and did the scene suggest the title of his famous book, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, which he is said to have been at this very time composing? In reference to this remarkable book, we shall see that Fuller—

“ From the mountain top of his exalted wit
Saw it [the land] himself, and showed us it.”—(COWLEY.)

The village reached, it will be found to be both picturesque and neat. The parish has now a population of about 1,450.

¹ *Lwesdon Hill, with other Poems*, by the Rev. Wm. Crowe, Public Orator of the University of Oxon (1827), p. 9.





St. James Church

The people are chiefly employed with the produce of the dairy, and there is a good trade in sail-cloth: its occupation has apparently very little changed since Fuller belonged to it. There are many of the old houses still standing.

Fate, however, has been hard on the dwellings which Fuller occupied. The old house where probably Fuller lived his happiest years, and where he wrote or projected his best works, no longer stands. This old Vicarage—a cottage as it has been described to me—used to stand on the site of the present schools, near the church, and bordering the street with its west wall. The schools were built by Archdeacon Denison, its incumbent, in 1843, and at that time the old house was quite ruinous. It had two sitting-rooms and three or four bed-rooms, and was two storeys high. It was shaped in the form of a carpenter's square.¹ Of the rectory Hutchins says that it "was and is appropriated to the vicars choral of the Cathedral of Sarum." In 1650, the vicarage was returned to the Parliamentary Jurors at £70; and it then comprised, besides the house and garden, seven acres of meadow and pasture lands; with tithes for "wool and lamb, and orchards, fruits, clothes, and backside tithes." In Ecton's *Thesaurus* it is given as of the clear yearly value of £15 8s. 9d. in the King's books. Hereabouts also were lands which in the reign of Mary were granted to the Master of the Hospital of Savoy; with which foundation Fuller came to be connected. His composition for his first-fruits and tenths, dated 9th Oct. 1634, is for £13 17s. 8d., the first of four payments towards which was made on the 1st April, 1635, and the last on 1st Oct., 1636. His bondsmen are thus described: "Timoth ffelton p'och. Sci. Stephi in Coleman Str. Lond. et Antus Wilson de Medio Temple Lon. gen."²

The Church, the only remaining feature of interest now connected with Fuller, is built on the loftiest ground on the north side of the village. It was a very old edifice partly in the Norman and partly in the Gothic styles, and is said in an old deed to be dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Externally it presented the same appearance as in Fuller's time, and even then it must have been weather-beaten. It was a substantial but dilapidated building, with a lofty western tower, embattled, with a small turret at one corner. Here are some very old, tuneable bells, whose inscriptions take us back to pre-Reformation times. A glance at the belfry, a resting-place for birds,

¹ For these particulars I am indebted to Archdeacon Denison, once Vicar, who erected the present commodious Vicarage-house.

² Record Office Composition Books.

called to mind a passage in our author which is redolent of the charms of Izaak Walton. "Birds, we see (Ps. lxxxiv. 3), may prescribe an ancient title to build in our Steeples, having time out of mind taken the same privilege in the tabernacle and temple. Yea, David in exile, debarred access to God's public service, doth pity his own, and prefer the condition of these fowls before him. And although no devotion (whereof they were uncapable) but the bare delight in fair fabrics brought them hither, yet we may presume according to their kind they served God better than many men in that place, chirping forth morning and even praises to the honour of their Maker."¹ The interior of the church had been altered at various times, as is shown by the want of harmony in the architecture and arrangement. There are many styles of architecture to be seen, beginning with the Norman. The church is spacious, having a nave, aisles, and a large chancel. A small gallery—"a necessary evil in a popular church," Fuller would say—has been added since Fuller held the cure. The pillars which support the roof are round, stunted, and without ornament; the arches are slightly pointed, and there is a pointed east-window. In the north aisle are two altar-tombs, placed in recesses of the wall under two arches: these are supposed to belong to the illustrious family of Champernoune, with which Sir Walter Raleigh was related. Entries in the registers,² during Fuller's pastorate, show that members of this family were still residing in or near the village.

The pulpit is the same as that in which our witty preacher delighted his rustic hearers, and it is now in much the same condition as when he occupied it. It is polygonal, with a double row of panels, and neatly carved; traces of old gilding were apparent on it before its recent restoration. "It has a double row of panels divided by a horizontal roll, which are enriched with arabesque work of carved foliage. At the angles, and dividing perpendicularly, are crocketed buttresses, which below the roll are continued by a round moulding enriched with foliage, &c. of a semi-classic character."³ On the occasion of the writer's visit in 1866, the church stood in great need of restoration, which, at the sole expense of Major C. H. Malan, 75th Regt., has since been carried out under the care of that

¹ *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 385.

² "Mary, daughter of Dame Amy Champernoune, June 30, 1639." The deaths in his parish were not numerous. Fuller makes an allusion to his "living in a country village," where a funeral

was so rare that "I never thought of death, it was so seldom presented unto me." (*Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Personal Meditations*, iii.)

³ Hutchins' *Dorset* (new edition), page 330.

eminent and accomplished scholar the Rev. Prebendary S. C. Malan, the present Incumbent, whose courtesy to the writer demands acknowledgment.

The contiguity of this, Fuller's new pastoral charge, to the Cathedral in which he was a canon is given by the anonymous biographer as a chief reason for his coming hither. He says it "did easily commend itself, without the aid of the patron or other inducements, to the Doctor's acceptance."¹

On taking up his residence here, his household perhaps contained his unmarried sisters. One of them at least married in the neighbourhood. His mother died sometime before 1637.

The young minister readily gained the affections of his parishioners. He had here greater scope than at Cambridge for the full exemplification of his character of "The Faithful Minister," which he wrote about this period. Having obtained the general love and goodwill of his people, which is the first qualification in that sketch, "*He is strict in ordering his conversation.* As for those who cleanse blurs with blotted fingers, they make it the worse. It was said of one who preached very well and lived very ill, 'That when he was out of the pulpit, it was pity he should ever go into it, and when he was in the pulpit, it was pity he should ever come out of it:' but our minister² lives sermons." We may likewise be sure, in Fuller's case, that his conduct towards his people was not "too austere and retired. . . . Especially he detesteth affected gravity (which is rather on men than in them) whereby some belie their register-book, antedate their age to seem far older than they are, and plait and set their brows in an affected sadness. Whereas St. Anthony the monk might have been known among hundreds of his order by his cheerful face, he having ever (though a most mortified man) a merry countenance."³ From the manner in which the essayist here and elsewhere commends *catechising*, we may conclude that he diligently practised it among the young of his flock.

This character of "The Good Parson," which Fuller was now labouring to exemplify, is one of the best delineations in the *Holy State*. It gives, in a small compass, the spirit of Herbert's *The Country Parson his Character*, the first edition of which appeared in 1652: it both "directs the minister what he ought to do, and convinces him for not having done it."

¹ *Life*, p. 8.

² So of Perkins: "He lived sermons, and as his preaching was a comment on

his text, so his practice was a comment on his preaching. (*Abel Redeivivus.*)

³ *Holy State*, p. 74.

Holy George Herbert had now left the Court, under Laud's influence entering the Church, and was now a neighbour of Fuller's: it is pleasant to dwell upon their acquaintance. Herbert was living *his* sermons at Bemerton, hard by Salisbury, having been ordained to this charge in 1630. The two clergymen are thus put together by Dr. Stoughton: "Fuller had nothing of the poetical pensiveness of Herbert—nothing of that unearthly tone which was so real in the Salisbury canon; nothing even of the High Churchmanship of Dr. Hammond; yet he cordially loved the Church of England. . . . If anyone will take the trouble to compare the portraits of Herbert and Fuller, he must confess that Herbert's gravity would look as foolish in the face of Fuller, as Fuller's archness would be most unseemly if it could be forced on Herbert's sedate countenance." ¹

A passage in Fuller's *Worthies* might be adduced as showing that Fuller did not think over highly of his rustic parishioners. For, alluding to *Edward Symmons*, M.A., Rector of Little Rayne, in Essex, who "was very conscientious in discharging his calling," he says: "Being once requested by me to preach for me, he excused himself for want of competent warning; and when I pleaded that 'mine, being a country parish, would be well pleased with his performance;' 'I can,' saith he, content *them*, but not my own *conscience*, to preach with so little preparation.'" ²

No doubt the young minister soon experienced the difference between the literary society of the University to which he had for so long a time been accustomed, and the dulness of a country village situated at a distance from a market-town. It is to be

¹ *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 412.

² *Worthies*, § Hartfordshire, page 28. Yet Fuller seems to have been in accord with the spirit of Dr. Symmons' rebuke, for he specially says that it is the mark of the faithful minister, that he would not offer to God of that which costs him nothing; but takes pains beforehand for his sermons. (*Holy State*, p. 75.) Symmons belonged to Peter House, Cambridge. He was "strict in his life and profitable in his preaching, wherein he had a plain and piercing faculty." He was sequestered from his living in 1642. (See the Sequestration in Walker, which illustrates Fuller's comment on his preaching.) His future life was as full of vicissitudes as that of his friend. He became chaplain to the Life-guard of

the Prince of Wales, and as such preached a "Military Sermon" to the King's army at Shrewsbury, March 3, 1643-4, which was afterwards published. He was perhaps afterwards shut up in Exeter with Fuller. "Pens were brandished betwixt him and Mr. Stephen Marshall," says Fuller, "though all was fair betwixt them before his death." Symmons ultimately retired to France, where he wrote *A Vindication of King Charles*, 1648, calling himself "a Minister, not of the late confused New, but of the Ancient, Orderly, and True Church of England." He was instrumental in setting forth *Eikōn βασιλική*, and was the author of other political and theological works. He died about 1649, and was buried in St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, London.

hoped, however, that he found his parishioners more intelligent than those described by the neighbouring parson Herrick, of Dean Prior (he had been removed thither through the influence of the Earl of Exeter), who spoke of his neighbours as—

“ A rocky generation !
A people currish, churlish as the seas,
And rude almost as rudest salvages.”

Shortly after settling at Broadwindsor, Fuller was urged by some of his numerous friends at Cambridge to “ dignify his desert ” by going thither to take the first degree in Divinity, to which his studies and his position in his college now qualified him. According to the Statutes, Masters of Arts intending to take the higher degree were bound to give pretty constant attention to the duties of the University; and though the Statutes had in practice been somewhat less strictly observed, Fuller had been enabled in the interval to continue the necessary studies, as well as to hold considerable Church patronage.

From the many pleasant associations of Cambridge, it is not surprising to find Fuller “ well inclined ” to accede to his friends’ requests. The biographer reminds us that he also did so “ out of reverence to his honourable calling.” He passes on to record a circumstance in connection with this visit, which markedly shows the respect and practical sympathy with which the pastor was regarded by his rural flock:—
“ Having taken care to supply his place for the time of his absence, at his setting forth he was acquainted that four of his chief parishioners, with his good leave, were ready to wait on him to Cambridge, to testify their exceeding engagements; it being the sense and request of his whole parish. This kindness was so present and so resolutely prest, that the Doctor with many thanks for that and other demonstrations of their love towards him, gladly accepted of their company, and with his customary innate pleasantness, entertained their time to the journey’s end.”¹

His welcome at the University was, as might have been expected, most hearty. His old associates, we may be sure, were pleased to see their well-beneficed friend. Other students, having an eye to the expected feast, would also claim acquaintance. He was visited, we are told, “ almost by all considerable persons of the University and town.” The parishioners of St. Bene’t were foremost in welcoming their late curate;

¹ *Life*, p. 10.

“fame and love vieing which should render him most addresses, to the great delight and satisfaction of his fellow-travellers and neighbours in having a minister who was so highly and yet no less deservedly honoured.” But these visits and receptions were so numerous, that they became a trouble to Fuller, “who was then forced to busy his invention with compliments, to which he was most naturally averse.”¹ But Fuller easily learned to acquire facility in this respect at a later period of his life; and such an adept did he become in paying an ingenious compliment, and so many did he make, that we may safely look with suspicion on the statement that he was *naturally averse* to such matters.

Having received and paid visits to a much larger circle of acquaintances than he probably counted upon, he set himself to fulfil the object of his visit.

His scholarship and his skill in the disputations in which he engaged having increased his reputation, Fuller, amidst the accustomed ceremonies, received the Bachelor’s degree in Divinity “with general applause and commendation.” This occurred 11th June, 1635.² There were (not *three* other scholars, as Fuller’s eulogist states, but) *six* who received this degree in company; but Fuller’s name is the only one of note. One other name, Godfrey Rodes, occurs as connected with Sydney. From D’Ewes’ *Autobiography*, we gather that in the course of the proceedings one of them, John Nevell, was publicly reprovved by Fuller’s old tutor, Dr. Ward, for advocating views derived from the Laudian party. D’Ewes’ account is interesting by reason of his being an eye-witness of proceedings in which Fuller took an important part; and we must quote the passage at length:—

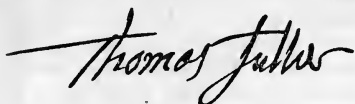
“I departed early on Monday, July 6th, for Cambridge to the Commencement, where the next day one Nevel, a young impudent scholar, being a Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and answering the Bachelor of Divinity’s Act in the morning, maintained openly justification by works, and that the very outward act of baptism took away sin. His brasen-faced asserting of these popish points . . . was abhorred by myself and all the orthodox hearers in the Commencement House; and Dr. Ward, sitting Moderator the same day, openly rebuked the same Nevel for preaching those gross heresies. . . . I supped at night in Sidney College with the same Dr. Ward, where we both lamented the times that this wicked Nevel durst so

¹ Page 10.

² *University Subscriptions*. Also, *Harl. MS.* 7038, fol. 100 (Brit. Mus.). A notice of the event also occurs in the records of Sydney College.

impudently and openly maintain the vilest and most feculent points of all popery."¹

It was not such doctrines as these that Fuller attested when he put this his signature to the University Subscription-book,



Upon the conclusion of the ceremonies the young Bachelor gave the usual expected *feast* in honour of the event, which put him to great expense. His biographer thus makes allusion to it: "Thus much by the way may be added, that this Commencement cost the Doctor for his particular, the sum of seven-score pounds,—an evidence of his liberality and largeness of mind proportionable to his other capacities, and yet than which nothing was less studied."² It might be debated here which should be condemned most—Fuller's extravagance, or his friend's ingenious apology for it. The latter speaks, indeed, as if he shared in the dinner. With respect to this objectionable custom of feasting, it had already been seen that it was a means of leading students into habits of dissipation and extravagance. Hacket, in his *Life of Williams*, records (p. 11) that on that prelate taking his degree of M.A. in 1605, he feasted his friends "as if it had been his wedding, having more in cash at command by the full presents of many benefactors than is usual with such graduates." In 1647, under the Puritan rule, these feasts were abolished.

Fuller now returned to the quiet of his country parsonage. "At his departure," says his biographer, "he was dismissed with as honourable valedictions; and so he returned in the same company (who had out of their own purse contributed another addition of honour to that solemnity) to his said rectory at Broad-Winsor, resolving there to spend himself and the time of his pilgrimage amongst his dear and loving charge."³

There seems to be evidence for supposing that Fuller, who felt himself already on the lower steps of the ladder to more important positions in the Church, continued to keep up a nominal residence at Cambridge, with a view to the degree of D.D., for which five more years of residence were necessary. According to his own account he was connected with Sydney College up to 1636 or 1637.⁴ He twice refers to the fact that he was

¹ *Autobiography*, vol. ii. p. 124.

² *Life*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See his "Farewell" below. In 1638-9 he speaks of himself as "late of Sydney College." (*Holy War.*)

seventeen years at Cambridge: once in his *Church-History*, where he complained that seventeen weeks at Oxford cost him "more than seventeen years in Cambridge (even all that I had);"¹ and again in *The Appeal*, where he says that he "lived" in Cambridge for seventeen years.² Though he may be speaking roughly in the former passage for the sake of the antithesis, he is very definite in the last. The date of his leaving the University is thus brought down to the year 1638, after which time more serious engagements arising out of the unsettled state of affairs would place the coveted degree further out of his reach. As, therefore, we shall not again meet with him at Cambridge for many years to come, we must here let him take his farewell of Sydney College, in what he calls *A Childes Prayer for his Mother*—a passage well deserving of comparison with Ridley's noble dying farewell to Pembroke Hall. "It is as yet but *early days* with this college (which hath not seen sixty years), yet hath it been fruitful in worthy men proportionably to the age thereof, and I hope it will daily increase. Now though it be only the place of the Parents [parent], and proper to him (as the greater) to bless his childe, Heb. vii. 6, yet it is the duty of the childe to pray for his parents; in which relation my best desires are due to this Foundation, my Mother for my last eight years in this university [1629—1636]. May her lamp never lack light for the oil, or oil for the light thereof! 'Zoar, is it not a little one?' Yet 'who shall despise the day of small things?' May the foot of sacrilege, if once offering to enter the gates thereof, stumble and rise no more! The Lord bless the labours of all the students therein, that they may tend and end at His glory, their own salvation, the profit and honour of the Church and Commonwealth!"³

It cannot fail to have been noticed that Fuller's affection for his *Alma Mater* was very marked. He again evinces it by a passage in his character of *The Good Bishop*, written a few years hence: "*He is thankful to that College whence he had his education.* He conceived himself to hear his Mother-College always speaking to him in the language of Joseph to Pharaoh's butler, 'But think on me, I pray thee, when it shall be well with thee.' 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 marish: 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

¹ Bk. iv. 168; also in *The Appeal*, pt. ii. 443.

² Pt. i. 321. See also p. 5 *anted.*

³ *Hist. Camb.* § viii. ¶ 30, p. 155.

enough.”¹ And in his *Worthies*, he takes pains to translate the verse *Quisquis Alumnus erat, gratus Alumnus erit*, thus:—

“A thankful man will feed
The place which did him breed.”²

How different in this respect was the conduct of Dryden (whom it is natural to connect with Fuller, as coming from the same village) towards the University! The veneration which many other English scholars have shown for the place of their education is wanting in the case of this great poet who wrote:

“*Oxford* to him a dearer name shall be
Than his own Mother-University:
Thebes did his green, unknowing youth engage;
He chooses *Athens* in his riper age.”

Fuller has proved himself to be a son who merits the lasting regard of his University by his industrious compilation of its history in general, and of the separate colleges, which in 1655 he appended to his great folio. In that work he gives evidence of his love for Cambridge in the zeal he exhibits for its reputation, and in his prayers for its welfare.

With the chief families in his country parish and in the neighbourhood, Fuller was soon on terms of intimacy. Bishop Westfield, who in 1641 became Fuller's diocesan, used to say that “he that hath a good neighbour hath a good morrow; but a *minister* that liveth among such hath got a rich benefice.”³ Fuller so found it; for he had a very wide acquaintance. Some of them claim notice here.

There are evidences of a friendly intercourse with the illustrious ROLLE family and their connections. This family was of Bicton, in that part of our English Arcadia near Sidmouth, a short distance above Lyme Regis. The head of the house was *Dennys Rolle, Esq.* His mother was co-heiress to Sir Thomas Dennis, Knight, “of right ancient extraction,” whose wife was daughter of William Poulett, Marquis of Winchester; and his father was the son of Sir Henry Rolle, of Stevenstone, near Torrington. Dennys was possessed of great wealth, which, according to Sydenham, he put to good use. He was the generous friend of Sir Bevil Grenville. In 1637 he was Sheriff of Devonshire, but he died in the following year, aged 24. In memory of her husband, his wife (who was Margaret, a daughter of Lord Poulett) erected a monument for which Fuller, out of compliment, we suppose, to his poetical reputation, was asked to write an Epitaph. Prince, in his notice of Rolle, in *The*

¹ *Holy State*, p. 270.

² Chap. xxv. 80.

³ Spencer's *Kaiva kai παλαια*, xxii.

Worthies of Devon, thus makes record of this interesting fact: "He was buried [in the chantry on the south side of the chancel] in the parish church of Bicton aforesaid, about the 12th or 11th day [on the 12th] of June, A.D. 1638. In the which by the piety of his dearest lady was a noble monument, erected to his and her memory, of white marble, where are seen lying at length his and her effigies, lively and curiously cut in alabaster, under a rich arch, adorned with several coats of arms relating to the family.¹ On a table of black marble is found this inscription in letters of gold, made by Dr. Fuller."² Rolle is represented on the tomb as a soldier, reclining under a circular arch, his head resting on his left hand. The figure is said by Dr. Oliver to be "the very best of the age in statuary marble that I have had the good fortune to witness." The epitaph is as follows:—

"THE REMAINES OF DENYS ROLLE, ESQUIRE.

His earthly Part within this Tombe doth rest,
 Who kept a Court of honour in his Breast;
 Birth, Beauty, Witt and Wisedome sat as Peeres,
 Till Death mistooke his Virtues for his yeares:
 Or else Heaven envy'd Earth so rich a treasure,
 Wherein too fine the Ware, too scant the measure.
 His mournfull Wife her love to shew in part,
 This Tombe built here; a better in her heart.
 Sweete Babe, his hopefull Heyre (Heaven grant this Boon),
 Live but so well; but oh! dye not so soon.

Obiit Anno { Dni 1638
 Aetatis 24.
 Reliquit Fili- { um unum
 as quinque."³

Fuller adds in his *Worthies*: "As for this worthy Esquire, I remember the old sentence, *Praestat nulla quam pauca dicere de Carthagine*, on which account I forbear further praise of him."⁴ Fuller's commendations, although upon a monument, may be trusted: it was about this time that he penned the sentence, "He was a witty man that first taught a stone to speak; but he was a wicked man that taught it first to lie."⁵

Upon the tomb just below her husband is the recumbent

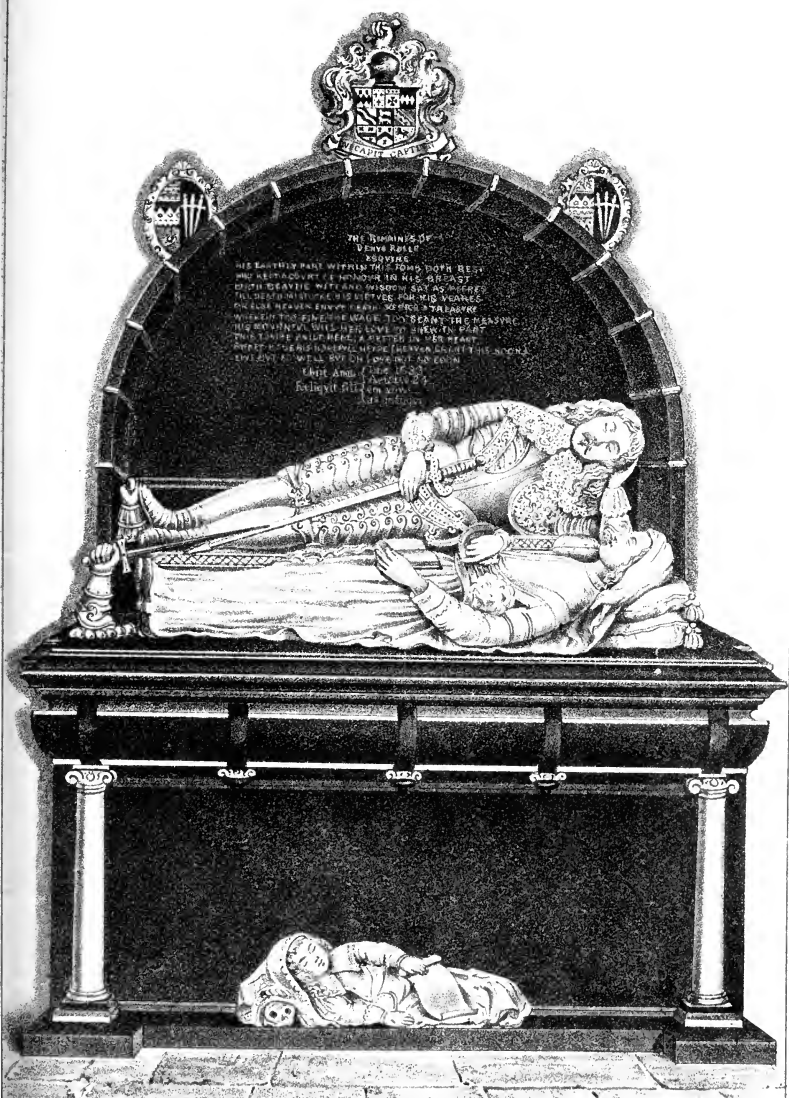
¹ These are: On either side of the monument, Rolle and Poulett. On the crown of the arch a shield with ten coats emblazoned: Rolle, Dennis, Dabernon, Giffard, Brewer, Bokerell, Cristenstowe, Gobodesley, Chidersley, and Dunn.

² Prince's *Dannoni Orientalis Illustrations*, p. 551.

³ From an account of Bicton, by Dr. Oliver of Exeter, p. 94; lent to the author of this work by Lady Rolle, who kindly permitted the annexed drawing to appear.

⁴ *Worthies*, § Devon, p. 272.

⁵ *Holy State*, § Of Tombs, p. 176. The same sentence may be found in a varied form in Fuller's Funeral



THE REMAINS OF
DENYS ROLLE
ESQVR
HIS EARTHLY PART WITHIN THIS TOMB DOETH REST
AND REPOSETH AT THE INTERCESSION OF HIS DEAREST
SPOUSE DEAVIE WITH ANO WISDOM SAY AS HERE
FILLED TO HIS TOMB HIS DEATH WAS HIS VENGANCE
ON THE HEAVEN EARTH HEATHEN TALASKE
WAS HIS TOMB HIS DEATH WAS HIS VENGANCE
HIS DEATH WAS HIS VENGANCE HIS DEATH WAS HIS VENGANCE
THIS TOMB SHALL BE A MONUMENT IN HIS HEART
THAT HE WAS A MAN OF GOD AND HIS DEATH WAS HIS VENGANCE
ON THE HEAVEN EARTH HEATHEN TALASKE
WAS HIS TOMB HIS DEATH WAS HIS VENGANCE
HIS DEATH WAS HIS VENGANCE HIS DEATH WAS HIS VENGANCE
LIEHT ANNO 1588
ANNO 1588
ANNO 1588

MONUMENT TO DENYS ROLLE ESQ.
BICEDON CHURCH DEVON.



figure of his wife, placed here at a subsequent period. At the foot of the tomb is the figure of their child, John, the "hopeful heir" of Fuller's epitaph, who died prematurely in June 1642. Hence Fuller spoke of Denys as "the last of his house." His four daughters married into knightly families. Florence, co-heiress of her father, became the wife of Sir John Rolle, heir to the Stevenstone estates, and at his death one of the wealthiest commoners in England. Rolle was an ardent royalist, accompanied Charles II. from Holland, and was made a Knight of the Bath. He was one of the patrons of Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight*.¹ His son John married Lady Christian Bruce, daughter of Robert, Earl of Ailesbury, who also patronised our author.

Before the year 1639, Fuller became, through the Rolle family, acquainted with the POULETTS, of Hinton St. George, Somerset. Their mansion, he notes, was remarkable in having "every stone in front shaped *double-ways*," or in 'the form of a cart nail. John, first Baron Poulett, then the representative of the family, had only recently been knighted. Fuller says that he was "a very accomplisht gentleman of quick and clear parts, a bountiful housekeeper."² He was active on the King's side in the civil war, in which Fuller often met him; and he was entrusted with the first Commission of Array. His lady was Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Christopher Ken, Esq.; and to her Fuller gratefully inscribed in 1655 one of the sections of his Ecclesiastical History, saying that he would be "content (in reference to your favours on me) to sit down in the last form³ of thankfulness, it being better to be a Lagge in that

Sermon on Geo. Heycock (1657); as also in the same sermon in *The House of Mourning* (edit. 1660, p. 52; edit. 1672, p. 590). It may not be out of place here to quote the properties of a good epitaph, as given by Fuller. "*The shortest, plainest, and truest Epitaphs are best.* I say the hortest; for when a passenger sees a *chronicle* on a tomb, he takes it on trust some Great man lies there buried, without taking pains to examine who he is. Master Cambden, in his *Remains*, presents us with examples of great men that had little epitaphs. [He here adds in a note: "As *Fui Cajus; Scaligeri quod reliquum est; Depositorium Cardinalis Poli; &c.*" To these might be added "*Fuller's earth*," which may be a conceit of his own. Of Caius he says, that "few men might have had a longer, none ever had a shorter epitaph" (*Worthies*, § Norwich). He con-

tinues:] And when once I asked a witty gentleman, an honoured friend of mine, what epitaph was fittest to be written on Cambden's tomb, 'Let it be,' said he, '*Cambden's Remains.*' I say also the plainest; for except the sense lie above ground, few will trouble themselves to dig for it. Lastly, it must be true. Not as in some monuments, where the red veins in the marble may seem to blush at the falsehoods written on it." (*Of Tombs*, p. 176.)

¹ See the Plate of Arms, *infra*, ch. xvi.

² *Worthies*, § Somerset, p. 32.

³ "There be three degrees of gratitude, according to men's several abilities: the first is to requite, the second to deserve, the third to confess a benefit received. He is a happy man that can do the first, no honest man that would not do the second, a dishonest man who doth not the third." (Fuller.)

school than a Trewant, not at all appearing therein. Yea, according to our Saviour's counsel and comfort, the lowest place is no hindrance to a higher, when the Master of the household shall be pleased to call him up. When this is done, and God shall ever enable me with more might, my gratitude shall wait on your ladyship in a greater proportion."¹ Fuller also relates in his *Worthies* that it was at the instance of Lady Poulett, "a worthy favourer of piety and pious men," that Dr. Sclater was preferred to the rich parsonage of Limpsham, Somerset, which was in her inheritance.² To her family belonged that "braver Becket," good Bishop Ken. Lord Poulett died in 1649; and hence Fuller adds in his dedication, "God . . . make your afflictions, which are briars and thistles in themselves, become sweet-brier and holy-thistle by sanctifying them unto you." To their son, Sir John Poulett, Fuller especially expresses an "indebtedness,"³ which may relate to this period. He, too, engaged in the war. He married the widow of Oliver St. John, Esquire. Fuller's patron, Hugh Smith of Long Ashton, Somerset, Esq. (Bart. 1662),⁴ was connected with the Pouletts, his mother Florence being sister to Sir John above mentioned.

Fuller was probably now also acquainted with GERARD NAPIER, Esq., of Middlemarsh Hall, Dorsetshire, and of More Crichel, who was created a baronet in 1641. He was a member of the Long Parliament till 1644, when he was disabled, his estates in Dorset and Kent being sequestered, and he declared delinquent. On one occasion he sent the King 500 broad pieces, which never reached their destination. To Sir Gerard, Fuller in 1655 dedicated a section of his *Church-History* in these terms: "Knowing the very name of Napier acceptable to all scholars ever since the learned laird of Marchistowne (no stranger to your blood,⁵ I am informed) by his *Log-arithmes* contracted the pains (and so by consequence prolonged the time and life) of all employed in numeration."⁶ After the Restoration Sir Gerard entertained the King and Queen at More Crichel on their visit to Salisbury during the plague of 1665. He died 1672.

Fuller's neighbour, *Hugh Windham*, Bart., of Pilsden Court, was a patron of the *Pisgah-Sight*.⁷ He received his baronetage

¹ Bk. vi. § v. p. 329.

² § Beds. p. 117.

³ *Holy War*, Dedication.

⁴ *Pisgah-Sight*, Plate of Arms. See *infra*, chap. xvi.

⁵ His father was included in an in-

strument recorded in the Heralds' College as of the blood of the Napers or Napiers of Murchistoun. (*Burk's Extinct Baronetage*, p. 379.)

⁶ iv. 155.

⁷ Bk. ii. 70.

in 1641. *John Fitzjames*, Esq., of Leuston, also appears as patron of our author's *Church History*.¹

Like his model minister, "who loveth the company of his neighbour-ministers," Fuller was on friendly terms with his clerical brethren. Thus he was now intimate with—

The Rev. GILBERT IRONSIDE, Rector of Winterborne-Steepleton cum Winterborne-Abbas, between Bridport and Dorchester. He was B.D., and of Trinity College, Oxford. His name is returned in a list of persons who had not paid ship-money,² the document being signed by Sir Thomas Trenchard, "late Sheriff of Dorset."³

The Rev. ROBERT GOMERSALL, Vicar of Thorncombe, about three miles west of Broadwindsor, was also an intimate acquaintance of Fuller. The latter, who had by no means set aside the cultivation of the "faculty divine," regarded his neighbour as an oracle in such matters; since in addition to his being known as a very florid preacher, Gomersall was in repute as a writer of tragedies and poems. Fuller classes him among the "learned writers" of Christ Church;⁴ and to him gives the chief place as the writer of laudatory verses prefixed to the *second* edition (1640) of *The Holy War*, his lines being inscribed "To his worthily dear friend, Thomas Fuller, B.D., upon his excellent work." The verses may be taken as a favourable specimen of the poetical merits of Fuller's friend, who died at his vicarage about 1646.

"Peace is thy Calling, Friend; thy Title *Warre*:
What, doth thy Title with thy Calling jarre?
The Holy Warre! this makes the wonder Cease:
An *holy warre* becomes a man of *peace*."

Tasso, be silent; my friend speaks: his *Storie*
Hath robb'd thy poeme of its long-liv'd glorie.
So rich his vein, his lines of so high state,
Thou canst not feigne so well as he relate.

Godfrey first entred on this warre, to free
His Saviour's tombe from Turks' captivitic:

¹ Bk. iii. 15. The arms ascribed to *Mr. Thomas James*, of Buntingford, Herts, another patron of this work, Bk. v. (177), seem to show that he was a relative of *John Fitzjames*, Esq.

² *Cal. State Papers*, 1636, p. 395. The amount demanded was £1. In the same list is a smaller item refused by the executor of one *Edith Fuller*.

³ He was Sheriff in 1635 (Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 289). He was in the Long

Parliament one of the representatives of the county, and took part in the war on the side of the Parliament. He and Sir Walter Earle seized and fortified the town of Lyme. His seat was Wolverton, near Weymouth. His son, Thomas, was in 1650 a patron of Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight*. (See fac-simile of the Plate of Patrons' Arms, in our chapter xvi.)

⁴ *Church-Hist.* v. (170).

And too-too meanly of himself he deems,
 If thus he his Redeemer not redeems.
 A glorious end! nor did he fear to erre.
 In losing life, to gain Christ's sepulchre.
 But I dare say, were *Godfrey* now alive,
 (*Godfrey* who by thy penne must needs survive)
 He would again act o're his noble toil,
 Doing such deeds as should the former foil;
 If for no other reason, yet to be
 Delivered unto time and fame by thee:
 Nor would he fear in such exploits to bleed,
 Then to regain a tombe, now not to need."

At the opposite end of the county, viz. at Gillingham, five miles north-west of Shaftesbury, Fuller's former tutor and relation, EDWARD DAVENANT, was settled. He had been presented to this vicarage by his uncle, in 1626. Gillingham is commended as being a retired place, where he was not much troubled with visits. Here his large family was born. Fuller was certainly the occasional guest of his old mentor; and he was there also in 1656, when he was preaching an assize sermon at Shaftesbury. Walker 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.¹ After holding the Vicarage fifty-three years, he died. The manor was held by Thomas, Lord Bruce, Baron of Kinloss, and (in 1633) first Earl of Elgin, he having bought it in 1631: his son Robert became a patron of Fuller.

Scattered throughout many villages of the West country were living at this time many of the sailors who "in the spacious times of great Elizabeth" played their part well under her sea-captains. Thus there dwelt in Fuller's parish the descendants of the sea-king, Sir Francis Drake, whose life Fuller appended to his sketch of *The Good Sea-Captain*² and he records a characteristic anecdote of Sir Francis at Porto Rico, derived (as he says) "from the mouth of *Hen. Drake, Esquire*, there

¹ *Sufferings*, pt. ii. 63. These children are enumerated in Cassan, § Davenant. One of them, Catherine, was married to Thomas Lamplugh, Archbishop of York, 1663.

² *Holy State*, p. 120. Here occurs the oft-quoted passage which has often been attributed to *Andrew Fuller*: "Our captain counts the *image of God* nevertheless his *image cut in ebony*, as if done in ivory, and in the blackest Moors he sees the representation of the King of heaven" (p. 121). "Is not this," asks

Montagu, in his *Selections*, "one of the earliest intercessions on behalf of the poor slaves?" (p. 252). So, in the *Life of Drake*, we have: "Then he [Drake] coasted China and the Maluccoes [Moluccas], where by the king of Terrenate, a *true Gentleman Pagan*, he was most honourably entertained. The king told them that they and he were all of one religion in this respect—that they believed not in gods made of stocks and stones as did the Portugals." (Page 127.)

present, my dear and worthy parishioner, lately deceased." ¹ His death is noted in the register of Broadwindsor as occurring in 1640, during Fuller's pastorship. We may readily imagine with what eagerness Fuller would listen to his old parishioner fighting o'er again his battles with the national enemy. When mentioning in his *Worthies* those who raised themselves by sea-service and "letters of mart," in the reign of Elizabeth, Fuller says that "such prizes have been best observed to prosper whose takers had least of private revenge and most of public service therein. Amongst these, most remarkable the baronets family of Drakes in Devonshire, sometimes sheriffs of that county." ²

Another "good friend" of these days was "Mr. Gr. Gibs," of South Perrot, Dorset, who supplied Fuller, when writing the *Holy War*, with particulars of the warfare of the Knights of Malta with Tunis and Algiers. Gibs had (we are told) "spent much yet lost no time in those parts." ³ This friend was Mr. GREGORY GIBBES, whose monument remained in South Perrot Church in 1790, but is now lost. His family were lessees of the manor for several generations; and Charles I. lodged there on Monday, September 30th, 1644. ⁴

The acquaintance of Fuller with such persons as those last mentioned would tend to foster the antiquarian taste which he endeavoured to satisfy wherever he was placed, as we may see by the information which he collected and recorded. Another reminiscence of his connection with Dorsetshire may be found in his notice of Sir Thomas More, "a very humourous person," who formerly dwelt in the parish of Netherbury, as to whom "aged folk have told me (whilst I lived in those parts) by report from their fathers," how he set open a prison. ⁵

Being now in the enjoyment of a home, Fuller's thoughts, we must suppose, were intent on finding a suitable mate; and to this time of his life accordingly belongs his union to that friend more important than any yet mentioned. His own shrewd advice in this matter was embodied in his injunction, "Take the daughter of a good mother;" ⁶ and we suppose he acted up to it. There is an essay on marriage in his *Holy State*; and he has further wise observations in his *Comment on Ruth* (i. 8) on the married life being a life of rest; with other

¹ *Holy State*, p. 129. Henry Drake married Amy, widow of Sir Arthur Champernoune. (*Broadwindsor Register*.)

² Chap. xxiii. 69.

³ Bk. v. 237.

⁴ See Symonds' *Diary*, pp. 110, 114.

Hutchins' *Dorset* (3rd edition), vol. ii. p. 167.

⁵ *Worthies*, § Dorsetshire, p. 289.

⁶ This sentence is attributed to Fuller by Smiles, *Character*, p. 315; but we could never discover whence it is quoted.

remarks elsewhere to the same purpose. The probability therefore is that he made a wise choice. The family of his wife is at present unknown. The writer has diligently inquired after it in many quarters; but no particulars of the lady are recoverable beyond the sufficient and satisfactory statement of her husband's eulogist that she was "a virtuous young gentlewoman."¹ Her Christian name, moreover, was Ellen.

We are also at a loss in regard to the date of the event. Fuller's biographer says that it occurred when the nation was alarmed with the beginning of the troubles in Scotland, a statement which tends to fix it at the beginning of 1639. This date, or one about a year later, has hitherto been followed. But the event occurred at least a year earlier, for Bishop Davenant, writing in January 1638, makes mention of her as then being his nephew's wife. No record of the marriage exists at Broadwindsor, nor yet at Salisbury; for it may be hazarded that it was in the neighbourhood of one or other of these places that the lady was wooed and won. Many clues to her name have presented themselves; but in following them up, only negative results have been arrived at. Thus in 1655, Fuller addresses in a dedication one *Richard Seymere*,² "my kinsman," giving



Arms of Mr. Richard Seymere. (From Fuller's *Ch. Hist.*)

as his arms, *or*, two angel's wings conjoined and inverted *gu.*, on a chief sable three martlets *arg.*, a mullet for the difference. This coat at once directs us to the Seymour family of Devon; and we find that the arms, blazoned as above, formed the coat of Seymer, or Seymour, of Hanford, near Blandford, Dorset (still the seat of the Seymers). In the Visitation of 1623 it was borne by Sir Robert Seymere, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, who married a daughter of Sir William Pitt, of Westminster. Richard Seymere, from the mullet in his coat—the arms, as the dedication shows, were cut by himself—was a third son or brother of the family,³ with which, however, we have failed to find evidence to connect Fuller. If it was to this illustrious family that Fuller's wife belonged, she was (as Fuller's words testify) well born, and as good a herald, mayhap, as Die Vernon: the latter being a qualification in a

¹ *Life*, p. 13.

² "RICHARDO SEYMERE, •necessario meo :

"Inter Amicum meum et Necessarium hoc pono discriminis, quod *ille ad bene esse, Hic ad meum esse*, quodammodo requiratur; quo nomine tu mihi es salutandus qui sine te planè *mancus* mihi

videor. Tuâ enim artificii dextrâ, usus sum, per totum hoc opus in *scutis gentilitiis* depingendis. Macte, *vir ingenue*, ac natales tuos, generosus satis, novo splendore illustriores reddito." (*Church-History*, iii. 101.)

³ See Fuller's *Church-History* (Brewer's ed.), vol. iii. 263.

woman that Fuller would be sure to appreciate, he being by this time a fair herald himself.¹ One or two other clues as to the lady's family will be found mentioned elsewhere.

At the date of his marriage Fuller was about thirty years old. In addition to the graces of his mind and to the cheerfulness of his disposition, he was possessed of a very handsome and engaging person. He is moreover described as having been a tender and indulgent husband; and the union is said to have been a happy one.²

The opening chapter in our author's *Holy State* is occupied in delineating *The Good Wife*. He introduces her thus oddly: "St. Paul to the Colossians, iii. 18, first adviseth women to submit themselves to their husbands, and *then* counselleth men to love their wives. And sure it was fitting that women should first have their lesson given them, because it is hardest to be learned, and therefore they need have the more time to con it. For the same reason we first begin with the character of a good wife!" He here depicts her more as a good housekeeper ("the house is the woman's centre") than as a companion. Other remarks seem to commend her more in the former than the latter light. His *Good Husband* keeps his wife "in the wholesome ignorance of unnecessary secrets. . . . He knows little who will tell his wife all he knows." And elsewhere: "He is newly married that tells his wife news." What is defective in his characters of Husband and Wife, he supplies by the pattern-lives appended—those of Abraham and of Monica.³

Other matters of more national importance began to obtrude themselves upon the attention of Fuller. The stormy times of the civil war were fast approaching; and the days of government without Parliament were coming to an end. The resistance of the people of the adjoining wealthy port of Lyme, heavily taxed for ship-money, dissatisfied with their rulers and eager for a Parliament, must have made itself heard at Broadwindsor. But the troubles in the Church consequent on the elevation of Laud would be of more interest to our country parson. It was about this time that there arose the Sabbata-

¹ See *Holy War*, bk. v. chap. xxiv. Fuller mentions (*Worthies*, § London, p. 218), a Juliana Barnes, *temp.* 1460, who wrote a book of heraldry: "Say not the needle is the most proper pen for the woman; and that she ought to meddle with making no coats, save such as Dorcas made for the widows, seeing their sex may be not only pardoned, but praised for such lawful diversions. No gentleman

will severely censure the faults in her heraldry."

² *Life*, p. 72.

³ Pages 1—7. There is a passage in Chambers' *Cyclopædia of Eng. Lit.* (i. 432), on Domestic Economy, which is, we are convinced, attributed to Fuller by mistake. The same remark applies to the paragraph preceding it. The author of them is possibly Roger L'Estrange.

rian controversy, as to which Fuller said that "many moderate men" were of opinion that the abuse of the Lord's day "was a principal procurer of God's anger since poured out on this land in a long and bloody civil war." He thought there was more in this observation than many would acknowledge. "But whatsoever it is which hence may be collected, sure I am, those are the best Christians who least censure others and most reform themselves."¹ Other controversies arose as to the holiness of churches; the adoration towards the *Altar*, which name then began (Fuller records) to "out" the *Lord's Board* or *Communion Table*. To a moderate man like Fuller the accommodation of such matters "had been easy with a little condescension on both sides."² Fuller was not of those who would trouble the whole Church and kingdom where to place "a *Metaphor*—an *Altar*."³

But in spite of the interest attaching to politics, to his family, to his friends and to his cure, Fuller seems to have devoted a great part of his time to his books. It was at Broadwindsor that he laid the foundations of his remarkable literary fame. His biographer says that the "accommodation both in reference to his maintenance and respect from this people [his parishioners] was very noble, and which afforded great expedience to the Doctor's other labours which were bountifully cherished under the tuition of his ministry."⁴ He now accordingly pursued and systematised the special subjects which had beguiled him at Cambridge; and he rapidly produced two books by which he acquired permanent literary reputation at a bound.

A careless statement in the *Life* would lead us to believe that at his parsonage he devoted his attention to his laborious *Pisgah-Sight*: "In the amæny and retirements of this rurall life some perfection was given to those pieces which soon after blest this age. . . . From this pleasant prospect he drew that excellent Piece of the *Holy Land, Pisgah-Sight*, and other Tracts relating thereto; so that what was said bitterly of some Tyrants, that they made whole countries vast solitudes and desarts, may be inverted to the eulogie of this Doctor; that he in these recesses made desarts, the solitudes of Israel, the frequented path and track of all ingenuous and studious persons."⁵ The *Pisgah-Sight*, however, was—as his own words, hereafter to be quoted, imply—begun elsewhere many years hence. During 1638 he was indeed busying himself

¹ *Church-History*, xi. 148, 149.

³ Sir B. Rudyard's speech.

⁴ *Life*, p. 8.

² Page 152.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 12.

at a somewhat kindred work, which, like the *Pisgah*, had reference to

“Those holy fields
Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet,
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nail'd
For our advantage on the bitter Cross;”

and to that singular history of which in the Middle Ages it was the theatre. His work—a history of the Crusades—appeared about the spring of 1639,¹ under the somewhat misleading title of *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, in folio. It was printed at Cambridge,—a fact which indirectly exemplifies Fuller's concern in the welfare of his Alma Mater. Great jealousy existed at that time between the London and Cambridge printers, the former of whom disputed the privileges of the latter, who, holding royal grants for printing, endeavoured to undersell their rivals in the case of certain books. Our author's feelings were evidently engaged in the feud, since his first, second, third and fourth editions were printed either by Thomas Buck, or by the famous University printer Roger Daniel, who also was similarly connected with the early editions of Fuller's *Holy State*. In section iv. of his *History of Cambridge*, Fuller speaks of the early University printers, Sibert and Thomas Thomatius, “known by the dictionary of his name,” who “heightened printing to higher degree; [and it, printing, has been] since exactly completed by his successors in that office; witness the Cambridge Bible [by Daniel], of which none exacter or truer edition in England.”² With his *Holy War* Fuller also came into friendly relations for the first time with his usual publisher, John Williams, whose business was considerably increased by their lengthened intercourse; and the sign of whose shop in St. Paul's Churchyard was first *the Crane*, then *the Greyhound*, and finally *the Crown*. This work and the *Holy State* are not entered in the registers of Stationers' Hall: they would be registered as well as licensed at Cambridge.

The dedication (dated from Broadwindsor, March 6, 1638-9) is a dual one, being inscribed to his old college-associate and patron Edward Mountagu, Esq., and to Sir John Powlet, “son and heir to the Right Honourable John, Lord Powlet of Hinton St. George,” Somerset. In this dedication, which is penned in Fuller's happiest manner, he discusses the beginners, advancers, continuers, and ruiners of families. “None can go on in our English chronicles but they must meet with a Montagu and a Powlet, either in peace in their gowns, or in

¹ The *Imprimatur* is dated “Mart. 13, 1638[-9.]”

² ¶¶ I, 2, p. 59.

warre in their armour." He then makes the following wise observations on Learning and History:—

"Now, know, next Religion, there is nothing accomplishes a man more than Learning. Learning in a Lord is as a diamond in gold. And if you fear to hurt your tender hands with thorny School-questions, there is no danger in meddling with History, which is a velvet-study and recreation-work. What a pity it is to see a proper gentleman have such a crick in his neck that he cannot look backward! Yet no better is he who cannot see behind him the actions which long since were performed. History maketh a young man to be old, without either wrinkles or grey hairs; priveleging him with the experience of age, without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof. Yea, it not only maketh things past, present; but inableth one to make a rational conjecture of things to come. For this world affordeth no new accidents, but in the same sense wherein we call it *a new moon*, which is the old one in another shape, and yet no other than what hath been formerly. Old actions return again, furbished over with some new and different circumstances."

We have elsewhere heard our historian assert the advantages of that study in which his excellence lay.¹ On the same subject he also speaks *To the Reader* of his *Andronicus*:—

"Our experimental knowledge is in itself both short and narrow, as which cannot exceed 'the span of our own life.' But when we are mounted on the advantage of History, we can not only reach the year of Christ's incarnation, but even touch the top of the world's beginning, and at one view oversee all remarkable accidents of former ages."

Fuller next tells us his reasons for choosing *two* patrons: first in the weak expression of his thankfulness to them, being deeply indebted to them both; and as he thought it dishonesty to pay all to one creditor and none to another, he therefore conceived it better to share his estate jointly between them as far as it would extend: and secondly, considering the weakness of his work, now being to walk abroad in the world, he thought it must be led by both arms, which needed a *double* supporter.

Fuller's first work, like many of those which succeeded it, gave employment to the engraver. *William Marshall*, an industrious engraver of his day, designed the title-page here annexed in *fac-simile*. It depicts a scene in which persons of all ranks and conditions are seen marching from Europe to take part in the war; going out full and returning empty. The temple of the Sepulchre is in the foreground; and in the corners are oval-shaped portraits of Baldwin King of Jerusalem, and Saladin; opposite are the arms of Jerusalem and the Turkish Crescent. Opposite this plate is "a declaration" of it in a long poem. At the end of the book was affixed a curious map of the Holy

¹ See page 83.



THE HISTORIE
of the
HOLY WARRE

By Tho Fuller, B.D. Prebendarie
of Sarum, late of Saincy-Coll.
in Cambridge.

John. 4. 21.
The hour cometh when ye shall neither in
this mountain nor yet at iherusalem
worship the Father.
Acts. 1. 38.
If this counsel be of men it will
come to nought.

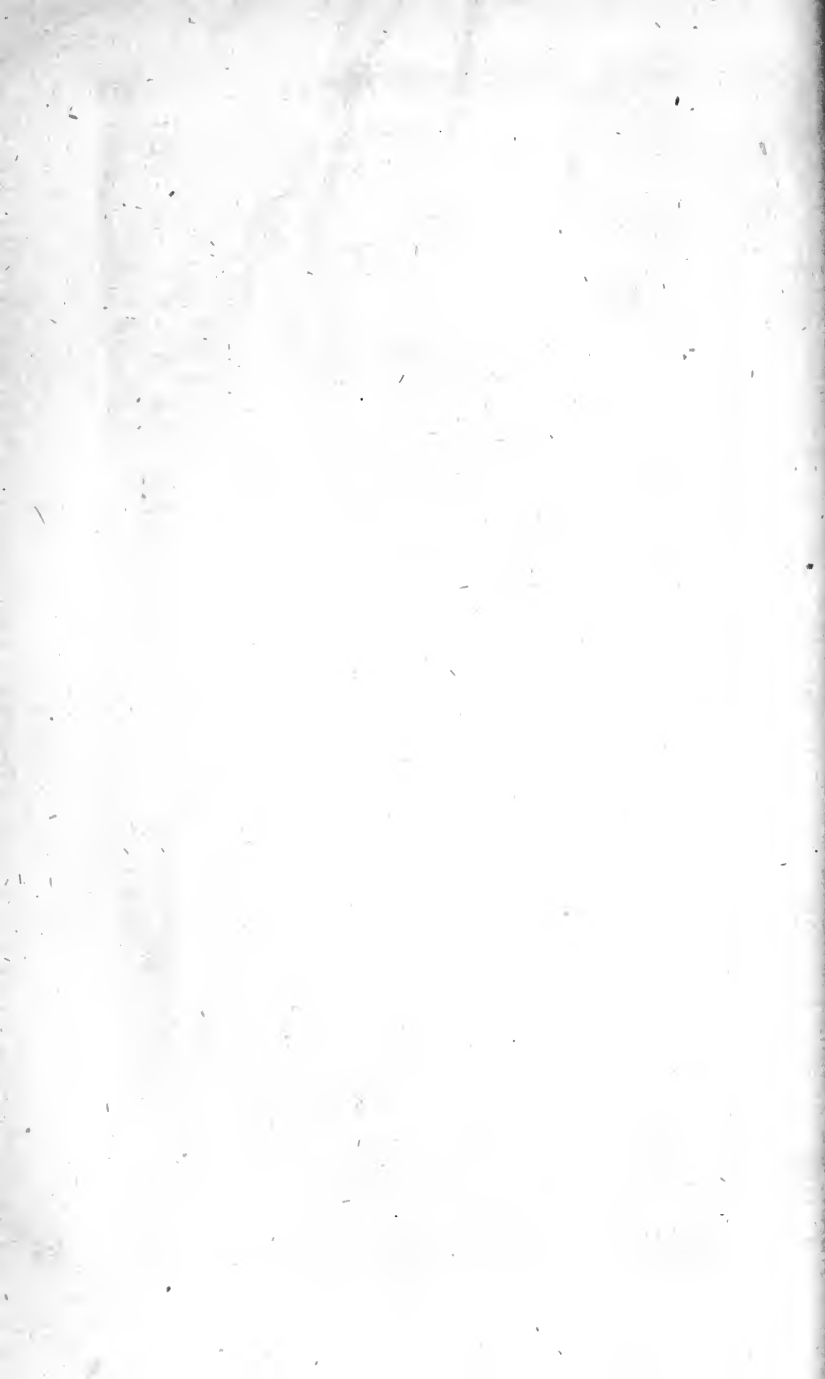


We have a
Gallias.

Wm. Marshall sculpsit.

The Temple of the Sepulchre.

Printed by Tho. Stueck, one of the Printers to the University of Cambridge. Sold by John Williams and Crane in S^t. Church-yard.



Land, also by W. Marshall, containing the following singular remark, which does little honour to the geographical knowledge of the time :—

“Of thirty maps and descriptions of the Holy land, which I have perused, I never met with two in all considerables alike ; some sink valleys where others raise mountains ; yea end rivers where others begin them ; and sometimes with a wanton dash of their pen create a stream in land, a creek in sea, more than nature ever owned. In these differences we have followed the Scripture as an impartial umpire. The latitudes and longitudes (wherein there be also unreconcilable discords) I have omitted, being advised that it will not quit cost in a map of so small extent.”

Following the dedication is a modest address to the reader, in which Fuller says, that if the former reaped in few hours what cost the latter more months, “just cause have I to rejoice, and he (I hope) none to complain.”

Prefixed are also the customary poetical commendations of the author and his book. These encomiums are chiefly from the pens of those college-friends whom we have already referred to. Fuller’s modesty must have been put to the blush, not only to receive these poems, but to allow their publication. But custom was then in his favour. The author’s be-laurelled portrait was commonly added. Hence *Hudibras* :

“The praises of the author, penned
By himself or wit-insuring friend ;
The itch of picture in the front,
With bays and wicked rhyme upon ’t.”

Some of these ten sets of verses have already been quoted ; Gomersall’s, as befitted his poetic reputation, taking the lead. *Robert Tyrling* thus briefly commends the book :—

“Of this our author’s book I’ll say but this,
(For that is praise ample enough,) ’Tis his :
Nor all the Muses nor Apollo’s lays
Can sing his worth : be his own lines his bays.”

“*John Booth*, B.D.,” already referred to, who also contributes lines, was of Corpus Christi College when he became acquainted with “his worthy and learned friend.” He has verses in *Rex Redux*. Of our author’s “excellently composed history,” Booth says :—

“Captain of arts, in this thy holy war
My muse desires to be thy trumpeter,
In thy just praise to spend a blast or two :
For this is all that she (poor thing) can do.”

Reading the book,

“Methinks I travel thro’ the holy land
Viewing the sacred objects on each hand.
Here mounts (me thinks) like Olivet, brave sense ;
There flows a Jordan of pure eloquence :
A Temple rich in ornament I find
Presented here to my admiring mind. . . .
To testify her liking, here my muse
Makes solemn vows, as Holy pilgrims use :
I vow, dear friend, the Holy war is here
Far better writ than ever fought elsewhere. . . .
Might I but choose, I rather would by far
Be author of thy book than of that War.
Let others fight ; I vow to read thy works,
Prizing thy ink before the blood of Turks.”

Hugo Atkins indulges in a conceit on the discord in the title of the work. *H. Hutton*, who was at this time M.A., and Fellow of Jesus College, and afterwards of the Assembly of Divines, lauds Fuller’s pains. The book would make his memory as famous as his story :—

“Thy style is clear and white : thy very name
Speaks pureness, and adds lustre to the frame.
All men could wish, nay long, the world would jar
So thou’dst be pleased to write, compose the war.”

Henry Vintener, a friend of Bishop Pearson’s (they were both of King’s College, and contributors to *Rex Redux*), writes stately verses which conclude thus :—

“The Temple razed and ruined seems more high
In his strong phrase than when it kiss’d the sky.
And as the Viper, by those precious tears
Which Phaethon bemoan’d, of Amber wears
A rich (though fatal) coat ; so here inclosed
With words so rare, so splendent, so compos’d
Ev’n Mahomet has found a tomb, which shall
Last when the fainting loadstone lets him fall.”

Thomas Jackson (who was perhaps of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Vicar of Newcastle, and in 1631 President of his college, and Dean of Peterborough, 1638), “to his old friend Mr. Fuller,” thus sings :—

“I love no wars,
I love no jars,
Nor strife’s fire :
May discords cease ;
Let’s live in peace ;—
This I desire.

“If it must be
War we must see
(So Fates conspire) ;

May we not feel
The force of steel ;—
This I desire.

“But in thy book
When I do look
And it admire,
Let *war* be there
But peace elsewhere ;—
This I desire.”

Some other “poet,” who signs himself “J. C.,” has written a long description of the emblematic plate which it faces. Several of these pieces were added to subsequent editions, after the work had attained its great popularity.

The “*imprimatur*” is signed by “Ra. Brownrigg,” Vice-Chancellor of the University in the year of publication, and subsequently—this official invariably holding the right of licensing the works which came from the University press; by “Sam. Ward,” Fuller’s tutor; by “Tho. Bainbrigg,” who was Master of Christ’s College (where he succeeded Dr. V. Carey), and Vice-Chancellor in 1627-8;¹ and “Tho. Bachcrofts,” then Master of Caius College, but ejected in 1642.

Fuller’s *History of the Crusades* is comprised in five books. The first four relate to the actual history, which is thus summarised in the closing paragraph: “Thus, after an hundred ninety and four years, ended the Holy War; for continuance the longest, for money spent the costliest, for bloodshed the cruellest, for pretences the most pious, for the true intent the most politic the world ever saw. And at this day, the Turks, to spare the Christians their pains of coming so long a journey to Palestine, have done them the unwelcome courtesy to come more than half the way to give them a meeting.” The fifth book is called a “Supplement,” and is said by Fuller to be “voluntary and over-measure, *only to hem the end of our history that it ravel not out!*” The true reason for adding it was rather that he might introduce such discursive subjects as he has already in the previous books given us a relish for. He now felt indeed, what his readers have all along seen, that his indentures were cancelled, and he “discharged from the strict service and ties of an historian; so that it may be lawful for me to take more liberty and to make some observations on what hath been passed.” In the remaining chapters, accordingly, he treats in a most entertaining way of the fates of the Templars and other orders of Knights; of superstition in the War; of the Christians breaking faith with the infidels; of the hindrances to success; of the military position of Jerusalem; of the incredible numerousness of the armies; of the merit attaching to each nation for their military valour, &c.; of the influence of the war on heraldry; of subsequent proposals for a crusade; of the fortunes of Jerusalem since the war, and her present estate; of the pretenders to the kingdom; of the great-

¹ It was perhaps one of his family, Henry Bainbrigg, a citizen of London, that afterwards gave Fuller assistance to

bring out his *Pisgah-Sight*. See the Plate of Arms in that book, given in *fac-simile* in chap. xvi.

ness and wants of the Turkish Empire; "with some other passages which offered attendance on these principal heads."

Fuller seems to have detected in the Turkish nation, mighty as it was in his day, signs of its decadence. "The Turk's head is less than his turbant, and his turbant less than it seemeth; swelling without, hollow within. If more seriously it be considered, this state cannot be strong which is a pure and absolute tyranny. His subjects under him have nothing certain but this—that they have nothing certain, and may thank the Grand Signor for giving them whatsoever he taketh not away from them. . . . We have just cause to hope that the fall of this unwieldy empire doth approach. It was high noon with it fifty years ago; we hope now it draweth near night; the rather because luxury, though late, yet at last hath found the Turks out, or they it. . . . Heaven can as easily blast an oak as trample a mushrome. And we may expect the ruin of this great empire will come; for of late it hath little increased its stock, and now beginneth to spend of the principal. It were arrant presumption for flesh to prescribe God His way; or to teach Him, when He meaneth to shoot, which arrow in His quiver to choose. . . . It is more than enough for any man to set down the fate of a single soul; much more to resolve the doom of a whole nation when it shall be. These things we leave to Providence to work, and posterity to behold. As for our generation, let us sooner expect the dissolutions of our own microcosms than the confusion of this empire; for neither are our own sins yet truly repented of, to have this punishment removed from us; nor the Turks' wickedness yet come to the full ripeness, to have this great judgment laid upon them."

This unique history—Fuller's *first* ambitious effort—at once introduces us to Fuller's very felicitous way of writing. No work better displays the wealth of the author's mind. It has all his genuine wit, his peculiar quaintness, his irresistible drollery, his skilfully constructed antithesis, his incongruous allusions—in very much of which there is always something more than mere ingenuity. He seems to revel in his composition as if his favourite study, history, and not divinity, were his proper sphere. It is full of passages worthy of remembrance or of quotation. The following are a few out of many passages which we had marked:—

"Mariners' vows end with the tempest."—"It is charity to lend a crutch to a lame conceit."—"The best way to keep great princes together is to keep them asunder."—"Charity's eyes must be open as well as her hands."—"Slander (quicker than martial law) arraigneth, condemneth, and executeth all in

an instant.”—“Hell itself cannot exist without Beelzebub; so much order there is in the place of confusion.”—“No opinion so monstrous, but if it had a mother it will get a nurse.”¹—“A friend’s house is no home.”—*Mercenaries*: “England hath best thrived without them; under God’s protection we stand on our own legs. . . . Let it be our prayers that as for those hirelings which are to be last tried and least trusted, we have never want of their help and never have too much of it.”

In this work also, Fuller’s extraordinary *narrative* power is seen. Like a magician, he relates old stories with a new and attractive charm. His narration is characterised by vigorous liveliness. In this work especially, he may lay claim to the rare commendation of his ardent admirer, Charles Lamb: “Above all, his way of telling a story, for its eager liveliness and the perpetual running commentary of the narrator, happily blended with the narration, is perhaps unequalled.”²

One of Fuller’s most sympathising critics has said that “The activity of Fuller’s suggestive faculty must have been immense. Though his principal characteristic is wit, and that too so disproportionate, that it conceals in its ivy-like luxuriance the robust wisdom about which it coils itself, his illustrations are drawn from every source and quarter, and are ever ready at his bidding. In the variety, frequency, and novelty of his illustrations, he strongly resembles two of the most imaginative writers in our language, though in all other respects still more unlike them than they were unlike one another—Jeremy Taylor and Edmund Burke. . . . We have said that Fuller’s faculty of illustration is boundless; surely it may be safely asserted, since it can diffuse even over the driest geographical and chronological details an unwonted interest. We have a remarkable exemplification of this in those chapters of his *Holy War*, in which he gives what he quaintly calls ‘a Pisgah-sight, or Short Survey of Palestine in general;’ and a still stronger, if possible, in his ‘Description of the Citie of Jerusalem.’ In these chapters, what in other hands would have proved little more than a bare enumeration of names, sparkles with perpetual wit, and is enlivened with all sorts of vivacious allusions.”³

The learning displayed in the *Holy War* is very marked. The numerous authorities which he consulted attest to this, as

¹ There is a verse of Hood’s, beginning “And yet whate’er absurdity the brains may hatch, it ne’er wants wet nurses to suckle it, &c.,” which this citation will call to mind.

² *Rosamund Gray: Essays, Poems, &c.* p. 95.

³ Prof. Rogers’ *Essay on Fuller*, pp. 12, 13.

also to his extraordinary diligence and care. To subsequent editions, lists of authorities were added, whom he cites with careful acknowledgment. Of old authors who were his guides, he "charges his margins" with Sabellicus, Baronius, P. Æmilius, Tremelius, Breidenbachius, Nicetas, Choniates, Urspergens, Platina, Bellarmine, &c. &c.; and of modern critics and travellers he had at his elbow Sandys, Heylyn, Munster, Morrison, Knolles, Biddulph, Raleigh, &c. &c. He quotes also largely and familiarly from old English chroniclers, but prefers Matthew Paris—"a moderate man whom we follow most." Other references indicate a most extensive and various range of reading, used with purpose and effect, but never obtruded. At the end of a methodical chronological table, he has appended a catalogue of the authors cited in his work.

This engaging history at once attracted attention, and for a long time remained, with the *Holy State*, the most popular of his books. By it his reputation in authorship was attained. A *second* edition was called for in the following year (1640); and the so-called *third* in 1647. Other editions followed. Its popularity seems to have waned after the Restoration; for after 1663, it seems to have been uncalled for; and its next issue was the Aldine edition of 1840. It has not been reprinted in late years; yet in Fuller's day "perhaps no literary works in that age of great readers and clever writers," says Mr. Nichols, "obtained such an extensive circulation as did his *Holy War* and *Holy State*."

As to the popularity of the book, Fuller himself gives us incidental particulars in his *Appeal*, when combating the objection that second editions are no better than pickpockets to the reader: "Here let me humbly tender to the reader's consideration that my *Holy War*, though (for some design of the Stationer) sticking still, in the title-page, at the *third* [1647] edition (as some unmarried maids will never be more than eighteen), yet hath it oftener passed the press, as hath my *Holy State*, *Meditations*, &c., and yet never did I alter line or word in any new impression. I speak not this by way of attribution to myself, as if my books came forth at first with more perfection than other men's."¹

As to the influence of the *Holy War* and *Holy State*, Mr. Nichols asserts that they "made a strong impression on the public mind, and for some years exercised an influence that might be distinctly traced in many affairs connected both with

¹ Page 293.

the Council and the Field; as the reader will perceive by my copious preface to Fuller's *Holy War*.”¹

Among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum is a commonplace-book of history, containing, amongst other letters, extracts from . . . Fuller's *Holy War*, which seem to have been made by that Lord Derby who, in 1645, retired to his petty kingdom of Man. There he engaged himself in literary pursuits, compiling, amongst other literary employments, a short account of the island. Oldys mentions some MS. collections of sentences, &c., from the *Holy War*,—one in particular in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford.² The latter is a neat MS. of 156 leaves in 12mo., well bound, with gilt edges; and was probably written by some noble person in the year 1662. Pp. 4—16 are occupied with “Choice Sentences taken out of T. Fuller's *Holy Warr*”; and pp. 155^b and 156^b, with “Other Sentences out of Fuller's *Holy Warr*.” (Ashmole's MSS. No. 783.)

Meanwhile Fuller's brother, John, after the lapse of the usual terms, took the 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, 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 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 his 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 bee moste 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 ffelowes I pray let him have it; And thus wishing your good health and Happines, I comend you to y^e Giver thereof, and

rest ever

Your verie loving friend

JO: SARU.³

¹ Preface to *Holy State*, p.v. They edition of the *Holy War* here referred to was never published.

² *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2052.

³ Dr. Davenant to Dr. Ward, Tanner

MSS., Bodl., vol. lxvii. p. 147. The sentence on page 148 stating that John Fuller married Ann Townson, is incorrect, and should be cancelled.



CHAPTER VIII.

CLERK IN CONVOCATION. FAMILY EVENTS.

(1640-41.)

FIRST CONVOCATION OF 1640.—DR. WM. FULLER, DEAN OF ELY.—DR. PETER HEYLYN; HIS LIFE.—PROCEEDINGS OF CONVOCATION.—THE CANONS.—FULLER AND THE MODERATE PARTY.—AN INCIDENT.—SUBSCRIPTION TO THE CANONS.—FULLER'S PREACHING IN LONDON.—HIS CONNECTION WITH LAUD.—PUBLISHES SERMONS.—HIS EARLY DISCOURSES.—THE SECOND CONVOCATION OF 1640.—THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE CANONS: THE FINES.—THE LORDS' COMMITTEE FOR PEACE.—DEATH OF BISHOP DAVENANT: HIS CHARACTER, ETC.—BIRTH OF FULLER'S SON, AND DEATH OF HIS WIFE.—FINAL REMOVAL TO LONDON.—DAVENANT'S WILL: HIS CONNECTIONS AND FRIENDS.

“In such matters wherein property was concerned, the Canon must say to the Common Law, ‘By your leave, Sir.’” (*Appeal of Injured Innocence*, pt. ii. 420.)

THE King's urgent necessities, arising out of the Scotch war brought about by the zeal of Laud, now afforded him no other remedy than the summoning of a Parliament; and writs were accordingly issued for what is known as the *Short Parliament*. This assembly, which met April 13, 1640, comprised “sober and dispassionate men,” “exceedingly disposed to do the King justice.”¹ The equally memorable Convocation (with which we have here to do) was convened at the same time; and it, too, consisted of a very numerous party to whom Clarendon's epithets might also be applied. It contained also those who were “remarkably zealous for the rights of the Church,” and “the most eminent assertors of those rights that our Church or nation has known.”² Very marked, however, was the influence of the Laudian clergy. Marsden conjectures that it was hoped that the gains of the party in Convocation might overbalance the defeats they might encounter in Parliament.

Among many other famous clergymen who sat in this unfortunate assembly was Thomas Fuller. He was one of the clerks

¹ Clarendon (Oxf. ed. 1843), bk. ii. p. 56.

² Cardwell, *Syn. Angl.* p. 341.

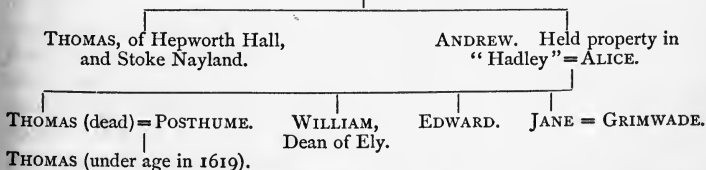
for the Convocation of Canterbury, having been elected proctor for the diocese of Bristol, in which his pastoral charge lay. The choice of Fuller affords a proof of his good repute and popularity in the district in which he had for six years been a resident. His colleague was one of the future Bishops of Bristol, his friend *Gilbert Ironside, B.D.*,¹ who was still in possession of his living of Winterborne. Fuller's uncle, Bishop Davenant, also attended, as did also Dr. William Fuller, Dean of Ely.

This DR. W. FULLER (1580-1659)—not to be termed, with some authorities, our hero's uncle—belonged to the Fullers of Essex, being the son of Andrew Fuller, of Hadleigh, Suffolk.² He was of Cambridge, where he acquired fame by reason of his multifarious acquirements. He was Fellow of Catherine Hall, and became D.D. in 1625. On the 7th June in the same year he preached a sermon before Charles I. at Dover Castle, where the King was awaiting the arrival of the Queen. He described himself then as “B.D., His Majesty's Chaplain then attending in ordinary.”³ In 1628 he received a dispensation to hold with the rectory of Weston, Notts., the vicarage of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. About the year 1636 he obtained his deanery. He is described as being a notable, prudential man, a pathetic preacher, and of a nimble wit and clear expression. He seems about this time to have been troubled by some of his parishioners, who petitioned the Council; but the Lords would not believe anything “against so reverend a person, whose integrity is in so good an esteem with the Lords.”⁴ His future life, in

¹ Nalson's *Impartial Collection*, i. 312.

² The following pedigree shows his immediate connections. It is taken from the will (dated 31 March, 1619) of Andrew Fuller here mentioned:—

WILLIAM FULLER, of Halstead, Essex.



³ This sermon, in the University Library, Cambridge, was published by command. Under his name is another sermon, 1628, entitled *The Mourning of Mount Lebanon*. (A Wood.)

⁴ *State Papers Cal.* (1628), Dom. Ser., page 190, and (1639) page 298; Lloyd, *Memoires*, 509; A Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*

ii. 79. There was a William Fuller who was *Rector* of Baddow-Parva, Essex, after 1578 and before 1632, and who is referred by Newcourt (ii. 26) to this Dean Fuller; but as the successor to the former was appointed to the rectory in 1632 “per mort. Fuller,” he cannot be the same person.

common with that of Thomas Fuller, was troubled and unsettled, but his sufferings were far more severe.

We must not omit to mention DR. PETER HEYLYN, Proctor for his college of Westminster, who here demands notice not only from his importance, but from his being our hero's doughty antagonist. This busy polemical writer was born in Oxfordshire, 1600, and was sprung from an ancient family, affirming with characteristic vanity that he could trace his ancestors in an unbroken line to the ancient Kings of Wales. Fuller afterwards twitted him for delighting to thus derive himself.¹ He was educated at Oxford, became D.D., and filled the position of Lecturer on History and Cosmography:² on these subjects he had published (1621) a book, much read in those days, entitled *Microcosmos, or a Description of the Great World*. In 1625 he wrote a spirited account of his travels in France,—a work which is characterised by Southey as “one of our liveliest books of travel in its lighter parts; and one of the wisest and most replete with information that ever was written by a young man.”³ About 1627 his patron, the Earl of Danby, introduced him to Laud; and, favouring that prelate's Church-polity, he was made a royal chaplain. The next important event of his life was the “asserting” the *History of St. George*. He had many preferments in the Church by gift or exchange; but finally became a prebendary in the collegiate church of Westminster (1631) and parson of Alresford, in Hampshire (1633). On the appearance of Prynne's *Histriomastix*, Heylyn was appointed to a task into which he would enter with a zest—that of selecting from the book such passages as were scandalous or dangerous to the King and State, and reducing them into method, with a view to Prynne's prosecution. On the part of the prebendaries of Westminster, he opposed the government of the Bishop of Lincoln, then Commendatory-Dean, to whose churchmanship also he was very bitterly opposed. In the discussion of one of their quarrels the Bishop said, “If your Lordships will hear that young fellow prate, he will presently persuade you that I am no Dean of Westminster.” Upon the imprisonment of the Bishop, Heylyn obtained the treasurership of the cathedral, with other preferment. Shortly before 1640 he had meditated a History of the Church of England since the Reformation, obtaining through Laud's influence the freedom of Sir Robert

¹ *Appeal*, ii. 396.

² “*Cosmography* [which we now call *geography*], treating of the world in whole joints; *chorography*, shredding it

into countries; and *topography*, mincing it into particular places.” (*Holy State*, p. 68.

³ *The Doctor*, ii. 40.

Cotton's library for that purpose ; but this project was stopped by the commotions. Heylyn comes before us in this Convocation as the strenuous opponent of the Puritan element both within and without the Church, and he kept to his principles with a devotion which cannot but be admired. "He was," says Southey, "an able, honest, brave man, who 'stood to his tackling when he was tested.'" Both he and Fuller became, many years afterwards, the historians of this Convocation ; but the two ecclesiastical athletes had been trained in different schools, and were now ranged upon opposite sides. Fuller has often taken occasion to acknowledge his opponent's skill in Church-law, modestly depreciating the legal acquirements which his own careful study had given him.¹

Including Heylyn, therefore, the assembly consisted of about 166 members, the full number not attending with regularity.

Fuller's account of the proceedings was contained in a portion of Book xi. of his *Church-History*,² as also in the *Appeal*.³ He writes on the subject as usual with much historical honesty. He premises that his narrative, so far as he can remember, is faithfully recorded ; but foreseeing that it would be called in question, he comforts himself with the consideration, "that generally he is counted an impartial arbitratour who displeaseth both sides." Fuller often brought about this result. In all details, however, the historian, spite of his conscientious pains, is not strictly correct. Many of the particulars are given from memory ; but excellent as that acquirement was in Fuller, there are some points in which it seems to have proved at fault ; nor need we wonder at it when we think of the time that meanwhile intervened. By a decision of the House, it had been ordered that none present should take any private notes of the proceedings. This in a great measure accounts for the confusion which is apparent in the records.⁴

It ought in justice to be said that Fuller's was the *first* full account of this assembly which had been put forth, and that in writing it he had no authentic documents whatever to refer to. He says that "all the mediate transactions (for aught I can find out) are embezzled." Heylyn's account, given in his *Life* of

¹ See *Church-Hist.* bk. v. p. (191).

² Pp. 167—170.

³ Pt. iii. 595 *seq.*

⁴ Sanderson, the future Bishop of Lincoln, was Clerk of this Convocation. He had been chosen clerk of all Convocations during the reign of Charles.

Entire registers of the Upper House, and minutes of the Lower, of the *two* Convocations of this year, are said to be in the office at Doctors' Commons. (Cardwell's *Synodus Anglicana*, p. lvii.) There are also Convocation Papers in State Paper Office.

Archbishop Laud,¹ did not appear until some years after the publication of Fuller's *Church-History* (viz. in 1668).

On the appearance of the *Church-History*, Fuller's account of the Convocation was particularly singled out for attack by Heylyn, who questioned its correctness. In his *Appeal* Fuller, with much ingenuousness, directs his reader's attention to their differences in judgment. He says: "No wonder if some (no great, I hope) variations betwixt us in relating the passages of this Convocation, each of us observing what made most for his own interest. The reader also may be pleased to use his own discretion, and to credit him whom he believeth most probable of the two, exactly to observe, firmly to remember, and faithfully to relate what we saw done (both of us being there), and since borrowing help of our friends then present, where we fall short in our intelligence."²

Heylyn's account is more minute than Fuller's, but it is deeply tinged with party bias. That of Dr. Nalson in the *Impartial Collection*³ is the completest;—a work undertaken at the instigation of Archbishop Sancroft, and written against Rushworth's series of State papers. We may find nearly all the truth between them, viz. in Fuller's brief account, which, compiled without the help of documents, is acknowledged to be the most impartial. From these several notices, therefore, we may recall the proceedings of a Convocation remarkable not only from its momentous results, but also as being the first held in the province of which there is a full account.

It assembled with some circumstance at the chapter-house of St. Paul's, on the 14th April, where, after hearing a sermon by Dr. Turner (Canon-residentiary of St. Paul's, and one of Laud's chaplains), in which the Bishops were called to task for not more equally and stringently enforcing conformity as recommended by the Primate, Dr. Richard Stewart, Dean of Chichester, was chosen Prolocutor. On the 17th of April the adjourned assembly, consisting of both Houses, met in that memorable chamber at Westminster called after Henry VII. There Laud gave a charge in Latin, deploring the calamities of the times. Fuller describes the charge as consisting "most of generals, bemoaning the distempers of the Church; but [he] concluded it with a special passage, acquainting us how highly we were indebted to his Majesty's favour, so far intrusting the integrity and ability of that Convocation, as to empower them with his Commission, the like whereof was not granted for many years before, to alter old, or make new Canons for the better

¹ *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 394 et seq.

² *Appeal*, pt. iii. p. 597.

³ i. 312 seq.

government of the Church." Fuller notices that Laud's eyes during the delivery of this speech were oftentimes but one remove from weeping; and he alludes to the suspicions of wise men which soon after were aroused lest Convocation should overact their part "in such dangerous and discontented times." "Yea, they suspected lest those who formerly had *out-run* the Canons with their additional conformity (ceremonizing more than was enjoined), now would make the Canons *come up* to them, making it necessary for others, what voluntarily they had pre-practised themselves."

Canons were brought in and discussed Concerning the Regal Power, For the Better Observance of the Day of his Majesty's happy Inauguration, For Suppressing the Growth of Popery, &c. In the Canon for Restraint of Sectaries, severe measures were prescribed, which Fuller and several other members, considering them far too stringent and obnoxious, energetically opposed.

But while they were occupied, during future sessions, in framing and discussing these and other measures, the King (5th May) took the ill-advised and disastrous step of dissolving the Parliament. "From this very time," records Fuller, "did God begin to gather the twigs of that rod (a civil war) wherewith soon after He intended to whip a wanton nation."

According to ancient usage, Convocation should now also have separated; and it met on the following day for that purpose. But amidst general surprise the clergy were told not to separate till further orders; the intention of the King and his advisers being that the Canons which had been begun, as also and particularly an act to grant the King a "subsidy" (as it was first called), should be completed. But Fuller and an important portion of the more moderate members earnestly, even "importunately," pressed that their session might sink with the Parliament, the proposed extended session being ominous and without precedent. That they did not formally protest is stated by Fuller in the *Appeal* to have been an oversight. In order to give the sitting some show of legality, a precedent was, by the indefatigable Heylyn, found in the reign of Elizabeth, by which a "benevolence" of two shillings in the pound had been collected from the clergy in Convocation by their own decree. After the adjournment of Parliament, Heylyn states that, but for this precedent, the Convocation "possibly" had expired. To satisfy those who opposed its further continuance, first a new commission, and afterwards a sealed Instrument, were brought in from his Majesty, duly signed by the Earl of Manchester (Lord Privy Seal), Finch (Lord Keeper), Lyttleton (Chief Justice),

and other judges, "by virtue whereof," says Fuller, "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.¹ But Dr. Brownrigg, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Holesworth [Holdsworth], Master Warmistre [Warmistry], with others; to the number of 36 (the whole House consisting of about six-score), earnestly protested against the continuance of the Convocation." Very highly did Fuller esteem the friendship of these and other members with whom he afterwards became more closely associated. In allusion to depreciatory remarks by his critic, he said: "Let him lay what load he pleaseth on *me*, whose back is broad and big enough to bear it; but oh, let him spare my worthy friends! some now glorious saints in heaven,—Bishop Westfield, Dr. Holdsworth; and some of the highest repute still alive, whom I forbear to name."²

Judging from the subsequent events, the dissentients were by far the wiser part of the assembly. "But it ill becometh clergymen," says Fuller, "to pretend to more skill in the laws than so learned sages in that profession." They therefore unwillingly submitted to the opinion of the majority that their further sitting as a Synod was legal. It "made the aforesaid thirty-six dissenters (though solemnly making their oral protests to the contrary, yet) not to dissever themselves, or 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, 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."

1. "Thus," says Fuller, "was an *old* Convocation converted into a *new* Synod." Heylyn said that this expression was "borrowed" from the speech "of a *witty gentleman*, as he is called by the author of the *History* of the reign of *King Charles*, and since by him declared to be the Lord George Digby, now (1659) Earl of Bristol."

² *Appeal*, iii. p. 596. Dr. THOMAS WESTFIELD, whose friendship Fuller thus holds in reverence, was celebrated as a divine and preacher. After being minister at various London churches, he was made Archdeacon of St. Albans, and finally became (1642) Bishop of Bristol. He died 25th June, 1644, protesting that he was a true Protestant of the Church of England. The bishopric had been offered to him earlier in his

life "to maintain him;" but this "contented, meek man, having a self-subsistence, did then decline it, though accepting of it afterwards when proffered to him to maintain the bishopric and support the Episcopal dignity by his signal devotion." Fuller possessed a true copy of his will, wherein was the passage: "And as for my worldly goods which (as the times now are) I know not well where they be, nor what they are, I give and bequeath them all to my dear wife Elizabeth," &c. From his sole-surviving daughter Fuller afterwards obtained some other particulars about Westfield, inserted in the *Worthies*, § Cambridge, p. 154. With *Dr. Holdsworth*, here gratefully remembered by Fuller, and who died in 1649, we shall again meet.

With an apparent disregard of this influential minority, Heylyn afterwards declared that in their debates no jarring sound, no axe or hammer had been heard.

There can be no doubt that notwithstanding this "instrument," the further continuance of Convocation was illegal and unconstitutional. Lord Clarendon was afterwards of this opinion. He said that under the title of a synod it "made canons, which was thought that it might do; and gave subsidies, and enjoined oaths, that it might not do: in a word, did many things, which in the best times might have been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst; and drew the same prejudice upon the whole body of the clergy, to which before only some few clergymen were exposed."¹

The Synod, according to Heylyn, now proceeded to further business; "not without some trouble of mind in regard of the apparent danger which seemed to threaten them." The populace testified their sentiments against the clergy by assaulting the Archbishop's house; and the King was forced to appoint a guard to protect the members of the Synod from the mobs which threatened them. The future sessions were thus rendered very unpleasant. Heylyn makes a pitiful statement of their condition: "To such extremities were the poor clergy brought during these confusions; in danger of the King's displeasure if they rose, of the people's fury if they sate; in danger of being beaten up by tumults when they were at their work, of being beaten down by the following Parliament when their work was done."² "Everyone," as he states elsewhere, "must have his blow at them."

The Canon was next discussed Concerning the Royal Power, which, as adopted, put the king above the law; and then followed the voting to him of a percentage at the rate of four shillings in the pound out of the revenues of every benefice—the collection to extend over six years. The total sum of this "benevolence" (as it was ultimately called) amounted to £120,000. This measure does not seem to have been passed without dissatisfaction. Fuller did not altogether approve of it. In his *Appeal*, speaking of the Convocation consisting as usual of bishops, deans, archdeacons, and clerks, he says that the three former, carrying their own purses in their own pockets, could give what money they thought fit to the King. "Not so the fourth and last members; being clerks chosen for their respective cathedrals and diocesses, legally to sit as long as the Parliament lasted. After the dissolution whereof, they

¹ *Rebellion*, bk. ii. 60.

² *Life of Laud*, pt. ii. 403.

desisted to be public persons, lost the notion of representatives, and returned to their private condition. In which capacity they might have given for themselves what sums they pleased, but could not vote away the estates of other clergymen, except the respective cathedrals and dioceses had re-elected them; which had it been done, they might, no doubt, have justified the giving away of subsidies." Heylyn, however, maintained that the clergy had as much power to vote the money as the Commons in Parliament.¹ Our author was thinking of this particular Synod, when, alluding to the "Surfeit of Synods in Archbishop Arundel's time," he said: "Most of these were but *ecclesiastical meetings for secular money*. Hereupon, a covetous ignorant priest, guilty of no Greek, made this derivation of the word *Synodus* (far-fetched in itself, but coming close to him) from *Crumena sine nodo*, because at such assemblies, the *purse* ought never to be open *without knots* tied thereon, ready to disburse such sums as should be demanded!"²

The other Canons had reference to the rites and ceremonies of the Church. The 6th contained the well-known Oath to be subscribed to by the clergy before the 2nd of November, imposing not only obedience to the Constitution as then established, but to the maintainance of it without altering the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established, and by right ought to stand." On account of the interposed *Etcetera*—"a *cheverel* word," says Fuller, "which might be stretched as men would measure it"—it was humorously called "*swearing to etceteras*."³

The canon For Enforcing Uniformity in the Church (which contained clauses regarding the situation of the Lord's table, the receiving of the Sacrament, and the reverence to be used in the House of God) seems to have led to an incident, recorded only by Heylyn, in which Fuller is made to appear in an unfavourable light. It appears that a grand committee of "some six and twenty" besides the Prolocutor, selected (as Heylyn states) out of the ablest men of the House, was appointed to take "that

¹ *Appeal*, ii. 474; *Life of Laud*, 415.

² *Church-Hist.* iv. 158.

³ Lord Digby styled it "the bottomless perjury of an etcetera;" and Butler ridicules it in *Hudibras*. Heylyn avers that the word was inserted to avoid tautology; the enumeration of the dignities to be afterwards added when the Canons were engrossed; and that the King's eagerness to have them printed caused it to be

overlooked. (Heylyn's *Laud*, pt. ii. p. 416.) Warmistry declared he did not remember the word "when it was read to us in the last Synod; neither am I alone in this forgetfulness." (*Warmistry's Convocation Speech*, 1641, p. 18.) Laud himself, before the opening of the Long Parliament, wrote to the Bishops under him to suspend the operation of this oath. (*Works*, vi. 584.)

great and weighty business" into consideration. Fuller puts it, "because great bodies move slowly, and are fitter to be the *consenters* to, than *contrivers* of business," it was thought fit thus to contract the Synod. This committee was to "ripen matters, as to the propounding and drawing up the forms to what should pass." They accordingly took the last-mentioned canon into consideration, and the various clauses of it were adopted, "every man," says Heylyn, "speaking his opinion on them when it came to his turn without interruption; beginning with the Prolocutor and so proceeding from man to man till it concluded with the Clerk for the Church of Westminster" [*i.e.* Heylyn, the writer himself], "so placed of purpose that he might answer all such arguments as had been brought against any of the points proposed, and were not answered to his hand. The Prolocutor, having taken the sum of every man's judgment, declared that the far major part had appeared for placing the Lord's table where the Altar stood, the drawing near unto it to receive the Sacrament, and the making of due reverences at the entering into the church and going out of it; and thereupon put it to the question whether they thought it convenient that a canon should be prepared to that purpose or not? Which being carried in the affirmative, without any visible dissent, *one of the Clerks for the diocese of Bristol* presented a canon ready drawn for the same effect, but drawn in such a commanding and imperious style, that it was disliked by all the company but himself; and thereupon a sub-committee was appointed to prepare the canon and make it ready with as much dispatch as they could conveniently. [In much the same way Heylyn here animadvert on the conduct of "the Archdeacon of Huntingdon," *i.e.* Dr. Holdsworth.] The canon went smoothly on without opposition, commended generally for the modesty and temper of it."¹

This matter is neither mentioned by Fuller (who of purpose omits all details of discussion on the Canons because they were never put in practice or received) nor yet by Nalson; but there can be little doubt that the nameless clerk, here singled out by Heylyn, was our Fuller. Ironside, Fuller's colleague for the diocese of Bristol, is evidently not intended, or he would have been mentioned by name. The half-concealed sneer with which the whole is related, added to the omission of the name, confirms the supposition. The late Mr. Lathbury of Bristol, to whom, as an authority in Convocation matters, the writer communicated the foregoing particulars, agreed with the view here

¹ *Life of Laud*, pp. 406, 407.

taken, that Fuller was indicated by Heylyn. At the time Heylyn wrote the passage, his great controversy with Fuller (in the year 1659) was at an end; but, smarting under the recollection of that keenly-watched tournament in which he was worsted (though his antagonist, with characteristic good-humour, allowed him to have the last word), he could not resist the pleasure of taking this opportunity to refer to his then dead enemy.¹ One reason why Fuller himself did not mention the incident in his *Church-History* or *Appeal* may be that he did not altogether approve of his own conduct in the matter. It is more certain that Heylyn, who was not (as we shall soon have occasion to see) the fairest of controversialists, has both exaggerated and distorted the circumstance, so as to reflect on one who termed himself “Ἐλαχιστότερος, (and if there be a more subter-superlative,) the least of the least of his brethren.”² Fuller’s opinion on the topics introduced into the canon in question may be seen in his *Church-History*.³ It affords a proof, however, of the influence of Fuller and his friends to notice that the canon was not altogether drawn up as the Laudian party would have wished.⁴ The position of the “Holy Table” (it was decided) was to be indifferent; but it was adjudged fit and convenient that each church should follow the custom of its cathedral or mother-church. Rails were to be used around the Table; but the bowing towards it on enter-

¹ At page 387 of this work, Heylyn again combated Fuller’s opinion as to reconciliation with Rome, repeating his own reply from his previous *Animadversions*.

² ii. 577.

³ Bk. xi. pp. 150, 151.

⁴ Fuller afterwards reasserted, in reply to Heylyn’s contradiction, that moderate men might have accommodated the differences on this score with a little condescension on both sides. He quotes an opinion of Heylyn to the effect that “moderate men might possibly have agreed upon equal terms” in a *reconciliation with Rome*, “if the petulancy of the Puritans,” and “the pragmatism of the Jesuits” “were charmed awhile.” To whom Fuller: “Now this seemeth a strange thing to me that moderation may make Protestants agree with Papists in *matters doctrinal*, and cannot make Protestants agree with Protestants in *matters ceremonial*. Being the same plaister, why hath it not equal virtue? especially, the latter being the lesser

wound. Can the difference of transubstantiation be taken up betwixt us and the papists, and not the setting of the Communion-table betwixt ourselves? Can a crack be closed in a JEWEL, and a rent not mended in the CASE? These things, I confess, transcend my apprehension.” On the latter part of this passage Nichols thus comments: “This is one of those latent inuendoes which are of frequent occurrence in Fuller’s writings, and which if fully explained, would drain the resources of the best-informed editor, — though they were easily comprehended by his contemporaries. We may gain some adequate conception of his double meaning in this sentence, when we recollect that JOHN JEWEL was one of the ablest defenders of the Church of England in *matters doctrinal*; and that THOMAS CASE was a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, an amiable man, and a very clever champion of the Presbyterians in *matters ceremonial* as well as doctrinal.” (*Appeal*, pt. iii. p. 576.)

ing and leaving church is only "commended," the desire being added "that they which use this rite despise not them who use it not; and that they who use it not, condemn not those who use it."¹ It was afterwards complained that though this obeisance was (as Fuller puts it) "left *indifferent as hereafter to salvation, it was made necessary as here to preferment.*"

The remaining Canons were then disposed of; and on May 29th, after about twenty-six sessions, the whole of the seventeen Canons were subscribed to, "every man's heart," says Heylyn (but his statement might be questioned), "going along with his hand, as it is to be presumed from all men of that holy profession." Laud, fourteen Bishops, and eighty-nine other members subscribed² their names—that of Fuller being one, for he speaks in the *Appeal* of "our subscription." The acts were transmitted to the Convocation at York, which also adopted and subscribed them. They were accordingly set forth by royal assent on the 30th June.

Fuller's subscription to the Canons is hard to reconcile with his objections to certain parts of them. His friend Warmistry

¹ Heylyn's *Laud*, pp. 408, 409.

² GOODMAN, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER, did not, however, subscribe, "whether upon Popish or Lutheran principles," says Fuller, "he best knoweth himself." (*Church-Hist.*, bk. xi. p. 170.) Laud peremptorily bade the Bishop sign, and imprisoned him for refusal. Bishop Davenant in vain pleaded that he should have time for consideration. "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." Fuller again refers to him (*Worthies*, § Gloucester) under the initials "G. G." In 1643 Goodman was plundered of his books and MSS.; and his losses were said to have been so great that he was ashamed to confess them lest he should bring upon himself the charge of folly and improvidence. Under the Commonwealth he lived in obscurity in Westminster, employing his time in frequenting the Cottonian Library, being engaged in writing an Ecclesiastical History. Hence his intimacy with Fuller. Of Sir Henry Cromwell, thrice Sheriff of Cambridgeshire, Fuller asserts that he was "no whit at all allied" to Cromwell, "the mauler of monasteries," "which I knowingly affirm, though the contrary be

generally believed; for when Dr. Goodman, late Bishop of Gloucester, presented a printed paper to Oliver Cromwell (grandchild to this our sheriff), mentioning therein his near affinity to the said [Thomas] Lord Cromwell, the pretended Protector, desirous to confute a vulgar Error, in some passion returned 'that Lord was not related to my family in the least degree!'" (*Worthies*, § Cambridge, p. 169.) The interview is related by Carlyle, who terms "old Fuller" "a perfectly veracious and most intelligent person." (*Cromwell's Letters*, i. 23, ed. 1871.) In the *Worthies*, Fuller says that Goodman died "some seven years since," (Jan. 1655-6), in Westminster; up to which time Fuller remained intimate with him, for the Bishop bequeathed him a ring with the posy *Requiem defunctis* (§ Denbighsh., p. 34). He left many bequests to poor Churchmen. Heylyn (*Laud*, pt. ii. 419) said he declared himself to be a member of the Church of Rome in his last sickness. It was Goodman's habit to complain of our first Reformers; "and I heard him once say in some passion," Fuller records, "that Bishop Ridley was a very odd man; to whom one presently returned, 'He was a very odd man, my lord; for all the Popish party in England could not match him with his equal in learning and religion.'"

probably expressed the views of Fuller on this matter in the following passage. After giving his reasons for dissenting from the Oath, Warmistry adds: "If my subscription be urged, I was persuaded that it was the practice of Councils and Synods that the whole body should subscribe to those Acts that are passed by the major part, as to Synodical Acts, notwithstanding their private dissent."¹ So Fuller and his party signed the document, "suffering ourselves to be concluded by the majority of the votes."

The passing and publication of these ill-timed Acts of the Synod excited the hostile feelings of the popular party. The Canon about the absolute power of the King began to be objected to when it was being more clearly seen to what end his conduct was now tending. The Oath met with much opposition. Even before the time for its coming into operation it was vigorously pushed by some of the Bishops: Fuller asserts that to his knowledge some of the clergy were obliged to take it kneeling. It was boldly disregarded by the clergy of the diocese of Lincoln, and by the London clergy; and the Puritan Bishops, with Hall, were backward in tendering it. Others as boldly petitioned against it. Warmistry, in the following year, wrote an effective piece in opposition to it. These Canons, in fine, were mainly instrumental in precipitating the division between the King and people, Church and State. The impeachment of Laud was due to them in especial, he being made to bear the odium of the whole proceedings.

It was at some time during Fuller's abode in London that he was brought into connection with Archbishop Laud. By some nameless but unforgotten kindness the prelate won from Fuller, opposed as he was to him on many points, an expression of gratitude. The particulars of this courtesy stand on record in Fuller's famous controversy with Laud's chaplain, Heylyn. In his *Church-History* Fuller took occasion to commend "civilly-languaged" Bishop Juxon as having a perfect command of his passions, adding "a happiness *not granted to all clergymen in that age, though Privy-Counsellors.*" From this passage Heylyn concluded that Laud, his patron, was referred to; for he makes the following comment: "So perfect a man of his own passions and affections [was Juxon], that he will not think himself honoured with a commendation which comes accompanied with the disparagement of his chiefest friend [Laud]; for that *this lash was made for the Archbishop of Canterbury*, no wise man can doubt." Fuller replied that there were other clergymen Privy-Counsel-

¹ *Convocation Speech*, p. 22.

lors besides Laud; and that therefore Heylyn's "collection of my words cannot be conclusive in reference to Laud. . . . I am much of the mind of Sir Edward Deering [whom Heylyn had cited], that the roughness of his [Laud's] un-court-like nature sweetened many men when they least looked for it, surprising some of them (*and myself for one*) with unexpected courtesies."¹ This courtesy, mayhap, referred to the necessary licence which Fuller would have to obtain to preach in another diocese. The incident, however, may refer to a period a little later than that which we have here arrived at; for Laud continued to transact ecclesiastical business even when imprisoned. It is pleasant to meet with the record of this intercourse between clergymen so much separated in opinions.

During the short period in which Fuller was engaged at the meetings of Convocation, he filled many of the London pulpits,—"the *voiced* pulpits," as his biographer calls them,—where he was so much sought after that in a short time he found himself as popular in London as he was in his country parish, or as he had previously been at Cambridge. Fuller had now the reputation not only of an attractive and eloquent preacher ("being cried up for one of the most excellent preachers of the age") and a clever writer, but also of a man of engaging conversation and pleasing manners. His connection with Convocation had, moreover, largely increased the circle of his friends. A man, therefore, of his temperament would find it difficult to disengage himself from the society and associations amidst which he now moved. The contrast between his country parish and the parishes of London was very marked. In the City that feverish excitement was now arising which did not entirely cool for many years. Fuller, thrown into the midst of it, would thus become a participator in the debates and conflicts which immediately preceded the war. During the years 1640 and 1641, accordingly, the condition of affairs would gradually tend to unsettle his prospects; and we must not in consequence wonder to find him at first attracted and ultimately driven to London, in the hope that by strenuous endeavours he might in some degree allay the unnatural strife which he, with Hall and many other of the doctrinal Puritans, saw looming in the distance. "He was very sensible," says his biographer, "whither those first commotions did tend, and that some heavy disaster did, in those angry clouds which impended over the nation, more particularly threaten the clergy."²

Fuller's reputation was greatly increased about this time by

¹ *Appeal*, iii. 581.

² Page 13.

the publication of a volume of his sermons, which, as well now as throughout his life, were eagerly bought. He took advantage of this visit to London (which we may fairly suppose to have been extended beyond the few weeks occupied by the business of the Convocation), to carry through the press the first of a series of such publications (1640).

This venture was a comment upon that portion of 1 Cor. xi. which relates to the institution of the Lord's Supper; to which was added eight other sermons, the whole being quaintly entitled *Joseph's Parti-coloured Coat*. It was printed in London, published by John Williams, but was not entered at Stationers' Hall by reason of the unsettled state of the registration law. The author dedicated the volume to the right worshipful the LADY JANE COVERT, of Pepper-Harrow, near Godalming, Surrey,—a patroness whom Fuller covertly flatters, although he at the same time expresses his disapproval of flattery; so early in his career of dedication-writing had he fallen in with the adulatory habit of the time in this respect. While custom, says he, has licensed flattery in dedicatory epistles, *he* would not follow the stream therein; first, because he counted it beneath his calling to speak anything above the truth; "secondly, *because of you it is needless*. Let deformed faces be beholding to the painter; art hath nothing to add where nature hath prevented [preceded] it."

"The Genius of an author," says Fuller elsewhere, "is commonly discovered in the Dedicatory Epistle. Many place the purest grain in the mouth of the sack for chapman to handle or buy: and from the dedication one may probably guess at the work:"¹ an observation never more true than in our author's case. We shall meet with many, but never tedious, specimens of our author's peculiar talent in this extensive department of his writing; and shall find his statement perfectly true.

The title of the book seems to have been suggested by the variety of topics introduced. The titles of the sermons in the latter part are: Growth in Grace; How far Examples may be followed (Ruth i. 15); An ill Match well broken off (1 John ii. 15); Good from bad Friends; A Glass for Gluttons; How far Grace may be entailed; A Christening Sermon; and Faction Confuted.

Gluttony the preacher calls the sin of England: "For though without usurpation we may entitle ourselves to the pride of the Spanish, jealousy of the Italian, wantonness of the French, drunkenness of the Dutch, and laziness of the Irish; and

¹ *Holy State: Of Books*, 186.

though these outlandish [foreign] sins have of late been naturalised and made free denizens of England, yet our ancientest carte is for the sin of gluttony." ¹

The discourses are written in a homely style; and he takes occasion, as in the case of gluttony, to denounce some of the reigning sins of the time. While also full of sound practical instruction, there are many passages eminently characteristic of the author; and in not a few he has laboured to produce a certain amount of poetic beauty.

"DRUNKARDS are distinguished from the King's sober subjects by clipping the coin of the tongue."

"Traffic makes those wooden bridges over the sea which join the islands to the continent."—"Woful was the estate of the world when one could not see God for gods."

"It is an old humour for men to love new things; and in this point even many barbarians are Athenians."

"THE NUMBER OF SEVEN is most remarkable in holy writ, and passeth for the emblem of perfection or completeness; as well it may, consisting of a unity in the middle; guarded and attended by a Trinity on either side."

"THE DEATH OF THE GODLY in Scripture language is often styled *sleep*, and indeed Sleep and Death are two twins: Sleep is the elder brother, for Adam slept in paradise; but Death liveth longest, for the last enemy that shall be destroyed is Death."

Etymology of Compliment.—"They are justly to be reproved which lately have changed all hearty expressions of love into verbal compliments; which etymology is not to be deduced a *completionem mentis*, but a *completum mentiri*. And yet I cannot say that these men lie in their throat; for I persuade myself, their words never came so near their heart, but merely they lie in their mouths, where all their promises—

' Both birth and burial in a breath they have;
That mouth which is their womb, it is their grave.'

Speaking of the sea, where appears the most evident demonstration of God's powerful presence, he says:—

"Esau went to kill his brother Jacob; but when he met him, his mind was altered; he fell a-kissing him, and so departed. Thus the waves of the sea march against the shore, as if they would eat it up: but when they have kissed the utmost brink of the sand, they melt themselves away to nothing."

This small volume, described as being "replete with valuable matter, clothed in a lively style," was reprinted in 1867, in Tegg's series of Fuller reprints, edited by Mr. Wm. Nichols.

There is a striking difference between the early sermons

¹ A lengthy extract from this characteristic sermon will be found in the Sketch of Fuller in Knight's *British Worthies*, vol. vii. p. 69. Curiously, on the same subject one JOHN FULLER wrote a paper in *The Teller*, No. 205, Aug. 1, 1710. Steele says that his contributor was

sixteen when he wrote it. John Fuller is often mentioned in Steele's correspondence (*Letters to Lady Steele*, Feb. 14, 1716; March 2, 1717, &c. See also No. 26 of *The Theatre*, by Steele, March 29, 1720). It has not been ascertained to what branch of the Fuller family he belonged.

of Fuller, *i.e.* those written before the war, and those written during and after it. The former serve more plainly to show that the preacher had to some extent been affected with the spirit of such discourses as Donne, Andrewes, and others of that school had made popular,—the effects of whose influence are noticeable in so large a portion of our pulpit literature since their day. We allude to the grotesqueness in both words and thoughts; a style which we now briefly characterise by the word “quaint.” But Fuller even in his earlier sermons followed his models at a long distance. Of Andrewes he often made reverent mention, averring that his preaching was “inimitable;” and adding that “pious and pleasant bishop Felton, his contemporary and colleague, endeavoured in vain in his sermon to assimilate his style, and therefore said merrily of himself: ‘I had almost marred my own natural trot by endeavouring to imitate his artificial amble.’”¹ And he has also written thus of Andrewes: “As for such who causelessly have charged his sermons as ‘affected and surcharged with verbal allusions,’ when they themselves have set forth the like, it will then be time enough to make this bishop’s first defence against their calumniations.”² It was this distinguished prelate who used to say of himself, “When I preach twice on Sunday, I *prate* once.” Aubrey has left a droll criticism on his preaching: “It was a shrewd and severe criticism of a Scottish lord, who when King James asked him how he liked Bp. A.’s sermon, sayd, that he was learned but he did play with his text, as a Jack-an-apes does, who takes up a thing and tosses and plays with it, and then he takes up another and plays a little with it—here’s a pretty thing, and there’s a pretty thing!”³

The idiosyncrasies of the style of this school of preaching are most markedly seen in the *Hainous Sinne* and in parts of the *Holy War*. We again meet with the same faults, but in a less degree, in these early sermons. We see his great fondness, *e.g.*, for *alliteration* and *antithesis*: he urges mothers to teach their children to *pray* when they begin to *prattle*. Ruth i. 6 contains two general parts: “1. God’s visiting His people with plenty; 2. Naomi’s visiting of her people with her person.” Again: “Disdain not thou, out of a holy pride, to be the vicious son to a virtuous father; to be the profane daughter of a pious mother; but labour to succeed as well to the lives as to the livings, the goodness as the goods, of thy parents.” “How quickly may a Crassus or Croesus be turned into a Codrus; the richest into

¹ *Worthies*, § London, p. 207.

² *Church-History*, ix. 127.

³ *Letters*, ii. 207.

the poorest of men! Whom the sunrising seeth in wealth, him the sunsetting may see in want." "Love to men in want was quickly turned into want of love; *mare Euxinum* [= hospitable] into *mare axinum* [= inhospitable]; love-feasts into no-love-feasts." "Love and admire no man's doctrine for his person, but rather love his person for his doctrine." Fuller excelled in these antithetical sentences; and he continued to pen them with great profusion and effect. There is in them frequently an antithesis in ideas as well as words. To an objector to his style on account of this balancing of his sentences, Fuller might reply that "if it little helps his sayings it little hinders them." His *incongruous allusions*, though of very frequent occurrence, are not so lavish or far-fetched as in other contemporary sermons; but this defect exists in sufficient strength to condemn him for violation of taste. Thus his discourse on gluttony "by God's assistance shall feed us at this time." The mention of the water to Naaman "put him into a fire." "This is none of Joshua's day wherein the sun standeth still; and therefore I must conclude with the time." "Let us take heed how we take snuff at the simplicity of God's ordinances!" He thus urges growth in grace and knowledge: "We must not all run up in height like a *hop-pole*, but also burnish [= spread out] and spread in breadth." Occasionally he indulges in a happy pun, as where he calls the school of the Jewish ceremonial law "the school of Tyrannus."

Spite of all such peculiarities and mannerisms, which to a great degree disappear in his later sermons, we derive on the whole a very favourable opinion of Fuller's pulpit performances, for we get insensibly impressed with their spirit. His discourses are noticeable for their earnest practical piety, the root of which lay in the preacher. His benevolence to all classes, and his tolerant spirit, are also here apparent. Another favourable quality is their out-spokenness: to use his own word, he is *downright* Fuller. They afford a beautiful commentary on his sketch of The Faithful Minister, who having brought his sermon into his head, labours to bring it into his heart before he preaches it to his people; and who chiefly reproves the reigning sins of the time and place he lives in.

In the *form* of a few of Fuller's sermons, we have something approaching the complicated divisions of the former generation of preachers. In some, especially in the expository discourses, the treatment is very simple. We have "questions" and "answers;" "reasons," "observations," "objections," and "uses." He observes that "as *Musculus* in Germany (if I mistake not) first brought in the plain (but effectual) manner

of preaching by *Use* and *Doctrine*; so Udal was the first who added reasons thereunto, the strength and sinews of a sermon." ¹ Reasons he elsewhere speaks of as "the pillars of the fabric of a sermon; but similitudes are the windows which give the best lights." ²

To a popular collection of Prayers and Meditations, edited by Henry Myriel, B.D., ³ and entitled *Daily Devotions; or, the Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice*, Fuller about this time ⁴ contributed a brief memoir of Dr. John Colet, to whom the work is commonly assigned. The curious literary history of this little manual of prayers, &c., is traced by the Rev. J. H. Lupton, M.A., in his scholarly edition of Colet's *Sacraments*, 1867. ⁵ A reference to our Bibliography will show that it passed through many editions in Fuller's lifetime, and that it had reached a twenty-second edition by the year 1722. Colet was the friend of Erasmus, and the distinguished founder of St. Paul's School. Fuller in his memoir terms him "a Luther before Luther for his doctrine." The shrewdness and learning of Colet are particularly singled out for Fuller's praise, who further inserted a biography of him in the *Abel Redeivivus*, and a brief notice in the *Church-History*; but he has no place in the *Worthies*—an omission perhaps due to Fuller's fear of infringing the rights of his former stationer.

But apart from his appreciation of Dean Colet, Fuller's connection with the *Daily Devotions* supplies the first intimation of the deep interest he ever felt in "prescript" or "set" forms of prayer. For their use, in opposition to the "free" prayer which was so soon to come into general use, he was ever a warm advocate; but while giving all kinds of prayer their due, he always warmly advocated the former, maintaining that such were more due to God and decent for His service. Fuller, in common with the dispossessed clergy, composed in after years many of those prayers which were commonly used in place of the prohibited liturgy. He was persuaded that the gift of prayer was often prostituted to bad purposes by those who were now beginning to condemn the Common Prayer as "a penned liturgy." In 1643 Pearson boldly preached a discourse at Cambridge On the Excellency of Forms of Prayer.

¹ *Church-History*, ix. 222.

² *Holy State*, p. 76.

³ Myriel, whose name is attached to the 1641 edition, had had his education at Cambridge. He died at Oxford, 22nd April, 1643, in the 33rd year of his age; and in the old church of All Saints a mural tablet (now no more) was set up to

his memory. Dingley's *History from Marble*, pt. i. pp. cix. cxiv. The book was set forth under other editors.

⁴ Mr. Brewer, following Lowndes, says that the memoir appeared in the 1635 edition; but Mr. Russell says that it was the 1641 edition. See our Bibliography.

⁵ Pp. 25, 26.

Fuller as boldly in the days of the Directory defended "our late admired liturgy," which, there is good reason for believing, he with other cavalier parsons never entirely gave up. Among his "meditations on all kinds of prayer" in his *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, he brings into prominence "prescript forms of our own and others' composing," which he shows are lawful for any, and needful for some to use:—

"*Lawful for any*: otherwise God would not have appointed the priests (presumed of themselves best able to pray) a form of blessing the people; nor would our Saviour have set us His prayer, which (as the town-bushel is the standard both to measure corn and other bushels by) is both a prayer in itself, and a pattern or platform of prayer. Such as accuse set forms to be pinioning the wings of the dove, will by the next return affirm that girdles and garters, made to strengthen and adorn, are so many shackles and fetters which hurt and hinder men's free motion.

"*Needful for some*: namely, for such who as yet have not attained (what all should endeavour) to pray *extempore* by the Spirit. But . . . many confess their weakness in denying to confess it, who, refusing to be beholding to a set form of prayer, prefer to say nonsense rather than nothing, in their extempore expressions. More modesty, and no less piety, it had been for such men to have prayed longer with set forms that they might pray better without them.

"It is no base and beggarly shift (arguing a narrow and necessitous heart), but a piece of holy and heavenly thrift, often to use the same prayer again. Christ's practice is my Directory herein, who 'the third time said the same words' (Matt. xxvi. 44). A good prayer is not, like a stratagem in war, to be used but once. No, the oftener the better. The clothes of the Israelites, whilst they wandered forty years in the wilderness, never waxed old, as if made of *perpetuano* indeed. So a good prayer, though often used, is still fresh and fair in the ears and eyes of Heaven. Despair not, then, thou simple soul, who hast no exchange of raiment, whose prayers cannot appear every day at Heaven's court in new clothes. Thou mayest be as good a subject, though not so great a gallant, coming always in the same suit—yea, perchance the very same which was thy father's and grandfather's before thee (a well-composed prayer is a good heir-loom in a family, and may hereditarily be descended to many generations); but know thy comfort, thy prayer is well-known to Heaven, to which it is a constant customer."¹

Other works which Fuller had projected were in some degree advanced by his visits to London; for he had there readier access to those engaging companions whom he termed walking and standing libraries. About this time also he was searching for particulars of Henry Smith, the silver-tongued preacher, for one of his literary works. But the progress of events compelled Fuller to abandon the prosecution of these literary enterprises in which he so much delighted. He had now sterner work before him. And we may well imagine that it was with the greatest reluctance that he was forced, as Milton was forced,

¹ Nos. xi. and xii. page 84. To the same effect he speaks at length in his *Triple Reconciler*, p. 129.

“to interrupt the pursuit of his hopes and to leave the calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark on a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies.”

For a short and unsettled period in the latter half of the year 1640, he may again have returned to his home and his charge at Broadwindsor; endeavouring, but with sad forebodings, to devote himself as before to his clerical duties. But meanwhile the King, driven by necessity, summoned that famous “long-lasting Parliament, so known to all posterity for the remarkable actions therein”—not the least remarkable action being the impeachment and imprisonment of Laud. It met Nov. 3, 1640. Again Convocation—its last meeting for many years—met under the same Prolocutor as before; but Fuller significantly says that the Parliament and it were “unable long to keep pace together.”¹ In this assembly Fuller apparently did not sit, though his other friends were there. They seem to have met pretty frequently; but they did nothing. Mr. Warmistry, Fuller’s former associate, came forward early in the proceedings of the Lower House (which continued to meet until the following February; but the Upper House did not meet after Christmas). “Mr. Warmistre (a clerk for Worcester) made a motion therein that they should endeavour (according to the Levitical law) to cover the pit which they had opened, and to prevent their adversaries intention, by condemning such offensive canons; . . . but it found no acceptance, they being loath to confess themselves guilty before they were accused.”²

Laud, too, at a later period expressed the same feeling; for when he saw and felt the indignation of the Parliament and the country, he wrote to Selden, a member of the Committee of Inquiry on the subject, requesting that the “unfortunate

¹ *Church-History*, xi. 172.

² Bk. xi. page 172. The same passage is in Heylyn’s *Laud* (pt. ii. 431), who adds that Warmistry had “before offered at many things in that Convocation; but such was his ill-luck, that the vote was for the most part passed before he spake; nor had he better fortune in his motion now than his offers then. . . . So that not having any other way to obtain his purpose, he caused a long speech, which he had made upon this occasion, to be put in print; bitter enough, . . . but such as could not save him from a sequestration, when the rest of the clergy

were brought under the same condition.” This speech was entitled: *A Convocation Speech, by Mr. Thomas Warmistry, one of the Clerks for the Diocese of Worcester: against Images, Altars, Crosses, the New Canons, and the Oath, &c.* London, printed in the year, 1641. He attacks the love of church ornaments, “an holy congregation” being “the best furniture of the church;” as well as the Oath, the ambiguities in which are dealt with. The pamphlet is a good *exposé* of the school of Churchmanship to which both Fuller and Warmistry belonged.

canons" might be allowed to die quietly. Warmistry's proposal was not acted upon; but no further attempt was made to legislate after the decision on the Canons in the Commons. For, early in the session, the obnoxious Acts and Canons came under the censure of the House—"that warm region," as Clarendon terms it, "where thunder and lightning were made." They were debated on the 14th and 15th December, and votes were carried—

"That the clergy of England, convened in a Convocation or Synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons or act whatsoever in matter of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or laity of the land, without common consent in parliament.—That the canons . . . do contain in them matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and constitutions of the realm, to the rights of Parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence.—That the several grants of the benevolence or contribution granted to his most excellent Majesty by the clergy . . . are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy."

A committee was appointed to prepare the votes for the House; to ascertain who were the promoters of the Canons; how far Archbishop Laud acted in them, &c.¹

On April 26, 1641, the consideration of the subject was renewed, and a bill was ordered to be brought in for punishing and fining the members of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury. When the Committee met the fines were taken in hand; "whereupon these sums of money following were inserted in the draft of the bill." Rushworth (iv. 236) states that the paper from which he copied this remark had some blanks. Nalson says of the document: "I have not been able to recover a view; but if their own historians don't abuse them, they who had so lately voted the great fines set upon Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, to be so illegal and such horrible injustice, yet by this bill, intended to fine the clergy of the Convocation £200,000, which was as much if not more than their whole estates amounted to, if the rest held proportion, as 'twas said they should, with those mentioned, namely my lord Archbishop of Canterbury [Laud] £20,000, the Archbishop of York [Neyle] deceased £10,000, Bishop Wrenn £10,000, the Bishop of Chester [Bridgman] £3,000, and so the rest in proportion."² In Rushworth's list, the entries under *Bristol* are thus given:—

"Dean of Bristol [Dr. Matthew Nicholas], £500.
Proctor [*i.e.* Fuller or Ironside], —."

The penalties imposed upon the other Proctors are set down at

¹ Rushworth, iv. 113.

² i. 806.

two hundred pounds; and Fuller states in his *Appeal* that this was the extent of the fine levied upon him. Heylyn had contemptuously spoken of Fuller's being afraid of losing the "honour of being taken notice of for one of the clerks of the Convocation," because he had casually made reference to his having been present in that capacity. Whereupon Fuller said: "Dear honour, indeed; *honus vnus!* for which *I was fined*, with the rest of my brethren, two hundred pounds, by the House of Commons, though not put to pay it; partly because it never passed the House of Lords; partly because they thought it needless to shave *their* hair *whose* heads they meant to cut off: I mean they were so charitable as not to make *them* pay a fine, *whose* place in cathedrals they intended not long after to take away."¹ The fine of William Fuller, Dean of Ely, is set down at £1,000. The money was to be paid to certain Earls (whose names are not, however, given), and to be disbursed for the relief of the King's army in the northern parts, or applied to such other uses as Parliament declared. The principals in the Convocation did not escape so readily as the proctors: on August 4, 1641, when the extirpation Bill had for the time been suspended, the Commons, "sensible of the great infelicities and troubles which the commonwealth hath sustained by the exorbitant courses of the Bishops," impeached thirteen of them. Among them were Hall, Warner, Skinner, Goodman, and Towers: some, like Wrenn, were imprisoned in the Tower. Fuller gives at length the heads of a speech of Mr. Maynard's in the Committee of Lords against these Canons; for the former was present in London while these debates were taking place. Heylyn afterwards found fault with Fuller for calling the Convocation of 1640 a "younger brother" of the Parliament. Among our author's ingenious reasons for thinking his phrase proper enough, we have: "The Parliament hath made a *younger brother* of the Convocation: and there being a priority in power, he in effect is the heir and elder brother who confineth the other to a poor pittance and small portion, as our age [1659] can well remember."²

Meanwhile, a committee of the Lords had been appointed, under the influence of Williams, to settle peace in the Church (March 21, 1641); the scheme to be submitted, when ready, to Parliament. The committee appointed a sub-committee to prepare matters for them; Williams, now restored to his deanery,³

¹ Part iii. p. 595.

² *Appeal*, ii. 502.

³ "Williams was now parson, prebend, dignitary, dean, and bishop; and

all five in one." (Heylyn.) It was on the occasion of his return hither that his old antagonist, Heylyn, preached. After his manner he was falling foul on the

being the chairman of both committees. The sub-committee comprised representatives from the Anglicans, Presbyterians, and the other parties, "but all of them," says Heylyn, "Calvinians in point of doctrine."¹ About twenty of them regularly attended, but more were named. Among them were Archbishop Ussher, Bishop Morton, Bishop Hall, Drs. Ward, Featly, Twisse, Brounrig, Holdsworth, Hacket, Saunderson, —names all of interest from their association with Fuller. The moderate party of the late Convocation are here well represented. Another member, Mr. Thomas Hill, Rector of Titchmarsh, near the Aldwincles, must also have been familiar with Fuller. Here also Fuller may have begun his acquaintance with Stephen Marshall. The committee met in the "Jerusalem Chamber in the Dean of Westminster's house." Williams entertained them, 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, whose guests may now even put up their knives, seeing soon after the *Voider* was called for, which took away all bishops' lands and most of English hospitality."² The imprisoned Archbishop, we are told by Heylyn, "had no fancy" to this assembly; but we find in Fuller that many were of opinion that the moderation of these divines might at that time have saved Episcopacy in some form. He gives many particulars of the subjects discussed at their sittings, which he wrote "out of the private notes of one of the committee." A statement of the topics will also be found in Heylyn's *Laud* (ii. 444). They continued their sittings till the middle of May, by which time the Bill regarding Deans and Chapters—the *outworks* of Episcopacy, as Fuller calls them—which was to affect Fuller among so many others, was introduced into Parliament, pushed forward by the Presbyterians, so that it passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords. Accordingly, the meetings of the committee came to an end. Fuller expressively says of this Bill, that it put such a distance between the foresaid divines "that never their judgments (and scarce their persons) met after together."

The "moderate cathedral men," with whom it is natural to suppose that Fuller, who was now again in London, would associate himself heart and soul, made great endeavours to

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 Heylyn: "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.

¹ *Laud*, ii. 443.

² xi. 174.

preserve their foundations. We are told they appointed a deputy from each cathedral to solicit friends on their behalf; that a petition was drawn up to the House of Parliament ("which, because never formally presented, I forbear to insert;") and that counsel was obtained to move for them in the House. Dr. Hacket¹ was chosen to set forth their claims, "the brief heads of whose speech, copied (by his leave) out of his own papers," are given in the *Church-History*.

The efforts of the cathedral men to preserve their foundations availed nothing. On the 15th June it was resolved to employ the endowments for advancing learning and piety, competent maintenance to be given to the persons ejected, if they were not delinquents. Fuller's loss by this measure was his valuable prebendal stall; and for twenty years he was (according to Walker)² deprived of its profits. Alluding to the prosperity, or otherwise, of those who received the Abbey lands from Henry VIII., Fuller spoke in his *Church-History* (1655) of its being an old and trite subject grown out of fashion; "men in our age having got a new object to fix their eyes and observation upon, taking notice how such Church lands do thrive, which since hath been derived into the hands of *new* possessors." This measure was followed by the introduction of a bill for the abolition of Episcopacy.

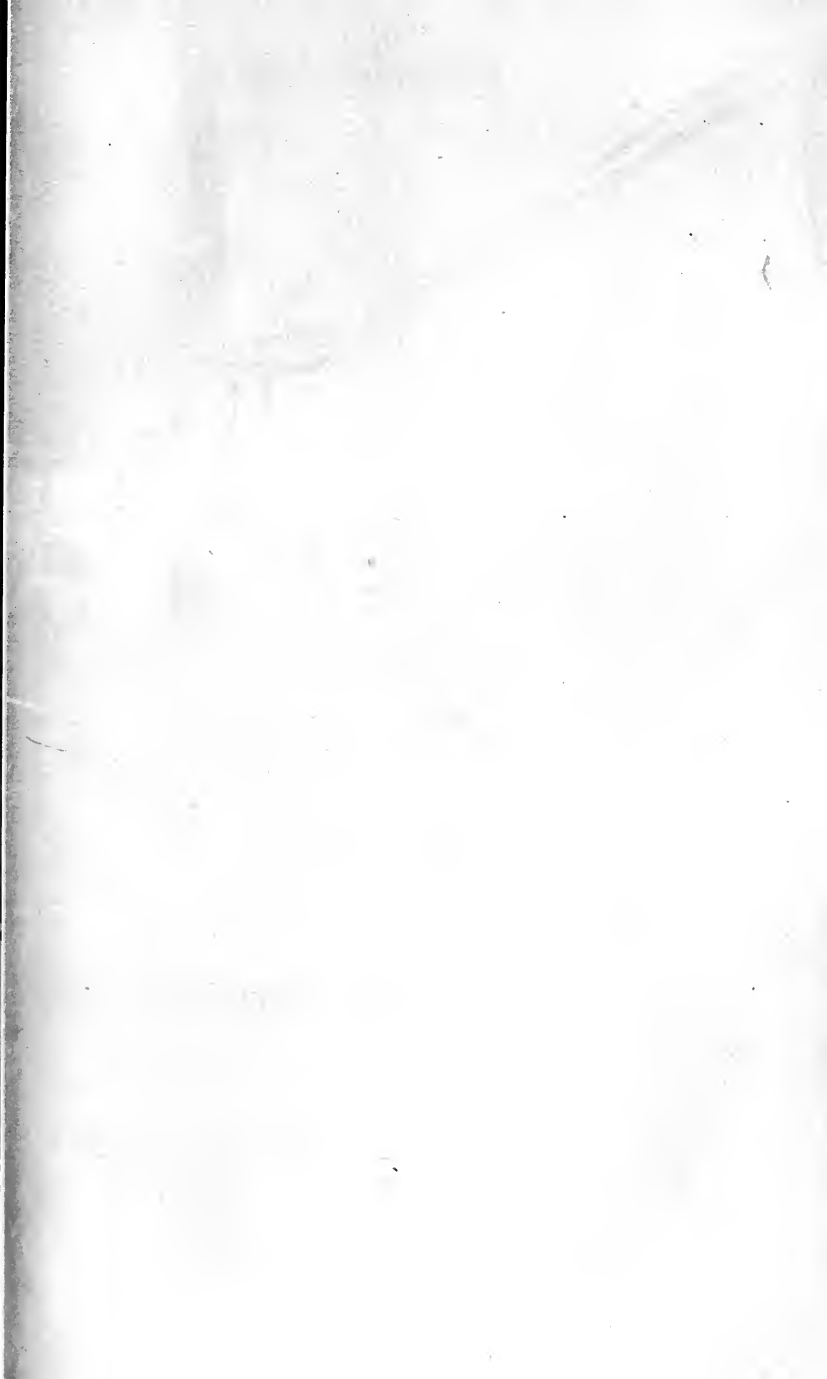
In April of the year 1641, Fuller was summoned to Salisbury to the death of his uncle Davenant, which took place on the 21st of the month. On the 14th, when the Bishop made an alteration in his will, he had an intimation of his approaching end. Of his conduct as bishop, and of his closing hours,

¹ Dr. HACKET, to whose views at the Convocation Fuller adhered, became an intimate friend of the Church-historian, to whom he gave assistance in after years in his literary work: in the *Hist. Camb.* Fuller mentions his "forwardness in furthering these my studies," which he can "only deserve with my prayers." In the *Worthies*, he alludes to "my worthy friend the learned Dr. John Hacket." (*Worthies*, § Somerset, page 176.) So Hacket made mention of Fuller's History in his *Life of Williams* (i. 164), a work of which Professor Masson says: "In pedantic copiousness of allusion, and in lucid wit, Hacket somewhat resembles Fuller." Hacket afterwards became Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Coleridge averred that from his delightful and instructive folio one might learn more of that which is valuable towards an in-

sight into the times preceding the Civil War than from all the ponderous histories and memoirs now composed about that period. (*Table Talk*.)

Dr. CORNELIUS BURGESS, it was carefully noted by Fuller, opposed the views advanced by Hacket. He was in early life a zealous Episcopalian, and chaplain to Charles I. He was one of the sub-committee just alluded to, but afterwards sided with the Parliament. In 1649, Burgess was an extensive purchaser of the Church lands forfeited by this and other measures; and he wrote in defence of the transfer (1659). He afterwards called Fuller a "flashy, jeering author;" and a very severe letter from Fuller to Burgess may be seen at the conclusion of Fuller's *Appeal*, pp. 683—685.

² *Sufferings*, ii. 67.





MONUMENT TO B^p DAVENANT
SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

we have the following account by his nephew:—"With what gravity and moderation he behaved himself; how humble, hospitable, painful 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 [Allport says it was 'an asthma, with which he had been long afflicted'], anno 1641, to which sensibleness of the sorrowful times (which he saw were bad and foresaw would be worse) did contribute not a little. I cannot omit how some hours before his death, having lyen for a long time (though not speechless, 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 emphatical 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 lifetime he never had one heave affliction, which made him often much suspect with himself whether he were a true child of God or no, until this his last sickness.' Then he sweetly fell asleep in Christ; and so we softly draw the curtains about him."¹ Fuller says elsewhere: "We read of the Patriarch Israel, that 'the time drew nigh, that he must die,' Gen. xlvii. 29; *must*, a necessity of it. Such a decree attended this Bishop, happy to die, before his order (for a time) died, April, 1641; and with a solemn funeral he was buried in [the south aisle of the choir of] his own cathedral; Dr. Nicholas (now [1661] Dean of St. Paul's) preaching an excellent sermon at his interment."² At this time Nicholas was a Prebendary of Salisbury. A sketch of the elegant marble monument erected to Davenant's memory is here given. "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 wall, 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 eight cross-crosslets *fitchee or*, a crescent for difference.³ Upon the south wall of the eastern transept of the Cathedral is a monument to the memory of Davenant's elder brother Edward, of Whiddy Island, co. Cork, who died June 2nd, 1639. He left by his will legacies to the Fullers, &c.

¹ *Church-History*, xi. 176.

² *Worthies*, § London, p. 207.

³ Cole's MSS. Brit. Mus. Add. 5,808.

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*.¹ On one occasion, when commanded to preach at Court, he came a day too late because he would not ride on Sunday.

Williams, when entering upon the See of Lincoln, is said to have taken Davenant as his model of episcopal government. By all parties, indeed, the Bishop was spoken of with respect, his contemporaries giving him the title of "The Good Bishop." In Fuller's delineation of that character in his *Holy State*, now about to be published, references seem to be made to his uncle throughout. "As Diogenes," says he, "confuted him who denied 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 refelling their cavils in his conversation [moral department]. 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 in 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."² In the *Worthies* there is an anecdote of Davenant illustrating the foregoing remark: "Once invited by Bishop Field, 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 down stairs, 'My lord, my lord,' said he, 'let us lighten others by our unblameable conversation;' for which speech some since have severely censured him, how justly I interpose not. But let others unrelated unto him

¹ Lloyd, *Memoires*, 283. The following is a translation of this epitaph, which is 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, '*Praefuit qui profuit*,'—who while honouring the King feared God,—yielding rather to the public malady than to his own complaint, died on the third of April, 1641, repeating with his last breath the words, '*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*.'"

² Pages 265, 269.

write his character, whose pen cannot be suspected of flattery, which he when living did hate, and dead did not need."¹

The sixth maxim of Fuller's character of *The Good Bishop*, viz. that he is careful and happy in suppressing of heresies and schisms, illustrates the mild sway of Davenant in his diocese. Again: "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. . . . Heaven is his vocation, and therefore he counts earthly employments avocations."

In the same sketch the essayist commends "worthy Bishop Lake," "whose hand had the true seasoning of a sermon with Law and Gospel," and "reverend Andrewes," who was out of his element in civil affairs;² and he thus directly alludes to his uncle: "In his grave writings he [the good bishop] 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 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.

"He [that is, the good bishop] ever makes honourable mention of forein Protestant churches, even when he differs and dissents from them. . . . English charity to forein Protestant churches in some respects is payment of a debt: their children deserve to be our welcome guests whose grandfathers were our loving hosts in the days of Queen Mary."³

The work which Fuller is referring to as being written near Davenant's death is an English translation of his *Ad fraternam Communionem inter Evangelicas Ecclesias restaurandum Adhortatio*, Cantab., 1640. This earnest little work, which was published in London for Richard Badger and John Williams, 12mo. 1641, and entered by them at Stationers' Hall a fortnight before the death of the Bishop,⁴ is also referred to by Bishop

¹ § London, p. 207.

² Pages 267, 268.

³ Page 270.

⁴ Entered 7th April, 1641, being licensed by Dr. Thos. Wykes, 8th April,

1641. It has two parts, one of which was a letter addressed by Davenant to John Duræus, who advocated the union of the Lutheran and the Calvinistic Churches.

Hall in terms similar to those used by Fuller. "None," says he, in his *Peacemaker*, "hath so fully cleared this point [Church-unity] as the late honour of our schools, the learned Bishop Davenant, in that last Golden Tractate which he wrote, now breathing towards the gates of his heaven,—his pious and pithy Exhortation of the Evangelical Churches to a happy peace."¹ Another work written in English was his *Animadversions upon Hoard's God's Love to Mankind*. Hoard, whose tract belongs to 1633, had questioned the Calvinistic opinion upon election and reprobation. Davenant's reply (which, though written in the same year, was not published till 1641) is said by his biographer, the Rev. Josiah Allport, to have been "written with all the powers of his mind. . . . In no work is the acuteness of Davenant's powerful mind more exhibited. He maintains with extraordinary force and eloquence the unconditionate decree of election."² And another authority says that in it he entered into the most mysterious disputes that have ever divided philosophers and theologians, with a mind as fully prepared for such inquiries as can fall to the lot of man. Davenant's chief works, written in Latin, were "An Exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians" (1627), and his treatises on Justification and other subjects, which have been translated into English by the Rev. Josiah Allport.³

Davenant's will, dated January 29, 1637-8, is appended to this chapter. An abstract of it is given with considerable inexactness in Cassan's *Bishops of Salisbury*.⁴ The document is valuable as giving particulars *inter alia* of the state of the Fuller family and its connections at this period. Most of the family names will be found in the pedigree inserted at pages 34, 35. First in order the *Davenants* are mentioned. To his nephew Edward Davenant, Fuller's tutor, the Bishop leaves 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 at his death he left it nothing or about £50.⁵

The will next mentions the *Fullers*, due recognition being

¹ Sect. iii.

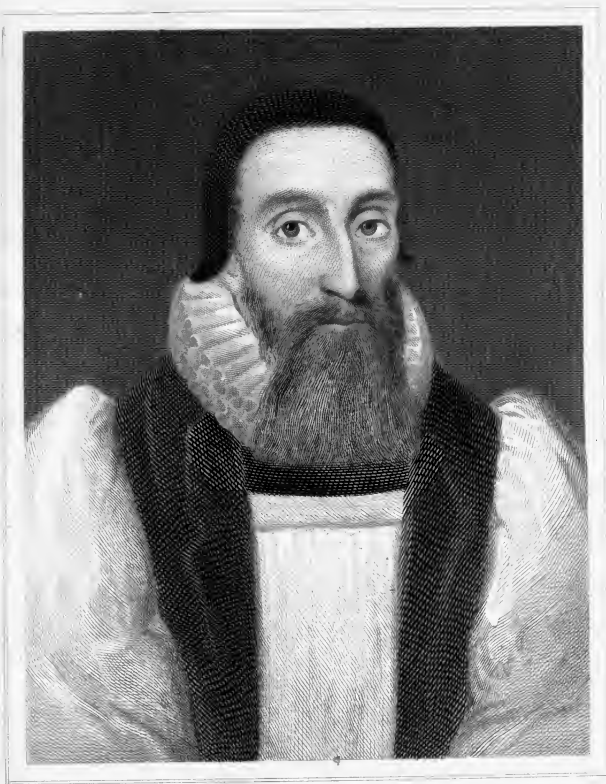
² *Life of Davenant*, in Allport's edition of *The Epist. to the Coloss.*, p. xlii.

³ The annexed portrait of Bishop Davenant, after the Queens' College portrait, as also that at page 77, appear in this work through the kindness of the Miss Allports, who generously lent the

plates for the purpose. The latter, after a picture now in the possession of the Miss Allports, is a far more impressive portrait than the former.

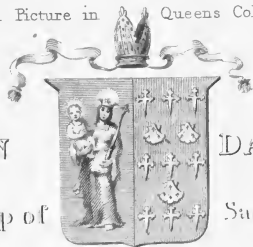
⁴ ii. 121.

⁵ Aubrey's *Letters*, ii. 300, 301. Cassan blunderingly attributes this passage to the Bishop.



Garner. sc.

After the Original Picture in Queens College Cambridge.



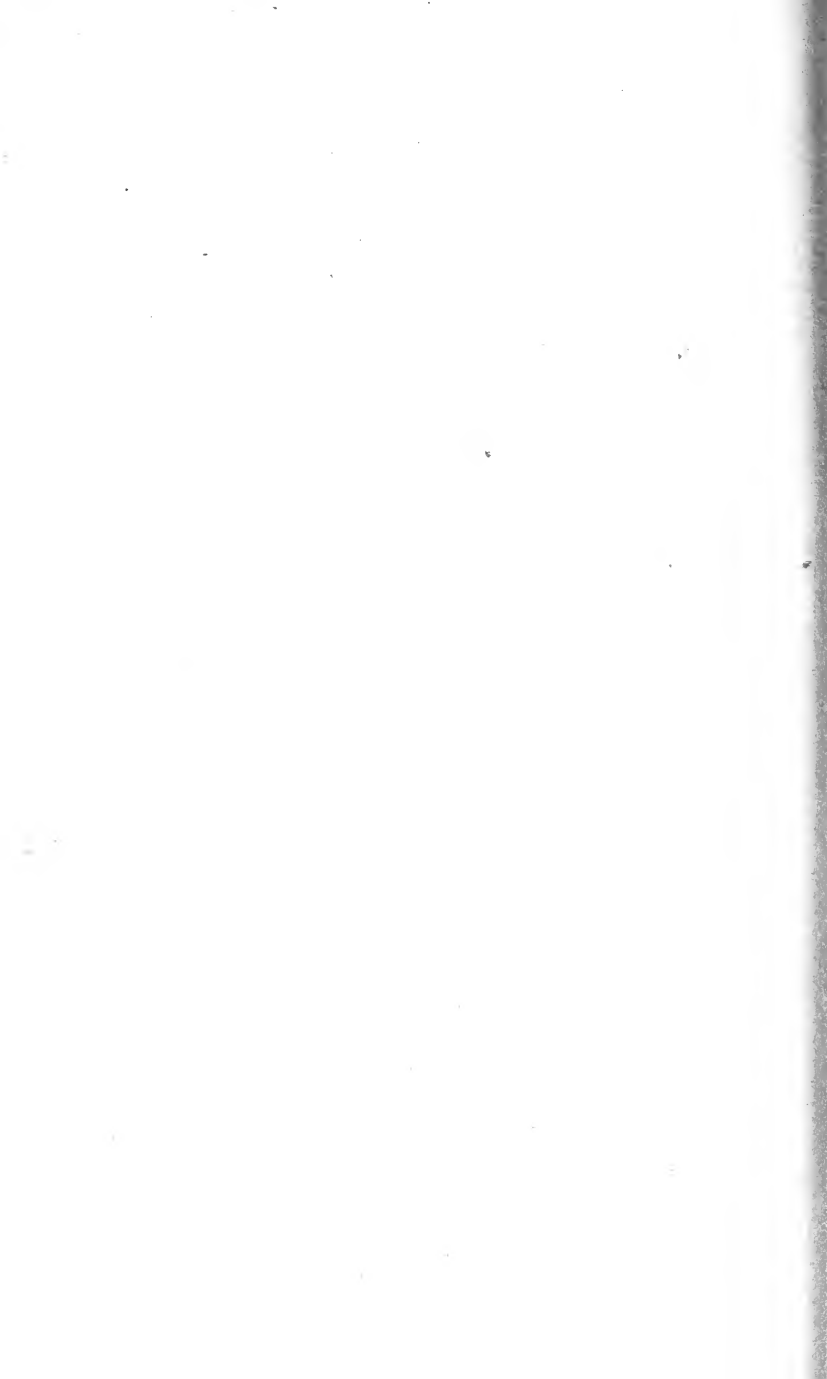
J O H N

DAVENANT,

Bishop of

Salisbury.

Died April 20th 1641.



made to the literary tastes of our hero. John Fuller also receives a legacy; but of the five sisters, two, viz. Mary and Judith, do not appear to be mentioned, and were therefore probably dead. Margaret was then the wife¹ of Matthew Huit, to whom the Bishop bequeathed a treasured copy of Dr. Whitaker's works. To each of his nieces, who seem to have been of studious turns of mind, was also left one of his English books, the distribution to be made by his nephew Edward. Next follow the legacies to the *Townson* family. All the husbands of the nepotist's nieces are here conveniently recapitulated, revealing the enormous Church-preferment held by the family. They are mostly clergymen beneficed in the Bishop's diocese; and the bent of their minds in regard to particular studies may be gathered from the considerate apportionment of the literary gifts of their diocesan. The Bishop lastly mentions his friends and his servants; with his bequests to his college and to the episcopal city.

Davenant was succeeded by Dr. Duppa, Chancellor of the Cathedral, who held a brief possession 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 caperet*. 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 loyal gentry of the diocese that during the war, when there was neither bishop nor dean to take care of it, they employed workmen to keep the magnificent pile in repair.²

Within a very few months after the death of Bishop Davenant, Fuller's wife gave birth to a son, who was baptised at Broadwindsor. The baptismal entry is as follows: "June 6 [1641] John fil. Thomæ fuller Clerici."³ This John Fuller, who seems to have been named after his great-uncle, lived to edit that portion of *The Worthies* which his father left unfinished. We shall in the meanwhile meet with but few notices of him.

Not many months after the birth of Fuller's son, his wife died. It has not yet been discovered where this event hap-

¹ She was married before 29th December, 1636, when her uncle, Edward Davenant, of Whiddy, made bequests to "Thos. Fuller, B.D., eldest son of my sister Judith Fuller, deceased; John Fuller, her younger son; Elizabeth Fuller, her eldest daughter; Margaret Huett,

her second daughter; and Anne Fuller, her youngest daughter."

² Chap. x.

³ I have to thank the Rev. S. C. Malan, M.A., for a certified copy of this baptism. The Broadwindsor registers begin about 1558.

pened. The registers of Broadwindsor are silent. One naturally follows her to London with her husband, but the extant registers of the Savoy parish throw no light on the matter, as they do not extend so far back. The autumn of the year of her death was a hot season, and small-pox and the plague were prevalent in London. It is either in the metropolis or among her own kin that the register of her death might be found. There is no very exact evidence as to the date of this calamity. The biographer says that it was soon after the birth of her son "and but a short time before the eruption of the civil wars,"¹ *i.e.* about the end of the year 1641.

It may be that this domestic bereavement was the cause of Fuller's removal to London, where he could find, in a change of scene and in a more active life, some alleviation of his sorrow. The strife of tongues was then one of the characteristics of London life. Other reasons, however, are given for his removal to the City. His biographer, for instance, characteristically speaks of the "immurement of his vast spirit" within the narrow limits of a country parish; and of his duties becoming tedious and wearisome to his active and free genius, "which was framed by nature for converse and general intelligence, not to be smothered in such an obscurity."² But this is not all strictly true. Although Fuller was celebrated for a vivacity of spirits and conversational abilities which caused him to be much courted, the attraction of a wider circle of acquaintances would not weigh heavily with him in these the days of his sorrow, and the time of his country's peril. He would find in London few of his own associates who were in a frame of mind fitted for "converse and general intelligence." In the face of the growing unquietness of the nation, his patriotism would rise to the exigencies of the occasion; and foreseeing the calamities that especially affected his church, he would throw his studies aside, and make some attempt to heal the serious quarrel between the King and people,—a purpose to which his pulpit-talents admirably qualified him.

As to the particular time at which he finally left Broadwindsor, there is some doubt; but it was probably in the latter part of 1641. From the statement in Walker's *Sufferings*, in which we are told that Fuller ("sometime minister of Broadwindsor") was deprived of his prebend and Lectureship at the Savoy—the living of Broadwindsor *not* being reckoned among his losses,³ we might infer that he had relinquished it before the time alluded to: a view of the matter which would be con-

¹ *Life*, p. 14.

Ibid. p. 13.

³ ii. 67.

firmed by his eulogist, who states that he removed to London, "having obtained *his fair dismissal* from that charge in the country."¹ On the other hand, no duly appointed successor seems at this time to have been put in his place: and at the Restoration his right to the living was not questioned. He therefore left his flock in charge of one—perhaps that same John Pinney who held it at the Restoration—who, becoming zealously affected for the Parliament, continued in possession. During the interregnum there are one or two references to Fuller's preaching in Dorsetshire; but there is nothing to show that he was ever at Broadwindsor. He seems to have been satisfied with the preaching of his successor, or unwilling to disturb the contentment of the people in regard to him; for by a rare but worthy conduct Fuller did not dispossess the John Pinney above-mentioned, whom he found in charge when he enjoyed his own again in the year 1660. In the interim, however, Fuller derived no benefit from the vicarage; for it is to this preferment, and not to the Savoy "lectureship," that his words apply when he said that for the sake of "his lord and master, King Charles," he lost "*none of the worst livings and one of the best Prebends in England.*" In after years Heylyn somewhat unfeelingly took exception to the phrase used by Fuller, "fellow-sufferer with him [Heylyn] in the cause of the King." "A sufferer he [Fuller] could not be, because *he willingly relinquished* both his cure and prebend which he advanceth by the name of none of the worst benefices, and one of the best prebends in England."² There is thus a mixture of compulsion and free surrender in connection with this living that is quite in keeping with some other circumstances in Fuller's life.

The county of Dorset, which, on account of its numerous towns, sided with the Parliament, just as they afterwards supported the Duke of Monmouth and the Prince of Orange, was one of the first to feel the effects of the changed order of things. The neighbouring parson of Charmouth, the Rev. S. Norrington, who had held the living since 1599, was indeed sequestered so early as 1640. The line of parliamentary garrisons from Bridgewater to Lyme gave the cause great advantages in the war.

About the time at which we have arrived Fuller seems to have made a visit to Norwich; for, in 1661, he said: "When some twenty years since I was there, the top of the steeple was blown down."³ After his manner, he describes the city as

¹ *Life*, p. 14.

² *Letter-Combate*, p. 340.

³ Fuller does not apparently mean to

say that this disaster occurred when he was there; but that it had occurred earlier, and so remained on his visit.

“either a city in an orchard, or an orchard in a city, so equally are houses and trees blended in it, so that the pleasure of the country and the populousness of the city meet here together. Yet, in this mixture, the inhabitants participate nothing of the rusticalness of the one, but altogether of the urbanity and civility of the other.”

He also says: “Amongst private houses, the Duke of Norfolk’s palace is the greatest I ever saw in a city out of London. . . . As for the Bishop’s palace, it was formerly a very fair structure, but lately unleaded, and new covered with tile by the purchasers thereof; whereon a wag not unwittily,

“Thus palaces are altered; we saw
John *Leyden*, now Wat *Tyler*, next Jack *Straw*.”¹

NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII.

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, Fraunce, 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 iudged 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 his mercy in Christ Jesus for the free pardon of all my sinnes and for the free guift of eternall life through the same my Lord and 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 ioyful resurrection thereof at the great and last daie of iudgment. *Item*, I give to my lovinge brother, *Edward Davenant, Esquire*, my fower coach horses with 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*,² one of my saddle geldinges, fortie poundes 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 neeces, *Margaret*

¹ *Worthies*, § Norfolk, 274, 275.

² 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, 13th April, 1604.

Palmer and Anne Onslowe, fiftie poundes a peece. *Item*, I give 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 unto the same *John*, twentie poundes, to be 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 giue vnto *Marie Davenant*, sister vnto the said *John* and *William*, one hundred poundes, to be paid 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 yonger 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*, *Margarett*, and *Anne*, to each of them, fiftie poundes a peece, to be paid within six monethes after my death. *Item*, I give to *John Tounson*, (the elder sonne of my sister, *Margaret Tounson*, deceased,) tenn poundes, and to *Ralfe Tounson*,¹ her yonger sonne, twentie poundes, to be paid vnto him when hee shall take his next degree in Schooles. Moreover, I give vnto the DAUGHTERS OF MY SAID SISTER TOUNSON,² as severally followeth, vizt., to *Margarett Rives*, a featherbedd, boulster, pillowe, redd rugge, two blanckettes, one paire of sheetes, together with the beddstedd, redd vallence, and curtaines of Phillipp and chenie³ thereto belonginge, alsoe one of my silver colledge pottes, one brasse pott and a wainscott chest. To *Ellen Henchman*, one bedstedd, with a canopie, curtnes and vallence of Say printed yellowe and blacke, a feather bedd, a boulster, a pillowe, a yellowe rugge, two blanckettes, one paire of sheetes, a silver colledge pott, and a paire of brasse andirons. To *Anne Cooke*, one halfe headed bedstedd with canopie and curtaines of Dornix,⁴ a feather bedd, a bowlster, a Dornix coverlett, a rugge, a paire of sheetes, the great leather chaire standinge in the dyninge parlor, a halfe backed chaire with the leather stooles which are all suteable, one silver beaker, and a nutmeigg cullour cupp garnished. To *Judith White*, a featherbedd and bowlster, a rugge, a paire of sheetes, a great chaire of Pendado 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 Pentado leather which standes in my said lodginge chamber, two lowe stooles suteable thereunto, six ioyned stooles, and a beaker. To *Gerfred Tounson*, a featherbedd, a boulster, a pillowe, two paire of sheetes, the one flaxen, 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 be paid vnto her at the daie of her marriage. To *Marie Hide*, the featherbedd, boulster, pillowe, and quilted matters, vsed in myne owne bedchamber, with the curtaines, rugg, and two blanckettes therevnto belonginge; and alsoe the cupboard with drawers, and the broad lynnex box standinge there. *Item*, I

¹ It was this Ralph Tounson 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 September, 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.

giue vnto hera thrumbworke chaire 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 *Elizabeth North*, the daughter of my brother *Ralphe Davenant*, deceased, fiftie poundes and a silver tankard. *Item*, I give unto *Katherine Davenant*, the wife of my nephewe *Edward Davenant*, Doctor of Divinitie, tenne poundes to buy her a paire of bracelettes, and the like some unto *Anne Davenant*, the wife of my said nephewe, *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 bee delivered vnto him at his age of twentie and one yeres. *Item*, I give unto *Ellen Fuller*, the wife of my said nephewe *Thomas Fuller*, Batchellor of Divinitie, a dozen of my silver spoones, and a beere bowle. *Item*, I give unto *Anne Tounson*, the wife of my nephewe *John Tounson*, 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 *Dionisius Areopagita* in two volumes. *Item*, to *John Rives*, Archdeacon of Berks, one of my gownes, and one of my cassockes, which himselfe 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 Hide*, 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 twentie shillings to make him a ringe. *Item*, I give to *John Rogers*,² one of my geldinges, *Barradius' Concordance* upon the Gospells in two volumes folio, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, I give unto *John Cooke*, a geldinge, *Sir Walter Rawleighe's Historie*, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, I give to *Edward Onslowe*,³ a Lattine Concordance of the Bible, *Szegedine's Comon Places*, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, I give to *Edward North*,⁴ one of my gownes, a cassock, *Marlorates' Expositio Ecclesiastica* in fower volumes, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, to *Bartholomew Shapley*,⁵ *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, and one in octavo, and twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, to *Vincent Palmer*, twentie shillings for a ringe. *Item*, I give vnto these my lovinge COZENS twentie shillings a peece to make them ringes, vizt., to the *Ladie Elizabeth Fermie*, *Abigail Hales*, *Anne Coope*, and *Catherine Sowth*. And in like manner to theis my welbeloved FRIENDES, *Samuell Ward*, Professor of Divinitie in the Universitie of Cambridge; *Robert Pearson*,⁶ Doctor of

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 Tounson.

³ Rev. EDWARD ONSLOWE was also connected with the diocese, and was pre-

ferred to a prebend just before the death of the Bishop, March, 1641. He married Miss Anne Davenant, the Bishop's niece. (Walker, ii. 66.)

⁴ Rev. EDWARD NORTH was the husband of the Bishop's niece, Miss Elizabeth Davenant.

⁵ 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.)

⁶ This Dr. ROBERT PEARSON was the

Divinitie and Parson of Creak, in Norfolk; Thomas Clarke, Doctor of Divinitie and Viccar of Longe Sutton, in Lincolnshire; Thomas Clarke,¹ Parson of Manningford; *Robert Davenant*,² Parson of Westkemton. I give alsoe unto my lovinge friendes, Mr. William Ireland, of Westminster,³ and Mr. Hugh Grove, the elder, of Chisenburie, twentie shillings a peece for ringes. *Item*, I give to the Deane of Sarum,⁴ and to each of the residentiaries in remembraunce of our mutuall love and good accord, twentie shillings a peece to make them ringes. *Item*, I give unto the Cathedrale Church of Sarum, the some of two hundred poundes to bee employed for the benefit 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 bee added to the stock which they have alreadye, and to bee ymployed onlie for settinge the poore on worke in the new workhowse. *Item*, I give the some of fortie poundes to bee devided by equal portions betweene eight poore viccars or curates within the diocese of Salisbury, such as my executor shall thinke fittest. Nowe 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*,⁵ 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 bee paid to them before my howshould bee dissolued. *Item*, I will that at my funerall fortie poore men at the least shall haue gownes bestowed upon them, As for other mourners or mourninge cloathes with other solemnities, I leave them wholly to the discreoñ of myne executor, whome I advise to avoide herein all needlesse pompe and superfluous trouble or charge. Moreouer, whereas by severall deeds, bearinge date the five and twentieth daie of October, in the thirteenth yere of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Kinge Charles, I have given tenn poundes a yere to Anne Cooke, duringe her life; and tenn poundes to Raph Tounson, duringe the terme of tenn yeres, and twentie poundes a yere to John Davenant (sonne of my brother William Davenant), for seven yeres; and sixteene poundes a yere to William Davenant (sonne of my said brother

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 Creake, Co. Norfolk, in 1607. He died Archdeacon of Suffolk, 1639.

¹ 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 1654. (Walker, ii. 227; 69.)

² Rev. ROBERT D'AVENANT, of West-Kempton, was brother to Sir W. D'Ave-

nant, Poet Laureat. He was of St. John's College; and in 1660, when he was made D.D., he was prebend elect of Salisbury. (Kennet.)

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ Perhaps the James Harris mentioned page 148.

William), duringe the terme of twelve yeres ; and sixteene poundes a yere to John Fuller, duringe the terme of seaven yeres, All the said yerelie 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 Colledge, 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, and writings concerninge the said Rectory beinge delivered vnto them with all fitt expedicoñ.¹ *Item*, I doe likewise by this my will ratifie a conveyance of the Mañor of Bicton made betweene me and Edward Davenant, Doctor of Divinitie, bearinge date the sixe and twentieth daie of October, in the thirteenth yere of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord, Kinge 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 bee distributed not by equall number or value, but whollie accordinge to the discrecoñ of the forenamed Doctor Edward Davenant, to the aforesaid Thomas Fuller, John Tounson, John Davenant (sonne of my brother William Davenant), Ralfe Tounson, 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 disannullinge all former wills by mee made. In witness whereof, I have to this presentes sett my hand and seale, the daie and yere above written.

JO. SARUM.

Subscribed, sealed, and published,
by John Davenant, Bishopp of
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 mençoed other then in this followinge perticulers, in which pointes onlie I revoke my said former Will, and dispose as followeth. And First, whereas by my said last Will I have bequeathed and appointed to *M^{ris} Anne Cooke* an

¹ Fuller, curiously, does not include this among the Queens' College livings. See the Codicil.

annuitie or annual pencon̄ 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 bequest of eight poundes per annum. And secondly, whereas *Humphrey Henchman*, Doctor of Diuinitie, 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 heires and assignes; and whereas by my said last will I doe give and deuse vnto Queenes Colledge 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 Presentacoñ 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 inheritaunce 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 Schedule bee, and bee adiudged 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 Aprill, 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 13th July, 1641, by Edwd. Davenant, S.T.P., the Executor.





CHAPTER IX.

“THE HOLY STATE.” SERMONS AT THE SAVOY, &c. (1641—Aug. 1643.)

“THE HOLY STATE:” ITS COMPILATION, PUBLICATION, AND MERITS.—LECTURER AT THE INNS OF COURT AND THE SAVOY CHAPEL.—NOBLE AUDITORS: THE EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, ETC.—THE MEASURES AGAINST EPISCOPACY.—CONSECRATION OF BROUNRIG.—INFLUENCE OF THE PULPIT.—FULLER’S SERMONS: (1) INNOCENTS’ DAY SERMON.—PEACE PETITIONS TO THE KING: LIST OF “DR. FULLERS.”—(2) SERMON ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE KING’S ACCESSION.—WALLER’S PLOT.—OATH TENDERED TO FULLER AND TAKEN.—(3) SERMON ON REFORMATION.—PROPOSED ACCOMMODATION WITH THE KING.—FULLER REFUSES TO TAKE A SECOND OATH.—THE PEACE PETITION.

“In all State-alterations, be they never so bad, the *Pulpit* will be of the same wood with the *Council-board*.” (*Church-History*, iv. 153.)

FOR some time past Fuller had been meditating a venture in a literary walk distinct from any in which we have hitherto met with him, viz. as an essay writer and biographer. He had partly completed his projected book before he left his country vicarage; for he figuratively says in the preface: “When I left my home it was fair weather, and my journey was half past before I discovered the tempest,” *i.e.* the civil commotions. This interruption disheartened him from the further prosecution of the work; but he said that he had gone so far in it that he “could neither go backward with credit, nor forward with comfort.”¹ Choosing, however, the discomfort, he brought the work to a conclusion early in the year 1641, during his stay in London. The book was in the press for an entire year;² being probably delayed by the sudden pressure of work brought by the troubles to the printing offices of the country; as also by the hesitancy of the author to hasten its publication, because he had noticed that,

¹ *To the Reader.*

² “A twelve-month ago were they [the characters] sent to the press.” (*To the Reader.*)

in consequence of the relaxed law connected with the regulation of printing, “some serious books which dare fly abroad” were “hooted at by a flock of pamphlets.” The book, which was his well-known *Holy State* and *Profane State*, appeared therefore in 1642, printed by Roger Daniel, of Cambridge, and published by John Williams, in small folio.

Fuller comments on the political changes which had taken place in the interval between the writing and publication of his book; stating that he had written in accordance with the “then [1641] standing laws of the realm; . . . since which time the wisdom of the King and State hath thought fitting to alter many things, and I expect the discretion of the reader should make his alterations accordingly.” And he conjures his readers “by all Christian ingenuity, that if lighting here on some passages rather harsh-sounding than ill-intended, to construe the same by the general drift and main scope which is aimed at.” He concludes his preface by praying that God would be pleased to “discloud these gloomy days with the beams of His mercy,” in order that he might prosecute his studies in Church-history, which is here for the first time mentioned; and adds: “Meantime I will stop the leakage of my soul, and what heretofore hath run out in writing, shall hereafter, God willing, be improved in constant preaching in what place soever God’s providence and friends’ good-will shall fix Thine in all Christian offices, Thomas Fuller.”

It is very noteworthy that *The Holy State*, alone of all our author’s chief works, was not inscribed to any patron: it presumed, as its author put it, “to appear in company unmanned.”

Although Fuller warns the reader not to expect any “curious method” in his work,—“essays” (as he said) “for the most part not being placed as at a *feast*, but placing themselves as at an *ordinary*,”—it is methodically divided into the author’s favourite division of five books, containing 105 sections. The *Holy State* is comprised in the first four books. The first delineates characters connected with the family, as *The Good Wife*, *The Good Husband*, *The Good Child*, &c. The second is occupied with delineations of miscellaneous characters, as *The Good Advocate*, *The Good Physician*, &c. The third (illustrating Fuller’s fondness for digression) contains “general rules,” “placed in the middle,” for the Fullerian reason that “the books on both sides may equally reach to them; because all persons therein are indifferently concerned.” Here he treats of *Hospitality*, *Festing*, *Anger*, *Fancy*, *Books*, *Fame*, &c. &c. This divergence from his subject is quite in keeping with Fuller’s manner: he maintained indeed (in his preface) that in it all,

as throughout the work, he was "resident on his profession." The fourth returns to the miscellaneous characters. In this first division, then, we have the examples to be copied. The last, or fifth, book, comprising *The Profane State*, gives the delineations of characters to be shunned. The author describes his characters by the enunciation of ruling principles, or maxims, briefly discussed, illustrated, and enforced. To most of the characters described were appended illustrative lives of historical personages, thirty in all; among which are the names of those whom the author always held in chiefest reverence, or greatest abhorrence. The heads of twenty of these personages, engraved on copper by William Marshall, were included among the letterpress. The same engraver etched the emblematic title-page, which contained a medallion portrait of Charles, with a representation of the British Islands, and figures of Truth and Justice: clasped hands in the upper part symbolise the union of Church and State. The first edition contained a second engraved page, also by Marshall, upon which is the ordinary feather-badge of the Prince of Wales, with "Ich dien" within the garter, surmounted with a crown.

These moral essays are characterised by Fuller's good sense and liveliness. The mode of treatment which he adopted is admirably adapted for setting forth Fuller's deep knowledge of human nature. He was "an excellent bookman in reading of men," like Dabert, whom he somewhere mentions. "The fertility of his mental observation is very striking; and it is difficult to say whether he has gained more of his work from men or books. On this matter an accomplished critic, Mr. James Crossley, of Manchester, in a long and interesting article in the *Retrospective Review* (1821), on the book under notice, has observed:—

"Of human life and manners through all their varieties he was a most sagacious and acute observer, and the quantity of vigorous and just observation, in this department of inquiry alone, contained in his works, it is hardly possible to calculate with correctness or appreciate with justice. He united the cool penetration of the philosophical speculatist with the less erring because less refined contemplation of the practical experimentalist in the ways of man. He was learned, yet his learning did not take away his perspicuity in judging of the modes of everyday existence; he was indefatigable in literature, yet amidst his pursuits he found leisure to look into life with the acuteness of a Rochefoucault; he was addicted to meditation, yet he never was blinded to the observation of things without while occupied with the abstractions within. More profundity of remark, more accuracy of discernment, more justness of perception, than this topic always produces from his pen, it would be difficult elsewhere to find."¹

¹ *Ret. Review*, iii. 52.

The *Holy State* belongs to a class of literature which in the seventeenth century attained to great popularity.¹ These works may be represented by two well-known books: Bacon's *Essays* (1597) and Feltham's *Resolves* (1628). To the same group belong other works: as e.g. Bishop Hall's *Characterisms of Virtues and Vices* (1608); Sir Thomas Overbury's *Characters; or, Witty Descriptions of the Properties of Sunday Poems* (1614: was in its eighteenth edition in 1664); Earle's *Micro-Cosmographie; or, a Piece of the World, discovered in Essays and Characters* (1628); and Butler, whose characters were written about 1668. Bliss enumerated fifty-six such works published between 1600 and 1700; and further research afterwards increased his list *fourfold*. Mr. Arber justly attributes the rising popularity of this class of writings to “the growing seriousness of the nation. In these earlier years of Puritanism especially, and generally throughout the seventeenth century, there was a strong passion for analysis of human character. Men delighted in introspection. Essays and Characters took the place of the Romances of the former century.”²

The following observations on the connection of these writings with Fuller's *Holy State*, have been made by the critic already mentioned:—

“In his conception of character he has followed Bishop Earle and Sir Thomas Overbury; but his manner of writing is essentially different. This species of composition was very near akin to what has been called the school of metaphysical poetry, sprung up into existence about the same time, and went out of fashion along with it. It was composed of the same materials, and regulated by nearly the same principles. . . . The care of the writers of characters was to crowd together the most motley assemblage of ideas in the smallest possible space; to concentrate, in one series of links, the most multitudinous spangles of conceit; to pour forth all the subject presented in one close intertexture of ideas, which received at once point from their wit and smartness from their brevity. By these means the thoughts are often so much compressed as to produce obscurity, or at least are defrauded of their due quantum of verbal clothing. Their very multitude produces confusion, and we are prevented from taking notice of each particularly by their cluster and conglomeration, and by the rapidity with which they alternately approach and recede. Thought succeeds thought; the most recondite metaphors are squeezed into an epithet or an adjective; one point is elbowed out by another, “like pricks upon the fretful porcupine,” till in mental dizziness and distraction we are obliged to bring our perusal of the book to an end. Of this method of writing, Butler's *Hudibras* is an enlarged specimen—that ever-standing monument of the lavish prodigality of wit. It may appear

¹ The delineation of types of character has been a captivating study from the time of him who said that “the proper study of mankind was man.” Among the ancients, Theophrastus wrote a set of thirty characters, upon which La

Bruyère's *Caractères* (still a French classic), and numberless imitations, were based. This kind of writing had received encouragement from the examples of Montaigne, Bacon, and Overbury.

² Earle's *Micro-Cosmography*, p. 7.

rather surprising that Fuller, fond as he was of pointed quaintness, and with such exuberance of images as he was possessed of, should have deserted this popular style of character-writing, and introduced in the stead of its curt and contracted sharpness, his own more easy, but less ambitious, diffuseness. But this, we think, may be easily accounted for. His intellectual plenitude was too great to submit to the tight braces and bandages of composition; and he had, besides, too much of the gossip about him to be untingered with the usual appurtenance of the gossip—prolixity. He was also too wise to turn or torture his natural flow of mind into a new fashion, or to apply to it any such Chinese methods of artificial restraint. Thus his characters are written with an expository diffuseness, and seem sometimes rather a commentary upon characters of the foregoing description, than others of the same species. If they do not exhibit the same perpetual display of wit and co-acervation of metaphor, they have much more easiness and variety, and much less stiffness and strained obscurity. They have just as much point as is necessary to render them striking, and just as much force of expression as is necessary to energise their diffuseness. They flow on enriched with many an interesting story, and many a profound reflection. Few will, we think, refuse to consider Fuller's method as the most judicious and agreeable, as his thoughts swell out to their full and healthy growth; and his illustrations receive their due modicum of relation, without being obscured by their density, or rendered rickety by their compression."¹

Written and printed at a very critical time, the work in question displayed in a marked degree the loyalty of the author, which became of course more noticeable in the subsequent editions during the interregnum. Such sentiments continually passing under Fuller's name must have procured him the disfavour of many. He was indeed consistent in his principles throughout his life. In his former work he often exhibited incidentally his affection for a monarchy, saying for instance that

¹ *Ret. Review*, iii. 55, 56. He concludes: "We do, in fine, most seriously recommend this book to those of our readers, who are not deterred by the appearance of a moderate-sized folio, as a treasure of good sense, information, and entertainment. It is only by contrasting the works of Fuller with the lumbering and heavy productions of his contemporaries, that we can properly estimate the value of the former, or give due honour to the memory of one who, in his most arduous and sterile undertakings, in the darkness of antiquities, or the cloudy atmosphere of polemical divinity, never lost the vivifying spirit of his humour, or the exhilarating play of his wit, or suffered his keenness of observation to be blunted by the blocks it had to work on. To him every subject was alike: if it was a dull one, he could enliven it; if it was an agreeable one, he could improve it; if it was a deep one, he could sound it;

if it was a tough one, he could grapple with it. In him learning was but subsidiary to wit, and wit but secondary to wisdom; and, if his quaintness of humour gave something of the grotesque to his productions, it but added to the gloss of the admirable matter which it shone on. To him and to his pages may we always come, secure of entertainment and instruction—of finding an agreeable olio of humorous wit and diverting sense, which reciprocally relieve and play upon each other, the latter sobering and steadying the former, the former barbing and pointing the latter. In short, his works are an inexhaustible fund of sound and solid thought—a quarry, or rather mine, of good old English heartiness, where the lighter and less elaborate artificers of modern times may seek, and seek fearlessly, for materials for their own more fragile and graceful structures." (*Retro. Review*, iii. 71.)

"subjects should be adjectives, not able to stand without (much less against) their prince, or they will make but bad construction otherwise." The last character in the book under review, viz. that of *The King*¹—beginning "the King is a mortal God," might have been penned by one of the later Stuart divines.² In this delineation Fuller certainly acted up to the first part of his own "politic rule:" "Of Princes we must speak the best or the least."³ After having laid down his rules or maxims on the kingly character, he says: "Such a gracious Sovereign God hath vouchsafed to this land;" and he proceeds to describe the virtues of the monarch in glowing and even fulsome terms; concluding, after the manner of Milton, with a remarkable prayer. "Truth," says Mr. Rogers, "might well interpret his language into the severest irony."⁴ Fuller's intense admiration for the King never abated. Coleridge asks attention to a comparison of the flattery in this character and in other passages of the book (though modest to the common language of James's priestly courtiers) with "the loyal but free and manly tone of Fuller's later works."⁵ An attentive examination, however, of the works alluded to would show that Fuller tenaciously held to his old opinions, sometimes it may be hiding,⁶ but never altering them. His loyalty is seen, e.g., in his observations on the *King's Evil*. He has a "large discourse" of the cause and cure thereof in his *Church-History*⁷ (the early part of which was written in the reign of "the late King," Charles I.), where he states that the disease "is happily healed by the hands of the King of England stroking the sore: and if any doubt of the truth thereof they may be remitted to their own eyes for farther confirmation." "Shall we be so narrow-hearted as not to conceive it possible that Christian men, the noblest of corporeal creatures; Kings, the most eminent of all Christian men; Kings of Britain, the first-fruits of all Christian Kings; should receive

¹ Pp. 334—339.

² "The death of kings, who are not only the image of God after a more excellent manner than other men, but *Gods themselves*, does not happen but by an extraordinary appointment." (*Frizer's Fun. Serm. on Chas. II.*)

³ *Holy War*, bk. iii. cap. xvi.

⁴ *Essay on Fuller*, p. 50.

⁵ *Notes on English Divines*, i. 122. He adds: "And doubtless this was not peculiar to Fuller; but a great and lasting change was effected in the mind of the country generally. The bishops and other Church dignitaries tried for a while to renew the old king-godding *mumpsimus*;

but the second Charles laughed at them, and they quarrelled with his successor, and hated the hero who had delivered them from him too thoroughly to have flattered him with any unction, even if William's Dutch phlegm had not precluded the attempt, by making its failure certain."

⁶ Thus of the *Directory* he significantly said, writing in 1655: "I presume it will be lawful and safe for me to give-in a breviat of the arguments on both sides, *reserving my private opinion as not worthy the reader's taking notice thereof.*" (*Ch.-Hist.* xi. 222.)

⁷ ii. 145, seq.

that peculiar privilege and sanative power, whereof daily instances are presented unto us?" And he concludes his account with two prayers "extending the first to all Good people, That Divine Providence would be pleased to preserve them from this painful and loathsome Disease. The second I shall confine to myself alone, (not knowing how it will suit with the consciences and judgments of others,) yet so as not excluding any who are disposed to join with me in my petition; namely, That if it be the will of God to visit me (whose body hath the seeds of all sickness, and soul of all sins) with the aforesaid malady, I may have the favour to be touched of his Majesty, the happiness to be healed by him, and the thankfulness to be grateful to God the author, and God's image the instrument of my recovery."¹

Notwithstanding the expression of such opinions as these, the popularity of the *Holy State* was very remarkable, successive editions, as may be seen from our Bibliography, appearing in 1648, 1652, 1663. These and perhaps other editions were bound up with copies of the *Holy War*. Fuller might well boast that "no stationer had lost" by him; but it is questionable whether he always obtained the just proceeds of the sale of the book during the war. The enumeration of the foregoing "editions" does not express its large sale. It is one of the works of which he said that though his stationer caused it to stick still in the title-page at such an edition, yet that—like unmarried ladies who would never be more than eighteen—*it oftener passed the press.*² On this passage Nichols comments: "Here, then, is a large folio book which, according to the several announcements in its title-page, passed through three editions in the course of ten years; but which is supposed to have run through five *bonâ fide* impressions during the interregnum, each of them consisting of a large number of copies. The (nominally) fourth edition was published in 1663, soon after the decease of the author." After stating that Williams, the "stationer," was generally reputed to be a man of probity, Nichols adds: "There can be little doubt that his real motive in avoiding the generally flattering and profitable flourish of successive editions, was a desire to

¹ "I'll only add," continues Fuller, "this short story and then proceed. A little before these wars began, a minister (not over-loyally affected) was accused, and was like to have been troubled for this passage in his sermon, that 'Oppression was the King's Evil.' But being

called to answer it before the Commissioners, he expounded his own words, that he meant oppression was the King's evil, not that the King caused it, but only *cured* it, and alone in this land could remedy and-redress the same." (ii. 148.)

² *Appeal*, p. 293.

lull suspicion, and not to invite prohibition from the ruling powers,” on account of certain passages in the *Holy State*.¹

When afterwards writing the preface to Pearson’s *Exposition of the Creed* (1854), Mr. Nichols stated that the natural inference drawn from the passage in which Fuller refers to his stationer’s “design,” was that Williams had some sinister end in view in withholding the correct notation from the title-pages of a few consecutive impressions, and he leaves his “good-natured apology” to rest on its own merits. But upon reconsidering the connection of Williams with Pearson’s *Exposition*, Mr. Nichols was led to believe that this learned work was treated by him in a manner similar to that of which Fuller loudly complained; and that he too might have repeated Fuller’s language. Fuller’s occasional references to Williams seem to show that the two were not on the best of terms. Williams may have kept a strict hand over our industrious author in days when the livelihood of the latter depended in a great degree on the proceeds of his pen. Moreover, Fuller, towards the close of his life, for some reason changed his publisher. Alluding to a charge of his having repeated, or referred to at too great a length in other works, some of the biographies which he had formerly written, he first excuses himself by saying that such references in the like case are usual; and he then adds: “I will not add that I have passed my promise (and that is an honest man’s bond) to my former stationer that I will write nothing for the future which was in my former books so considerable as to make them interfere with one another to his prejudice.”²

It is noticeable that in all the editions issued during the troubles Fuller still continued to style himself “*Prebendary of Sarum*,” notwithstanding that “from and after the 29th day of March, 1649, the name, title, dignity, function and office of Dean, . . . Prebend, &c., belonging to any cathedral,” was wholly abolished and taken away. The book was not suppressed from motives of policy: “books,” as Fuller would say, “are most called on when called in; and many who hear not of them when printed enquire after them when prohibited.”³ The work has been twice reprinted in our time.

Diverse as has been the judgment of posterity upon Fuller’s larger works, it has been in accord as to the *Holy State*. The critic already quoted thinks that it is perhaps the best of his works; that it “certainly displays to better advantage than

¹ Preface to *Holy State*, p. vi.

² *Worthies*, chap. xxv.

³ *Church-History*, ix. 229.

any his original and vigorous powers of thinking."¹ Reed notices that the essays are, in wit, and wisdom, and just feeling not unlike the "Elia" Essays of Charles Lamb.² Coleridge carefully perused the work, and *in margine* said of Fuller's wit that it was "alike in quantity, quality, and perpetuity, surpassing that of the wittiest in a witty age;" but that it "robbed him of the praise not less due to him for an equal superiority in sound, shrewd, good sense, and freedom of intellect."³ And the editor of the best modern edition of the book says: "This curious collection of essays and characters is the production of a man possessed of no ordinary grasp of mind, who lived in times of uncommon interest and excitement, and who wrote with the obvious intention to personate 'a wise and witty moderator' between the two great parties in the State that were then openly at issue."⁴

Attention has been called by Archbishop Trench and others to the numerous sentences in the *Holy State* so pithily and alliteratively constructed, and so full of shrewd sense, that it might be supposed that they were current proverbs. There are also in it other sentences of great force of expression which dwell in the memory of the reader. These marked features of the work have caused it to be largely resorted to by collectors of wise sayings, ana, &c. It is, indeed, the chief source of the "elegant extracts" from Fuller, few writers having exceeded him in the number of apophthegmatic sentences. Oldys said the work was much enamelled with figures or flowers of wit, and that it had much engaged the attention of rhetorical writers.⁵ Printed Selections from the *Holy State* have frequently appeared; as, by Mr. Basil Montagu, Rev. A. Broome, &c.⁶

As forming one of the curiosities of authorship, it may be noticed that several writers have erroneously ascribed the *Holy State* to Nicholas Ferrar, of Little Gidding, Hunts., west of the birth-place of Fuller, who makes mention of Ferrar's house and chapel as among the buildings of the county. "Here," he says, "three numerous female families (all from one grandmother) lived together in a strict discipline of devotion. They rose at midnight to prayers; and other people most complained thereof whose heads, I daresay, never ached for want of sleep. . . . But their society was beheld by some as an embryo nunnery:"⁷ as such the household received the attention of the Long

¹ *Ret. Review*, iii. 55.

² *Lectures*, p. 211.

³ *Notes on English Divines*, i. 120.

⁴ Mr. James Nichols, p. v.

⁵ *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2052.

⁶ See the Bibliography, *infra*.

⁷ *Worthies*, § Hunts., p. 48.

Parliament.¹ He speaks as if he were intimate with the house, and giving it a good word: “Sure I am, strangers were by them entertained, poor people were relieved, their children instructed to read, whilst their own needles were employed in learned and pious work to bind Bibles.” It seems that in the catalogue of MSS. once at Gidding, Dr. Peckard² found *Lives, Characters, Histories and Tales for Moral and Religious Instruction*, in 5 vols. folio, neatly bound by Mary Collett. Having these volumes in his possession, Peckard discovered that the subjects in some perfectly corresponded with the titles of the chapters in Fuller’s *Holy State*, and under the impression that the latter work first appeared in 1648, concluded that Ferrar was the author: they were, he avers, “undoubtedly written” by Ferrar. Now Ferrar died in 1637 (*i.e.* five years before Fuller’s work was out); but other authorities have shared in Peckard’s conviction. Dr. Wordsworth³ answered the statement in some degree by remarking that the probability was that “the greater part, if not the whole, in this catalogue (of short histories) were not original extracts;” and it is well known that Ferrar used to gather such extracts in MS. books for the instruction and benefit of the community over which he presided, and that these MS. books were transcribed by the inmates and read by them in rotation. A close examination of existing copies showed that Dr. Wordsworth’s conjecture was true.⁴ The “nunnery” was broken up by Parliament in 1648, making (says Fuller) “a great noise all over England.” It was between that year, therefore, and 1642, that some of the ladies at Gidding, finding the *Holy State* so very suitable a work for their purpose, made transcripts of it, one or two of which there is good reason for believing are still in existence. One copy, at least (the genuineness of which may venture to challenge scrutiny), has a curious and interesting story. It is in the possession of Mr. Frederick Buckle, a solicitor in London, into whose hands it fell at Peterborough, many years ago, during his professional noviciate with the chapter-clerk of that city. This MS. volume, which the author of these pages has been courteously permitted to examine, is very neatly and closely written in a hand of about the period of the *Holy State*, the caligraphy in the latter part being so exceedingly small that it is difficult to read without a glass. The

¹ More particulars of the community may be found in Walton’s *Life of Herbert*, and in a narrative by Dr. Turner (formerly Bishop of Ely), since edited with additions by “A Clergyman of the Church of England” (Hatchard, 1829), and more

recently in Prof. Mayor’s careful edition of *Two Lives of Nicholas Ferrar* (1855).

² *Memoirs of Life of Nich. Ferrar*, 306.

³ *Eccles. Biog.* iv. 93.

⁴ This subject was discussed in early numbers of *Notes and Queries*.

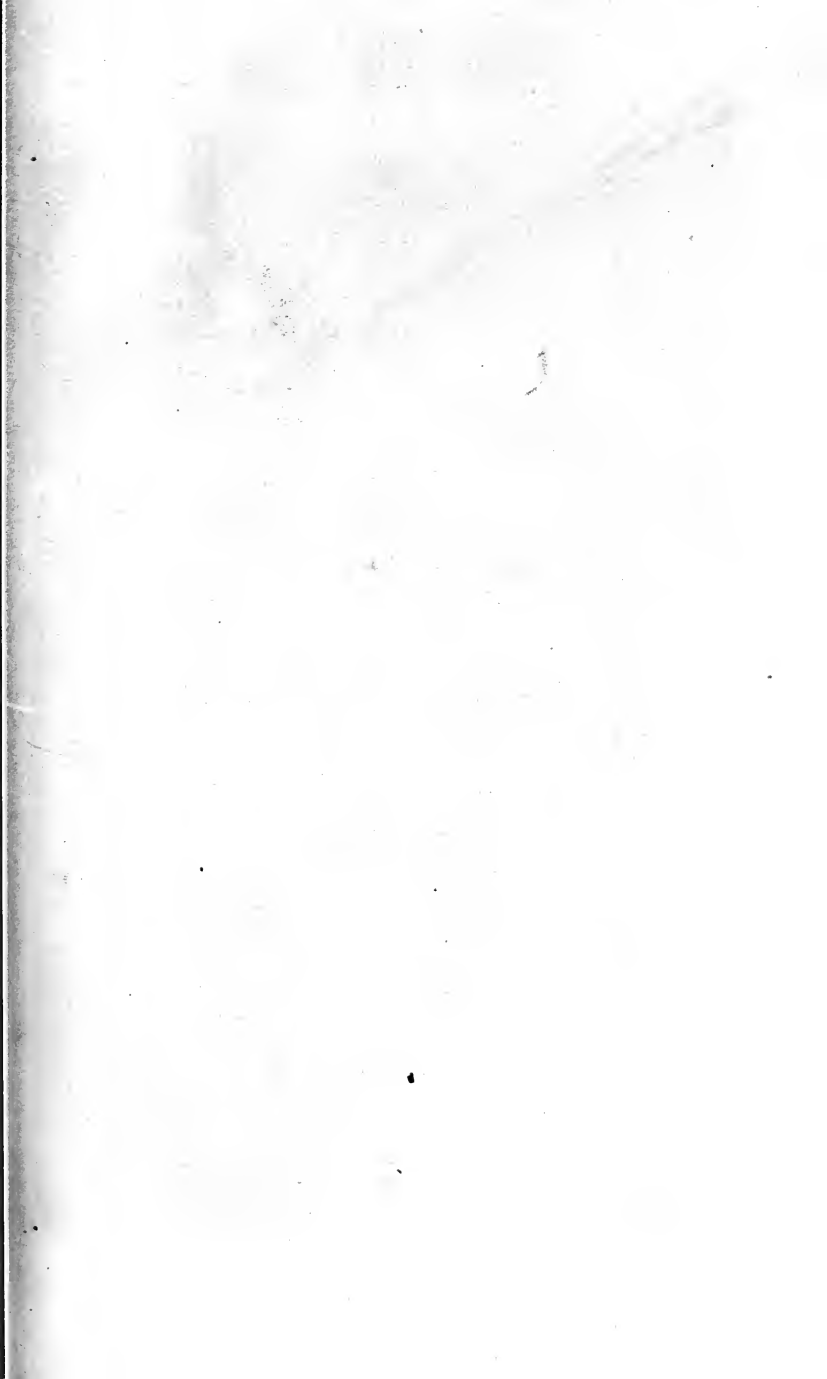
manuscript is an exact transcript of Fuller's work, except that the "Lives" are taken from their places among the Characters, and grouped together at the end. The *extended* Life of Andronicus is not given, showing that the transcriber had before him the *first* edition of the *Holy State*. There is in the volume in question, prefixed to the transcript of the *Holy State*, a long, curious, and apparently an original poem, entitled *A Satyr against Hippocrites* (Hypocrites), directed against the preachers and religious services of the Commonwealth; a satire conceived with much of the spirit of *Hudibras*, being also as scurrilous as coarse.

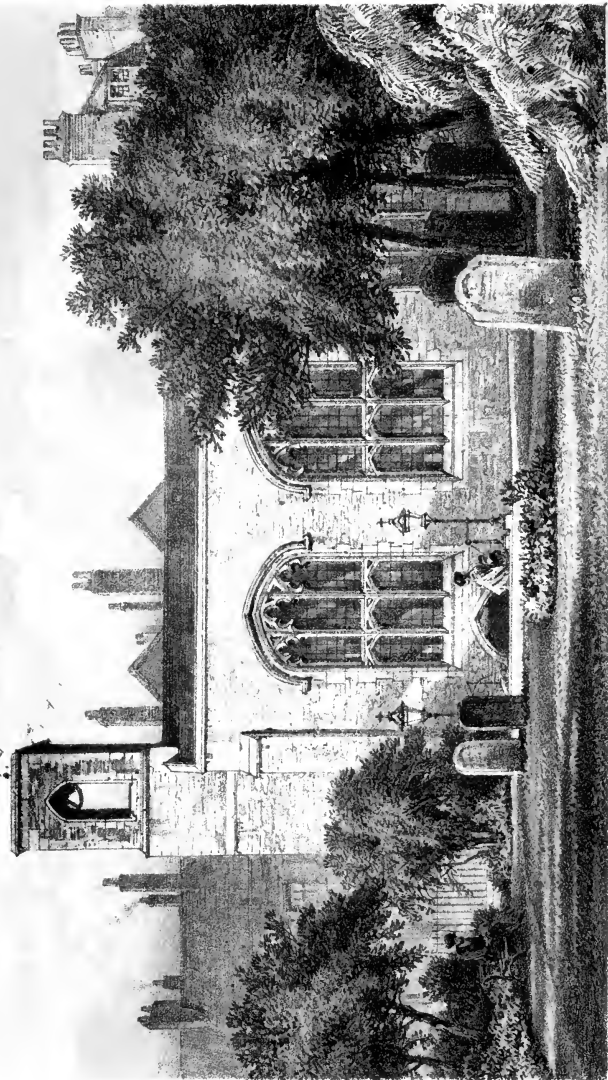
On taking up his permanent abode in the metropolis, Fuller most usually preached at the INNS OF COURT,¹ situated in what Lamb called the "green oasis in the midst of a wilderness of houses." He seems to have there filled the office of Lecturer; but there are no records throwing any light upon the matter. He was eagerly welcomed, for we are told that his services were at once largely attended by all classes.

After remaining at the Inns of Court for a short time, a wider sphere of usefulness was offered to the witty preacher. He was invited ("complimented" is his biographer's word) by the Master and Brotherhood of the CHAPEL ROYAL, SAVOY, to preach there. The biographer, in his careless way, says that the invitation was to "accept of *the Lecturer's place*;" and that he undertook it after some instance.² Fuller's position was more probably that of Chaplain or assistant Minister, than Lecturer. In a MS. in possession of the Rev. H. White, the present chaplain, Fuller is styled "curat;" he himself, however, signs an address to his parishioners as "your loving minister," and elsewhere alludes to himself as "Minister" of the "Parish."³ He also calls his cure "my dear parish, St. Mary, Savoy."⁴ There is a similar confusion of titles in the registers. To understand these titles, and the limits of Fuller's new charge, we must refer to the history of the chapel.

It stood, then, in the Strand within the precincts of the ancient palace of the Savoy, of which it is now the only relic. Amidst the ruins of that palace an hospital had been founded by Henry VII. as a lodging for poor persons, and provision was made for religious services in a chapel dedicated to St. John Baptist. Upon the completion of the foundation Henry VIII. in the early part of his reign licensed it; and it was placed under the care of a master and four chaplains. In the reign of Edward VI., however, the executors surrendered it to the Protector, who in the vicinity undertook extensive erections,

¹ *Life*, p. 14.² *Ibid.*³ *Good Thoughts*, 1660.⁴ *Truth Maintained.*





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THE SHYON CHAPEL. LONDON.

pulling down portions of the buildings and the whole of the church called St. Mary-le-Strand. The foundation was re-established by Queen Mary, whose maids of honour furnished the hospital with beds, blankets, &c., and for this service Fuller gives the Queen due commendation in his *Church-History*, remarking on the poor being *jure divino*, and a continual order in the Church; adding that for the ladies, if they were alive, he would pray "The Lord make all their bed in their sickness."¹ From this time the sovereign became Visitor instead of the Abbot of Westminster, as heretofore. In Elizabeth's reign a new parish was, with the approval of Bishop Grindal, made out of part of St. Clement Danes parish and the royal precinct, with the hospital-chapel of St. John Baptist as its church. Hence the minister of the Savoy was, as the patents call him, really the *curate* of the parishioners of St. Mary-le-Strand, ministering in the chapel of the old hospital of Savoy. The chapel was called St. Mary Savoy, or St. Mary-le-Savoy, because the parishioners of St. Mary-le-Strand, when deprived of their church by Somerset (who wanted the stone or the space, or both), attended the chapel.² The present church of the latter name was built in the reign of Queen Anne.

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* vi. 358; viii. 42.

² There are many important historical associations connected with the chapel. It is said that when the Liturgy was "Englished" in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was first read here. The Parliament turned part of the buildings into a prison, and part into an "agency" for corresponding with foreign Churches. Here, accordingly, the declaration of the faith and order of the Congregational Churches in England was agreed to in 1658. Fuller's is not the only name of note connected with the chapel: Dr. Hornecke, King William's favourite chaplain, preached here. Like Fuller, Hornecke was one of the most famous preachers of his day.

Owing to the lamentable fire in July 1864, the main walls, with the little tower, are all that now remain of the original chapel. Its handsome carved ceiling, its paintings and blazonry, were entirely destroyed. It has been gorgeously restored, in memory of the Prince Consort, by the Queen, to whom the benefice belongs in right of her Duchy of Lancaster. In the reign of Elizabeth, before the surrounding inhabitants were permitted to use it as a parish church,

they signed an instrument renouncing all claims to any right or property in the chapel itself. The annexed sketch of the building was taken in June, 1873.

The old time-glass remained in the pulpit until recently, and since the fire it has been replaced. An hour-glass was in Fuller's time part of the furniture of the pulpit. They were often placed in massive and costly frames. One at St. Dunstan's, Fleet-street, where Fuller occasionally preached, contained enough silver to make the staff-heads of the parish beades. The glasses often served preachers "to point a moral:" thus we find Fuller referring to that in Chelsea Church: "It fareth with most men's lives as with this hypocritical hour-glass: behold it in outward appearance, and it seemeth far more than it is, because rising up upon the sides whilst the sand is empty and hollow in the midst thereof; so that when it sinks down in an instant, a quarter of an hour is gone in a moment. Thus many men are mistaken in their own account, reckoning upon three-score and ten years the age of a man, because their bodies appear outwardly strong and lusty. Alas! their health may be hollow," &c. (*Just Man's Funeral*, 1649.)

The appointment of the four chaplains (who seemed to have formed "the brotherhood") was in the hands of the Master. In process of time the chaplains (who in 1702 received £26 per annum with other allowances) never resided at the hospital, holding better benefices elsewhere. All sorts of persons used ultimately to claim the Master's succour; and the foundation became a notorious haunt for thieves, &c. The hospital was accordingly dissolved in 1702, the statutes for the reception of the poor not having been observed within the memory of those then living.

It has not been ascertained whom Fuller succeeded at the Savoy. Under the date of 1640, Newcourt gives "Richard Barker, curat," the next name being "— Westwood, curat," and the date 1664.¹ At the time of Fuller's election, the MASTERSHIP of the Savoy—an office much sought after, and of some importance, but totally distinct from that of the minister or curate—was held by DR. WALTER BALCANQUAL, a King's chaplain, who had been Master since 1617, although for a time, at the request of James I., he resigned the office in favour of the Archbishop of Spalato "(who had a design," says Fuller, "to question all his predecessors' leases at the Savoy;"² and "who left the print of his covetous claws in all places where he got English preferment)." Balcanqual was Dean of Rochester, and (1639) of Durham. Dr. James Mowntagu and Dr. Richard Neyle³ were previous Masters. These and succeeding Masters paid the curate of St. Mary-le-Strand an annual sum of £20; the latter receiving in addition the voluntary contributions of the parishioners.

These parishioners were as eager to secure Fuller to themselves as the brotherhood; for we are told that he was "earnestly desired and entreated by that small parish."⁴ With such invitations Fuller accepted the charge. This change of ministration brought him much nearer to the Court; and the attractive style and bent of his preaching soon obtained for him a congregation in which Royalists greatly preponderated. For we are told that, in addition to the regular congregation from the Precincts, the chapel was attended by the "nobility and gentry," many of whose residences before the general exodus into the King's quarters were in the immediate neighbourhood, for the convenience of their attendance at Court. Here accordingly began that extensive acquaintance with the nobility of which Fuller has himself given us a record. From some of

¹ *Repertorium*, i. 697.

² *Ch.-Hist.* x. 95.

³ Ob. 31 Oct. 1640.

⁴ *Life*, p. 14.

these noblemen in later years he received much practical sympathy; without which he, with many others of the clergy, had suffered a harder fate in the civil troubles. The names of these noblemen and other patrons are perpetuated in his dedications, which testify the writer's gratitude for their kindness and generosity.

Russell tells us¹ that among his parishioners was the family of JAMES, LORD COMPTON, afterwards [third] Earl of Northampton.² Twenty years from this time our grateful minister ardently desired the "happiness of him and his," adding, "when I cannot orally pray, I will make signs of my affection to heaven" for it.³ These, with other expressions which he uses in reference to the same noble family, imply personal intercourse with it.

It is also probable from what is stated at the beginning of the next chapter that FRANCES MOUNTAGU, now COUNTESS OF RUTLAND, was, with her husband and other relations, an attendant at the Savoy, and on terms of friendship with Fuller. She had been married in 1628, at Barnwell Castle, near Aldwincle, to John Manners, who, on the death of his father in 1641, became eighth Earl of Rutland.

Amidst such persons as these for his auditors Fuller "most piously and effectually discharged" his duties. His ministrations altogether seem to have extended over a period of about three years: he alludes to having seen Sandys the traveller in the Chapel in the year 1641; and he did not abandon his cure, according to our computation, until August, 1643. It will thus be seen that Fuller was in London during a most

¹ *Memorials of Fuller*, p. 109.

² The father of the nobleman here mentioned, Spencer (second Earl), followed the King (whose favourite he was) to York in 1642; but in March of the following year he fell in the engagement at Hopton Heath. In his *Worthies*, Fuller said: "The royalists may be said to have got the *day*, but lost the *sun* which made it. I mean the truly loyal and valiant Spencer, Earl of Northampton, though still surviving, as in his grateful memory, so in his noble and numerous issue, no less deservedly honoured by others than mutually loving amongst themselves." (*Worthies*, § Staffordshire.) The Earl refused quarter, saying that he would not owe his life to those who had forfeited their own. His successor, Fuller's patron, was one of those (called Straffordians)

expelled from Parliament. He engaged with his brothers in the war. His chief exploit was the relief of Banbury, then held by his brother William, whom Cromwell called "the sober young man and the godly cavalier," on account of his vigilance at this time, and his having prayers read four times a day. (See chap. xvii.) His brother Charles was famous for his attempted seizure of Beeston Castle. Lord Compton betook himself to Oxford in Nov., 1642, when the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the King. He was wounded in the engagement at Hopton Heath, but took part in other operations of the war. He went with the King to Cornwall and to Exeter in 1644, when he may again have met with Fuller, who was then a refugee in the city.

³ *Worthies*, § Worcestershire, p. 179.

exciting and interesting period. In the preface to his *Holy State*, written perhaps early in 1642, his uncertainty as to the future is expressed in his doubt whether he would be so placed as to have "the benefit of walking and standing libraries" for his projected Ecclesiastical History; and is also seen in his resolve to preach constantly "in what place soever God's providence and friends' good-will should fix him."

Fuller's misgivings were well founded. He had not long been engaged in his ministrations at the Savoy when there arose that apparently irresistible demand for the reform or abolition of Episcopacy, "root and branch." The projected measures for reform, however, were ordered to stand over during the parliamentary recess of September and October, the members recommending their constituencies to quietly keep that intended matter in view; but upon reassembling they proved to be less eager than formerly for Church reforms.

The disastrous news of the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, which reached Parliament on the 1st November, embittered the feeling against the King's party. Uncertainty as to the intentions of Charles brought on "The Grand Remonstrance," voted Nov. 22, and presented Dec. 1, by Sir Ralph Hopton and others to the King, who had meanwhile returned from Scotland with manifest signs of a reaction in his favour. Petitions were, however, again being signed and presented in favour of Church reformation; the people (says May) not unfrequently applying themselves to it without authority, order, or decency.¹ Of the apprentices' riot, 26th Dec., arising from the presentation of the petitions against Bishops, Fuller has left a graphic account so far as regards the attack on the Abbey,² and its defence by its courageous Dean. The fury of the people

¹ So strong had the hostile feeling against altars, images, &c., become, that even Warmistry, the associate of Fuller, seems almost inclined to take part in the rough-and-ready reformation of the mobs: "Must we demolish these churches that are decked and adorned with images? There is no need of that, I hope. There are many things now to be reformed that I hope will not be pulled down; and yet, if there were such need, I dare say better forty churches demolished than one soul ruined." (*Convocation Speech*, 1642, p. 9.)

² Hence arose one of the first nicknames in the war. After alluding to the Dean being hemmed round for seizing an apprentice, Rushworth (iv. 463) says:

"There being three or four gentlemen walking near, one of them named David Hide, a reformado in the late army against the Scots, and now appointed to go in some command against Ireland, began to bussle, and said he would cut the throat of those round-headed dogs [*i.e.* the apprentices] that bawled against bishops (which passionate expression of his, as far as I could ever learn, was the first miniting [minting?] of that term or compellation, which afterwards grew so general); and so saying, drew his sword." Fuller says that about 1642-3 "the name Roundhead trundled about in the mouths of many men." (*Appeal*, iii. 618.) About the same time *Cavalier* came into use. (See Forster's *Arrest of the Five*, p. 62.)

against the building arose mainly on account of the meetings of Convocation recently held there. Upon the day following, at the instigation of Williams, now Archbishop of York, eleven of the Bishops (Hall, Goodman, and Towers among the number), signed as it were the extinction of their order in their ill-timed petition to the King and Peers. Their imprisonment, and the King's attempted seizure of the five members, rapidly followed. On Feb. 14, 1642, the King at Canterbury gave his assent to a bill which the Lords had at length passed for removing Bishops from the Upper House. "Dying Episcopacy," records Fuller, "gave the last groan" in Bishop Warner, of Rochester, "who was one of good speech, and a cheerful spirit, and (which made both) a good purse, and (which made all three) a good cause." He alone of the Episcopal bench was left in the House to plead for the cause of his order: he was its "best champion," and pleaded "stoutly" for it.¹

Fuller quotes at length other speeches in favour of the Bishops by Lord Viscount Newark, afterwards Earl of Kingston; and he adds: "There were in the house many other defenders of episcopacy, as William [Seymour,] Lord Marquess of Hartford, the Earl of Southampton [Thomas Wriothsley], the Earl of Bristol [John Digby], and the Lord Digby, his son; and (the never-to-be-forgotten) Henry [Bourchier,] Earl of Bath, a learned lord, and lover of learning, oftentimes on occasion speaking for bishops."² Their efforts were seconded by the unejected of the clergy of the city. Fuller was now, as afterwards, a staunch upholder of the Church, which was ready to fall by reason of the attacks upon it.

The King, in filling up the vacant bishoprics on his return from Scotland, had been, says Fuller, most careful to appoint thereto men who were sound in judgment and blameless for conversation. Hall, Skinner, Duppa, &c., are those alluded to. But "all would not do." "Many who loved them in their gowns, did not at all like them in their *rochets*."³ There is here also a reference to Dr. RALPH BROUNRIG, who was appointed (March 31) to the see of Exeter, in place of Bishop Hall, removed to Norwich. Fuller was present at the consecration of this old friend, which took place on the 15th May following. Brounrig was of Ipswich, and had been educated at Cambridge, where we have met with him as excellently well acting the part of Prevaricator: We have also pleasantly noted his connection with Fuller's witty *Holy War*—the perusal of which he must have heartily enjoyed. Fuller seems to have

¹ Bk. xi. p. 194.² *Ch.-Hist.* xi. 193.³ xi. 194.

been intimate with Brounrig before he gave the *Imprimatur* to this work. Fuller, too, acted with him at the Convocation, and in defence of the Church. He says that it was "hard to say whether his loyal memory, quick fancy, solid judgment, or fluent utterance were most to be admired, having not only *flumen*, but *fulmen eloquentiae*, being one who did teach with authority." Bishop Felton made him a Prebendary of Ely; and he was afterwards chosen Master of Catherine Hall. He is described as being a rigid Calvinist. He was made Bishop, says his eulogist, "to the great liking of all good men."¹ His consecration-sermon was preached by Dr. Younge, from the words, "The waters are risen;" "wherein he very gravely complained," says Fuller, "of the many invasions which popular violence made on the privileges of Church and State."² The Bishop's epitaph states that he "never saw his diocese" by reason of these troubles. But he returned to his mastership in Cambridge, succeeding Dr. Holdsworth as Vice-Chancellor, "as I take it," adds Fuller in his *University History*: "for, know reader, I begin now [1642-3] to be incurious in chronology, not so much because weary with a long observing thereof, as because such the noise of the present disturbance [the pressing of the Covenant at Cambridge], I cannot hear what the clock of time doth strike."³ It is said that during the Commonwealth Brounrig, on receiving the news of the death of his precentor, William Cotton, 1654, collated his friend Dr. Seth Ward to the vacant dignity; observing jocosely, "that which seems now *Δῶρον ἄδωρον* may prove of some emolument to you;" as it in fact did, Dr. Ward, who paid the full fees for the collation, afterwards becoming Bishop of that very see.

Shortly after the attempted seizure of the Five Members, the King departed from Whitehall (Jan. 10), whence he went to York (March 19). In August, he raised his standard at Nottingham; by October, when Edge-hill was fought, the civil war had begun. To the fight at Brentford, on Nov. 12, Fuller alludes in his *Worthies*, speaking with amazement of the quantity of victuals sent out to the soldiers—enough to have feasted them for some days and fed them for some weeks.⁴

As to the position of the clergy at this time, the *Committee for Religion*, appointed in 1641, nominated a sub-committee, who heard witnesses ("of slender credit," Neal avers) for removing "scandalous and inefficient ministers." In the

¹ Gauden's *Memorials of Bp. Brounrig*, p. 179. He says he was made Bishop in 1641.

² *Worthies*, § Suffolk, p. 62.

³ Sect. ix. § 39, p. 169.

⁴ § Middlesex.

following year, the *Committee for Plundered Ministers* was appointed to consider the claims of those who had been ejected from livings that were in the King's quarters. It became known, from the zeal with which those who were ill affected to it were displaced, as the *Committee for Plundering Ministers*. Fuller records that many moderate men of the Parliament party much bemoaned the severity by which "some clergymen, blameless for life, and orthodox for doctrine, were only ejected on the account of their faithfulness to the King's cause."¹

Meanwhile, as regards Fuller, his eulogist refers with rapture to the prodigious success which he was obtaining as a preacher. "Witness," exclaims he, in characteristic phraseology, "the great confluence of affected hearers from distant congregations, insomuch that his own Cure were (in a sense) excommunicated from the Church, unless their timous diligence kept pace with their devotion; the Doctor affording them no more time for their extraordinaries on the Lord's day, than what he allowed his habituated abstinence on all the rest. He had in his narrow Chapel two audiences, one without the pale, the other within; the windows of that little church, and the sextonry so crowded as, if bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse."²

With this description before us, we might apply to Fuller the saying of Dean Freeman in Dr. Hornecke's time: "Dr. Hornecke's parish was much the largest in town, since it reached from Whitehall to Whitechapel."

The influence of the London pulpits was at this time very great; and the Parliament in its protracted struggle with the King exhibited a shrewdness in the care they took to fill them gradually with their own adherents. Fuller tells us that it was generally observed in England that those who hold the helm of the pulpit always steer people's hearts as they please.³ After the ejection of the loyal clergy, the City preachers used their power with great effect. Their services in this respect are mentioned by the Royalist writers: Clarendon, who says that the wild-fire among the people was kindled not so much by the Parliament as by the clergy, professes a horror at these "ambassadors of peace by their function," who became the "incendiaries towards rebellion;"⁴ and he instances their published sermons. So Hacket spoke of those who "rang the pan in the pulpit, and the bees swarmed to rebellion." Butler's ridicule is too well known to be cited here. And Fuller has

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* xi. 207.

² *Life*, p. 15.

³ *Ch.-Hist.* ix. 195.

⁴ *Rebellion*, vi. 298.

written, with evident reference to these times, of "ambitious clergymen," who, reversing "the silver trumpets of the sanctuary," and "putting the wrong end into their mouths, make, what was appointed to sound *Religion*, to signify *Rebellion*."¹

Under the influence of the prevailing excitement, most of the London congregations had by this time got weary of their old pastors, who could not in all cases follow the course of events. "Vast numbers of the laity," says Marsden, "forsook their pastors and plunged headlong into the most violent factions; and of these many had hitherto been members of the Church of England."² But there were exceptions. Speaking of Dr. Holdsworth, Fuller says: "It is truly observed that the people in London honour their pastors (as John Baptist) *πρὸς ὥραν*, for an hour (or short time); yet this Doctor had his hour measured him by a large glass."³

Fuller's congregation at the Savoy seems for a time to have formed another marked exception to the general defection from the old paths. And yet he was not a popular preacher in the sense of a panderer to the public feeling. All the evidence tends to show that he used his influence, as befitted his profession, and the influential and patriotic party to which he belonged, in the endeavour to calm the angry feelings which were fomented,—to heal the breach between the contending parties ere it became dangerously broad. During this critical period, therefore, Fuller's conduct as a minister will bear inspection; and his private conduct agreed with his public profession. "Many ministers," he used to say, "are most admired at a distance, *major e longinquo reverentia*; like some kind of stuff, they have the best gloss a good way off, more than a prophet in his own country."

In one of the sermons lately noticed, he shows us that he was especially alive to the evils to which a minister's popularity might bring him. "We may and must give a famous part of reverence, and a Benjamin's portion of respect, to those who *datâ paritate in ceteris*, excel in age, pains, parts, and piety," he says; but to prevent the mischiefs which might arise from the factious "affecting one pastor above another," "lavishing by wholesale all honour on one, and scarce *retaliating out* any respect to the other; raising high rampires to the praise of the one by digging deep ditches to discredit and disgrace another,"—to prevent such, pastors and people must, he avers, lend helping hands. He begins with the pastors; "and first with

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* iv. 153.

² *Hist. Early Puritans*, p. 431.

³ *Worthies*, § Northumb. p. 305.

those whose churches are crowded with the thickest audience. Let them not pride themselves with the bubble of popular applause, often as causelessly gotten, as undeservedly lost. Have we not seen those who have preferred the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt before heavenly manna?—lungs before brains, and the sounding of a voice before soundness of matter? Well, let princes count the credit of their kingdoms to consist in the multitude of their subjects; far be it from a preacher to glory when his congregation swells to a tympany by the consumption of the audience of his neighbour minister. Yea, when pastors perceive people transported with an immoderate admiration of them, let them labour to confute them in their groundless humours. When St. John would have worshipped the angel, ‘See thou do it not,’ saith he; ‘worship God.’ So when people post headlong in affecting their pastors, they ought to waive and decline this popular honour, and to seek to transmit and fasten it on the God of heaven. Christ went into the wilderness, when the people would have made him a king. Let us shun, yea fly such dangerous honour, and tear off our heads such wreaths as people would tie on them; striving rather to throw mists and clouds of privacy on ourselves, than to affect a shining appearance. But know, whosoever thou art, who herein art an epicure, and lovest to glut thyself with people’s applause, thou shalt surfeit of it before thy death. It shall prove at the last pricks in thy eyes, and thorns in thy side, a great affliction, if not a ruin unto thee; because sacrilegiously thou hast robbed God of his honour.”¹ And he thus admonishes the people: “Let all Ephesians confine themselves to their Timothy; Cretians to their Titus; every congregation to their proper pastor.”² Fuller here exhibits himself as a stern opponent of those who hankered after pulpit novelties, and of the mere sermon-hearers; he would have men “not to fewer sermons, but *hear* more in *hearing* fewer sermons. Less preaching better heard—Reader, lay the emphasis not on the word *less*, but on the word *better*—would make a wiser and stronger Christian, digesting the word from his heart to practise it in his conversation.”³

Three of Fuller’s sermons, preached at the Savoy and elsewhere during the last seven months of his stay in London, are extant; and from them we can ascertain his opinions on current events, and see clearly the line of conduct he adopted. They also serve as an illustration of the style of his London preach-

¹ *Faction Confuted*, pp. 191, 192.

² *Ibid.* p. 194.

³ *Meditations on the Times* (1647), No. xix. p. 71.

ing during his occupation of the Savoy. We find, for instance, that he took part in the regular and occasional *Fast-days* which were ordered to be observed. In the early period 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."¹ It was appointed in January, 1642, the last Wednesday in each month being devoted to it; and it was ordered to continue so long as the condition of the country indicated that the divine displeasure rested upon it. Fuller seems to have piously observed these fasts, at first; and one of his best-known sermons is connected with one of them. The discourse in question was preached at his chapel on the December Fast-day, which fell this year on Innocents' Day,² Wednesday, 28th December (1642). This coincidence Fuller brought into prominent consideration at the beginning of his sermon; for he observes that "a *fast* and a *feast* jostled together." He agreed, however, with Solomon (Eccles. vii. 2), that it would be better to keep the fast than the feast; and he urges his hearers to dispense with all mirth and apply themselves to lamentation. "And it may please God of his goodness so to bring it to pass, that if we keep a sad Christmas, we may have a merry Lent." His text was chosen with reference to the state of the country engaged in a civil war: "Blessed are the peace-makers." "We use," he says, "to *end* our sermons with a blessing; Christ *begins* his with the beatitudes; and of the eight, my text is neither the last nor the least." He sees in the words *the best work*, "peace-makers;" and the *best wages*, they are "blessed." He shows the goodness of peace by dwelling on the unchristian character of war. Wars made a nation more wicked, and dealt out woes by reason of attendant plagues and famines. "But the worst," said he, "is still behind, for we are afflicted with *civil* war; many wars have done woefully, but this surmounteth them all. In civil war nothing can be expected but a ruin and desolation."

¹ *Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Scrip. Obs.* No. ix.

² "This day," says Fuller, "is called *Innocents'*, or *Childermas* day;" on which account Papists deemed it "unlucky," and began nothing of moment upon it. Fuller attacks this superstitious fancy, urging his hearers to begin *then* "and give good handsell of true repentance." "To the good all days are good." (Some admirable advice on this fallacy of beginning repentance from some particular date is contained in the eighth

"personal meditation" of the author's *Thoughts in Bad Times*.) "Why should not that day be most happy which in the judgment of Charity—Charity which, though not stark blind with Bartimeus, with Leah is always tender-eyed—sent so many saints, by Herod's cruelty, to heaven?" (p. 3.) He again says (*Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 301) most beautifully: "The souls of those children are charitably conceived by the Primitive Church all marched to heaven, as the *Infantry* of the noble army of martyrs."

As an inducement to put aside their civil broils, he urged that Ireland would be lost unless assistance were sent to the straitened Protestants. "That harp which when it was well-tuned made so good music, must now and hereafter *be hung upon the willows* (a sad and sorrowful tree), and our distraction will hasten their final destruction." Alluding to this same circumstance, which gave rise, as has been said, to the monthly fasts, he says elsewhere: "It is vain to have a finger in the eye if we have not also a sword in the other hand: such tame lamenting of lost friends is but lost lamentation. We must bend our bows in the camp, as our knees in the churches, and second our posture of piety with martial provisions."¹

But the peace he advocated was not "peace at any price;" he wished it to be associated with *truth*; and he curses those who would separate the two. Under this head he notices that before the war began, they had "all necessary and important truths truly preached (I could wish it had been more frequently and generally), the Sacraments duly administered, which two put together do constitute a true Church." Yet he acknowledges that many errors in doctrine and discipline had crept fast in; but these errors were only to be purged out in a "fair and peaceable" way; "for the sword cannot discern betwixt truth, error, and falsehood; it may have two edges, but hath never an eye."

As a remedy Fuller passes on to advise the gathering of an *Assembly of Divines*: "Let there, on God's blessing, be a synod of truly grave, pious, and learned divines; and let them both fairly dispute and fully decide what's true, what's false, what ceremonies are to be retained, what to be rejected; and let civil Authority stamp their command upon it, to be generally received under what penalty their discretion shall think fitting. But as long as war lasts, no hope of any such agreement; this must be a work for peace to perform."

The *general* hindrances to peace, Fuller averred, were the many national sins, which belonged not to one army or class of persons. "Think not that the King's army is like *Sodom*, not ten righteous men in it; and the other army like *Zion*, consisting all of Saints. No. There be drunkards on both sides, and swearers on both sides, and whoremongers on both sides, pious on both sides, and profane on both sides. Like Jeremy's figs, those that are good are very good, and those that are bad are very bad, in both parties. I never knew nor heard of an army all of saints, save the *holy*

¹ *Good Thoughts in Worse Times; Scrip. Obs.* No. ix.

army of martyrs, and those you know were dead first, for the last breath they sent forth proclaimed them to be martyrs. But it is not the sins of the army alone, but the sins of the whole kingdom which break off our hopes of peace; our nation is generally sinful. The city complains of the ambition and prodigality of the courtiers; the courtiers complain of the pride and covetousness of citizens; the laity complain of the laziness and state-meddling of the clergy; the clergy complain of the hard-dealing and sacrilege of the laity; the rich complain of the murmuring and ingratitude of the poor; the poor complain of the oppression and extortion of the rich. Thus everyone is more ready to throw dirt in another's face than to wash his own clean. And in all these, though malice may set the varnish, sure truth doth lay the groundwork."

The *particular* hindrances to a peace were then described. First are mentioned the *Romish Recusants*, who had discovered that the strength of England lay in her unity. Next, were the *Schismatics*, who had "improved themselves upon the clemency and long-suffering of our Stâte," and who, as having been the partial cause of the disorder and confusion of the kingdom, would ultimately be punished. Lastly, they whose being consisted by war. "*The truly noble English spirits desire a foreign Foe for a mark for their bullets.*"

The means whereby private persons were to obtain a peaceable settlement were, firstly, praying for peace; secondly, petitioning for peace to the King and to the Parliament ("the Gods on earth"), using the words of Tertullus to Felix, Acts xxiv. 3; thirdly, being content soundly to pay for peace ("What should not people give to buy a true peace, and a peace with Truth?"); fourthly, banishing "all words and phrases of contempt and reproach (I could instance in the word, but that it is beneath the majesty of a pulpit), which the malice of men hath minted and fastened on opposite parties.¹ Oh, let us have no other Christian name," he

¹ Fuller afterwards gave instances in question: "About this time [1642-3] the word *malignant* was first born (as to the common use) in England; the deduction thereof being disputable whether from *malus ignis* (bad fire), or *malum lignum* (bad fewell); but this is *sure*—betwixt both the name made a combustion all over England. It was fixed as a note of disgrace on those of the King's party. . . . Contemporary with *malignant* was the word *plunder*, which some make of Latine originall from *planum dare* (to

levell or plane all to nothing). Others make it of Dutch [German] extraction, as if it were to *plume* or pluck the feathers of a bird to the bare skin. Sure I am, we first heard thereof in the Swedish wars, and if the *name* and *thing* be sent back from whence it came, few English eyes would weep thereat." (*Ch.-Hist.* bk. xi. p. 196.) As to the latter word, Heylyn adds that "the name and thing were unknown in England till the beginning of the war; and the war began not till September *anno* 1642." (*Examen*,

pleaded, "than the name of *Christians*, or other surname than *Christian Protestants*, neither answering to, nor calling others by any term of disgrace." The fifth and last means to be taken for promoting peace was a speedy, serious, and general repentance in order to remove the crying sins of the kingdom. He was afraid there would be no peace, as they were not yet ripe for God's mercy. "We are too proud hitherto for God to give peace to; too many of us are *humiliati*, but few of us are *humiles*. Many by these wars brought *low*, but few made *lowly*, so that we are proud in our poverty, and, as the unjust Steward said, 'To beg I am ashamed;' for we are too stout, though half-starved, on the bended knees of our souls, with true repentance, to crave pardon of God for our sins; which till it be done, we may discourse of peace and superficially desire it, but never truly care for it, or can comfortably receive it." He then compared "the complexion of the war" with the recent "wars of Germany," which were "far lighter than ours," and which ended where ours began—in the winter; and in allusion to a saying of our Saviour, and to the recent battle of Edge-hill, he adds the comment: "Winter fights, woful fights, Sabbath wars, sorrowful wars." It had, he said, been "a great curse of God upon us, to make a constant misunderstanding betwixt our King and his Parliament; whilst both profess to level at the same end." He gives reasons why he was not out of heart, but that there was hope of peace. He therefore again urges his audience, in conclusion, to keep that day of humiliation holy to the Lord, and to be "grieved for the affliction of Joseph."

This sermon on Peace admirably shows the feelings which animated Fuller at this time. He was as eager for a peaceful solution of the quarrel as was Lord Falkland, "exceedingly solicitous to press anything which he thought might promote it."¹ Fuller, to use his own word, *loved* peace; for all this while "he was labouring in private and public to beget a

iii. 619.) Trench wisely cautions us, in regard to the word *plunder*, to leave Fuller's etymology, but take his information. (*Social Aspects of the Thirty Years' War*, p. 74.)

So, in 1660, he speaks of the word "*Fanaticks*" (which "by the close *stickling* thereof seemeth well cut out and proportioned to signify what is meant thereby, even the *sectaries* of our age") as being "new-coined within few months." Having discussed its etymology, he adds: "It will be said we have already (more

than a *good*) many nicknames of parties, which doth but inflame the difference, and make the breach the wider betwixt us. 'Tis confessed; but withal it is promised that *when they withdraw the thing we will subtract the name*. Let them leave off their wild fancies, inconsistent with Scripture, antiquity, and reason itself, and then we will endeavour to bury the *Fanatick*, and all other names, in perpetual oblivion." (*Mixt Contemp.*, l. p. 79.) See *Clar.* x. 610.

¹ *Clarendon*, vii. 433.

right understanding among all men of the King's most righteous cause, which through seduction and popular fury was generally maligned. His exhortations to peace and obedience were his constant subjects in the church (all his sermons were such liturgies); while his secular days were spent in vigorously promoting the King's affairs, either by a sudden reconciliation, or potent assistance."¹ In his sermon he was shrewd enough to avoid any bitter references to politics, in order to make his pleading the more effective; and with the same end in view he sent it to the press early in January,² and it was reprinted once or twice afterwards. Upon the title-page was a text from 2 Sam. ii. 26: "*Then Abner called to Joab and said, Shall the sword devour for ever? knowest thou not that it will be bitterness in the latter end? How long shall it be then yer [ere] thou bid the people return from following their brethren?*" The sermon should be read in its entirety to be fully appreciated. Its soberness of tone gives it a place altogether apart from the exciting discourses of that feverish time; and its references to political events, &c., further increases its importance. Fuller's plea for peace is very plainly, earnestly, and persuasively advanced. He persistently advocated these views during his stay in London. And though he failed to bring about the practical adoption of his views, he, with other peace-makers in their desires, was comforted in his conscience that "they may appeal to the God of Heaven how they have prayed heartily for peace, have petitioned humbly for peace, have been contented to pay dearly for peace, and to their powers have endeavoured to refrain themselves from sins, the breakers of peace; and therefore they trust that Christian English Protestant blood, which shall be shed, which hath been and hereafter may be shed in these woful wars, shall never be visited on their score, or laid to their charge."

Fuller's *Essay Of Moderation* should be cited in connection with his conduct at this time. He describes the virtue negatively under a series of maxims: "1. Moderation is not an halting betwixt two opinions, when the thorough-believing of one of them is necessary to salvation." Here he instances the intricate postures of some men's souls who "lay towards the Papists, and towards the Protestants; such we count not of a moderate judgment, but of an immoderate unsettledness." "2. Nor is it a lukewarmness in those things wherein God's glory is concerned. . . . 3. But it is a mixture of discretion and charity in one's judgment. . . . The lukewarm man eyes

¹ *Life*, p. 16.

² The Brit. Mus. copy (E. 86, 16) is dated "Jan. 26" in a contemporary hand.

only his own ends and particular profit; the moderate man aims at the good of others and unity of the Church." "4. Yet such moderate men are commonly crushed betwixt the extreme parties on both sides." Under this head he gives the *recompense* of the moderate man. "(1) A well-informed judgment in itself is a preferment." "(2) As the moderate man's temporal hopes are not great, so his fears are the less." "(3) His conscience is clear from raising schisms in the church." "(4) His religion is more constant and durable." "(5) In matters of moment, indeed, none are more zealous." "(6) Once in an age the moderate man is in fashion; each extreme courts him to make them friends." "To close up all: Let men on God's blessing, soundly, yet wisely, whip and lash lukewarmness and time-serving, their thongs will never fly in the face of true Moderation, to do it any harm; for however men may undervalue it, that father [Ambrose] spake most truly: *Si virtutum finis ille sit maximus, qui plurimorum spectat profectum, Moderatio prope omnium pulcherrima est.* [If that aim of the virtues be the highest which regards the benefit of the many, Moderation is well-nigh the comeliest of all.]"¹

In his Fast-day sermon, Fuller prominently urged the drawing up of *petitions* both to the King and to the Parliament to continue their care in advancing an accommodation with a view to a peace. Now we find that early in 1643, Clarendon speaks of the wealthier citizens of London in this way urging the Houses of Parliament that such addresses might be made to his Majesty that he might with honour comply with them, and thereby a happy peace ensue. (The King was then at York. "Alas!" says Fuller, in his Fast-day sermon, "there is a great gulf between us and him fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to him cannot, neither can they pass to us that would come from thence.") These advances, were, however, discountenanced by the Parliament. "At the same time," continues Clarendon, "the inhabitants of Westminster, St. Martin's, and Covent-Garden, who always underwent the imputation of being well-affected to the King, prepared the like petition;"² but they, too, met with the same disfavour, the "promoters" being compelled to leave the city. According to the map of the parishes of St. Clement Danes and St. Mary Savoy, the church of the former was situated between the Savoy and Temple Bar, but nearer the latter on the river side: it was at the head of a lane leading to the river. In the action of these districts, which were always united for such

¹ *Holy State*, pp. 201—204.

² *Rebellion*, vi. 333.

purposes, we may see one of the effects of Fuller's private and public efforts in favour of a peaceful solution of the quarrel.

Strange to say, there is a peace petition extant, emanating from these parishes, with which a "Doctor Fuller" is connected. It is in possession of Edward Riggall, Esq., of Bayswater, having been purchased by him a few years since at the sale of the library of Edward Tyrrell, Esq., the late City Remembrancer. As there are grounds for believing, with the possessor of this rare document, that this "Dr. Fuller" is our Thomas Fuller, it demands notice in this place, and will be found *in extenso* in the note appended to this chapter. It is entitled *A Petition of the Citie of Westminster, and the Parishes of Saint Clement Danes and Saint Martins in the Fields, as it was carried from them by Sir Edward Warder, Doctor Castle, Doctor Fuller, and Doctor Duckson,¹ and by them presented to his Sacred Majestie at Oxford. With his Majesties gracious answer concerning the said Petition. London: Printed for Thomas Hudson, Jan. 18, 1643 [-4].*

The petitioners state that they are "much afflicted and greatly impoverished by these intestine wars; but more especially by the reason of your Majesties so long absence from your royall Palace at White-Hall, where we were usually blest with the beames of your Majesties countenance." But they are grieved chiefly for his long separation from the Parliament, "the chiefe and most faithfull councill appurtenant to our English nation." "We are above measure afflicted at the afflictions of our bretheren, and have a fellow feeling of their sufferings, who in the countries round about us, groan under the heavie burden of a civill war, their houses plundered, their goods taken away, and their lives in daily danger." Allusion is next made to the bad trade in the city, consequent on the removal of the Court. They therefore ask the King to take these matters into consideration; and since they all arise from his absence from his Parliament, "wee in all humility desire that your

¹ *Sir Edward Warder* was connected with London, and was a farmer of monopolies. (See our next chapter). Of *Dr. Castle*, who perhaps belonged to St. Martin-in-the-Fields, we have been unable to find particulars. *Dr. Duckson* (or *Dukeson*) belonged to St. Clement Danes', to which he was appointed in 1634 by William, Earl of Exeter. In the *Bill of Mortality of the Clergy of London*, i.e. an enumeration of those deprived or ejected from their benefices &c., he is mentioned as "sequestered and forced to flye." (Quoted in Heylyn's

Hist. Presbyt., xiii. 449. Under *St. Martin's-in-the-Fields* he mentions Dr. Bray as sequestered, &c.) Duckson had been imprisoned July, 1642, for reading the King's Declaration. He retired to Oxford, where (being already D.D. of Cambridge) he received the doctorate degree, and exercised his profession. His monument in the church states that he was Rector up to 1678, and commemorates his firm zeal for the Church and unshaken loyalty for the King. (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 593; Walker, *Sufferings*, ii. 167.)

Majesty out of your inbred clemency to all your subjects would graciously vouchsafe to hearken to the advices of your High Court of Parliament, and in your royall wisdom take some speedy course for an accomodation of peace.”¹

This petition was presented to his Majesty at Oxford on January 7, 1642[-3],—*i.e.*, according to the date on the title-page, a year before it was printed. Internal evidence ascribes the drawing up of the petition to the early part of this year, 1643.

A document expressed in remarkably similar terms, and with the same spirit, will be found at length in Clarendon (bk. vi. 333), being the petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and commons of the *City of London*. As it was presented to the King a few days after he had received the former from Westminster, if not on the very same day, it is natural to suppose either that the petitions were arranged in concert, or that the same promoters were connected with both. The London petition was presented by those who “were for the most part of moderate inclinations.” The spirit of the King’s reply is the same in both petitions, although the reply in Clarendon, as to which the King “considered sadly what answer to return,” is much the longer and more argumentative and expostulatory paper. As regards that with which “Dr. Fuller” is connected, the King’s reply is both dignified and tender. He, in brief (after expressing his joy that the wishes of his petitioners were concurrent with those of the City of London), sympathises with the condition of those who had addressed him, saying, that the Parliament had “not been more afflicted at our long absence from them then we ourself have.” “We are inforced to absent ourself from our palace at White-Hall which we have always esteemed as our best loved and capital residence.” Misinterpretations and misconceits had caused the difference with the Parliament; but could he return “with the safety of our affairs” he would do so. Nor should his endeavours for peace be wanting.² Both petitions were printed at Oxford and circulated.

Was this “Doctor Fuller” Fuller of the Savoy? In addition to the fact that the pastoral charge of the latter was contiguous to, or within the places mentioned in this petition, his connection with the document is confirmed in some measure by a statement of his own to the effect that he was “once” deputed with five others to take charge of a peace-petition to the King. His words are: “I was once sent up thither [Oxford] from London, being one of the six who were chosen to carry a

¹ Pages 3-5.

² Pages 6-8.

petition for peace to his Majesty from the City of Westminster and the liberties thereof, though in the way remanded by the Parliament.”¹ But against the identity of these two petitions, it is to be noticed that *four* persons only are concerned with the petition we have described; but *six* were in charge of that to which Fuller is referring, and these latter were persons whose union on this occasion was a well-remembered circumstance: “the six.” These persons, moreover, were remanded; whereas Sir Edward Warder and the three Doctors reached their destination and presented the petition. And it is not a little curious to note, in confirmation of our Fuller’s connection in this petition with Warder, that the latter took rooms in the same college at Oxford (Lincoln College), where Fuller also had his lodgings. But against the view that our hero was the “Doctor Fuller” of the petition we have printed, there yet remains a little difficulty about his title. Our Fuller did not get his Doctor’s degree until the year 1660. Mr. Riggall has hazarded the conjecture that it might have been customary to give a B.D. the honorary title of *Doctor*, by anticipation, *honoris causa*; a conjecture which was confirmed by an esteemed correspondent,² who was told by a London minister that it was the common practice of old-fashioned beadles and pew-openers in London, always to call the incumbent “the Doctor” to distinguish him from the curate or lecturer. But one would suppose that the use of the title would scarcely have been proper in a petition presented in person and afterwards printed.³ On the other hand, we know that Fuller was occasionally addressed as “Dr. Fuller” by his contemporaries. Thus Clement Barksdale,⁴ “the Cotswold Muse,” in his *Nymphæ Libethris*, 1651, made a poetical address “to Dr. Fuller,”⁵ indubitably our hero. It is possible that Fuller when at Oxford may have been diplomated to receive the degree, but may never have come to take it, either because of the military life which

¹ *Appeal*, ii. p. 444.

² The Rev. E. Wilton, M.A., West Lavington, Wilts.

³ Fuller has himself alluded to the threefold meaning of the word Doctor. “(1) For a teacher at large, extant in Scripture: ‘Art thou a Doctor in Israel?’ (John iii. 10.) (2) As a title of dignity fixed by a society of learned men on some eminent person amongst them. (3) For one solemnly and ceremoniously graduated by a Professor in some particular faculty; and the word in *this* sense is not of so great seniority.” (*Appeal*, ii. 409.)

⁴ Perhaps also Pepys, who in his *Diary* under date of 17th May, 1660 (*i.e.* about four months before Fuller received his doctorate degree), speaks of “Dr. Fuller,” who is indexed by Pepys’ editors as our Thomas. But we have a shrewd suspicion that Dr. *William* Fuller, then of Twickenham, afterwards Bishop of Limerick, and finally of Lincoln, is meant. See our chapter xvii.

⁵ These lines will be found quoted *infra*, chap. xvi. Barksdale was an Oxford man; and one therefore not well informed as to Fuller’s standing at Cambridge.

he adopted, or because he may justly have placed less value upon a degree at a time when the King was bestowing these honours so indiscriminately, that the Heads of houses, mindful of the loss of dignity which would be brought about by such means, drew up a protest against the practice. But however Fuller acted in regard to accepting the title, it seems probable that in a period when degrees were less sought after than was afterwards the case, the title was loosely given, and that by Barksdale and others it was so applied *in honorem* to one who had already made his mark as a divine, and who in his promise of an ecclesiastical history was "resident on his profession."

But while there are thus many circumstances confirmatory of the view that the Dr. Fuller of the petitioning parishes is Thomas Fuller, it must not be overlooked here that (besides those elsewhere mentioned) there are notices of one or two other contemporary Drs. Fuller, whose identity it is now very difficult to establish. Thus, there was a *Dr. Fuller* who was President of Sion College, London, in 1636,¹ perhaps the same person as that *Dr. Fuller* whose name is found in a will of that year.² Another, "*Mr. Dr. Fuller*," is met with in the Lords' Journals in the very same year at which we have now arrived; who, whilst at first sight he seems to be Fuller of the Savoy, appears not at all unlikely to be the Dr. Fuller of the printed petition. The entry stands thus: "19th April, 1643. The Lords ordered that Mr. Dr. Fuller should have a pass to carry his wife to Salisbury and return back again."³ From these dim and fragmentary notices one seems to catch sight of (at least) another actual Dr. Fuller who cannot as yet be clearly recognised.—Altogether distinct from the above are two more Drs. Fuller with whom we are again to meet: (1) *Dr. William Fuller*, Dean of Ely and Vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, at this time D.D. of Cambridge. On August 12, 1645, he was incorporated D.D. at Oxford, having fled thither in November, 1641.⁴ (2) *Dr. (?) Thomas Fulwar*, who was already D.D. of Dublin or Cambridge, when he was made D.D. at Oxford upon the same day as Dr. William Fuller last mentioned.⁵ The

¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom. Ser.), 14 Mar., 1636, p. 295 *seq.*

² See p. 12, *antèd.*

³ *Lords' Journals*, vol. vi. p. 12a. It was about this time, according to Fuller's first biographer, that Fuller himself deserted London; but as to its accuracy, see p. 226. Fuller's wife was dead before the date of this order. There was another Dr. Thomas Fuller who lived shortly after our Fuller's time, but with

whom he has been confused. This was *Dr. Thomas Fuller*, of Bishops-Hatfield, Herts. His arms were, Three bars and a canton gules.

⁴ A Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* ii. 79: see *antèd.*, p. 183; Newcourt, i. 357. Wm. Fuller (p. 279), who was at this time chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, was not a Doctor till the Restoration.

⁵ A Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* ii. 79.

“one Doctor” which Fuller’s family contained in 1659¹ was one of the two last-named.

Meanwhile, spite of these petitions to the King, the parliamentary preparations for the war were being vigorously made. By the beginning of March large weekly sums were collected and paid for the subsistence of troops; and an ordinance was passed for fortifying the city. The negotiations for an accommodation, lately broken off, were renewed at Oxford; and there were hopes at the end of March that an agreement would be arrived at. Among the parliamentary commissioners appointed to manage the negotiations were Sir William Litton and Edmund Waller.

Taking advantage of this juncture of affairs, Fuller took the bold step of preaching a second public sermon in favour of peace, “directly persuading the duties of submission.” This sermon was preached on 27th MARCH, 1643,² being the anniversary of the King’s accession. In this year the day fell on a Monday, which not being a fast-day (it was two days before the usual monthly Wednesday fast), was specially designed by Fuller for this service. The better observance of this anniversary had been one of the points on which action had been taken at the Convocation of 1640; and the Canon in relation to it was one, we shall soon see, with which Fuller, at any rate, heartily agreed. His sermon, as was fitting the occasion, was preached in Westminster Abbey; and for permission to use it the preacher was probably indebted to the influence of his friends with the Dean and Chapter. To the Abbey he made a very effective reference at the close of his sermon; but there is no record of his connection with the edifice in the archives.

His discourse shows us that he took a sanguine view of the position of affairs at that time. The words of Mephibosheth supplied the preacher with a text, and with them the sermon was in full accord:—“*Yea, let him [Ziba] take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house.*” (2 Sam. xix. 30.)³ This generous sentiment of the son of David’s

¹ *The Appeal*, pt. ii. 532. This list of Drs. Fuller might be still further increased. See our Index.

² Oldys and the other biographers of Fuller have stated that this sermon was preached in the former year, 1642, “his Majesty being then at York;” but internal evidence shows that it belongs to 1643—a date which some of the original copies of the sermon bear. The Brit. Mus. copy, the 1654 edition, is erroneously catalogued “[1642].” In that

year the day fell on a Sunday. Fuller’s eulogist mentions it after the sermons on Reformation.

³ “Of the extraordinary texts which the Presbyterian ministers prefixed to their loyal effusions [on the Restoration], none was more extraordinary than that of Nathaniel Heywood, Vicar of Ormskirk. Having been one of the King’s Preachers for Lancashire, who received an annual grant of £40 for preaching in the Catholic parts of the county, and had hitherto

old friend was uttered to show "the hyperbole of his happiness and transcendency of his joy, conceived at David's safe return,—joy which swelled up him in full measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over. Yet lest the least drop of so precious a liquor as this was (being the spirits of loyalty distilled) should be spilt on the ground, let us gather it up with our best attention, and pour it in our hearts to practise it as it flows from the text." David's rough justice to Mephibosheth and his quondam servant, Ziba, he deemed arose from policy, to gain the goodwill of his subjects. So magistrates were sometimes fain to permit what they could not for the present conveniently punish. This leads him to remark in an apparently satirical vein that—

"perchance the wisdom of our Parliament may suffer in the censures of such who fathom mysteries of State by their own shallow capacities, for seeming to suffer Sectaries and Schismatics to share and divide in God's service with the Mephibosheths, the quiet and peaceable children of our Church. And indeed such sectaries take a great share to themselves, having taken away all the Common prayer out of most places, and, under pretence to abolish superstition, have almost banished decency out of God's Church. But no doubt the Sages of our State want not will, but wait a time when, with more conveniency and less disturbance (though slowly, surely), they will restrain such turbulent spirits with David in my text, who was rather contented than well-pleased to pass by Ziba for the present."

Looking at the words of the text, he sees in them a "confluence of many joys together. First, *The King*: there is matter of gladness for all subjects in general. Secondly, *my Lord the King*: Mephibosheth was David's servant in ordinary, or rather his extraordinary favourite, and this made his joy to be greater. Thirdly, *is come again*: is come back, is returned, and therefore more welcome after long waiting. The interposing of the night renders the arising of the sun more desired: princes' presence, after some absence, more precious. Fourthly, *to his own house*: Why, were not all the houses in Israel David's houses? Are not kings always at home whilst in their kingdom? . . . Fifthly, and lastly, *come in peace*: in peace, which is the substance of all earthly blessings, and the shadow of heavenly happiness."

retained it through all the changes of government, he lost his appointment at the Restoration. On the thanksgiving-day he selected for his text the words, *Mephibosheth said unto the king, Yea, let him take all forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house*. He was reminded by one of his parishioners both of his text and his ex-

travagantly loyal sermon, when, on the passing of the Act of Uniformity, *the king took all*—not only his annual grant, but his parsonage glebe, tithes, church, and graveyard. His uncomplaining resignation to his heavy loss of all things furnished a beautiful illustration of his loyal sermon." (*Halley's Nonconformity in Lancashire*, ii. 127.)

Mephibosheth suppressed victory and mentioned *peace* only, "because victories are not valuable in themselves, but in order and tendency as they conduce to the attaining of peace. . . . Secondly, . . . David was unhappy in his very happiness, that this victory was gotten over his own subjects. The ribs of Jacob did grate one against the other, and in that civil-uncivil war, many worthy men lost their lives unworthily, whose lives there prodigally spent, had they been thriftily expended in a foreign design, had been sufficient to have purchased David another kingdom." He adds, with further reference to his own times:—

"Pious princes can take no delight in victories over their own subjects. For when they cast up their audits, they shall find themselves losers in their very gaining. Nor can they properly be said to have *won the day*, which at the best is but a twilight, being benighted with a mixture of much sorrow and sadness. For kings, being the parents of their country, must needs grieve at the destruction of their children. . . . I dare boldly say that in that unhappy Aceldama [Edge-hill, fought 23rd Oct. of the preceding year], wherein the person of our Sovereign was present, *a sword did pierce through his own heart* in the same sense as it is said of the Virgin Mary, Luke ii. 35. For though (thanks be to God) divine providence did *cover his head in the day of battle*, as it were miraculously commanding the bullets, which flew about and respected no persons, *not to touch his anointed*, yet notwithstanding his soul was shot through with grief to behold a field spread with his subjects' corpses, that scarce any passage but either through rivulets of blood, or over bridges of bodies. And had he gotten as great a victory as David got in the forest of Ephraim, yet surely he would have preferred Peace far before it."

Fuller dwelt most lovingly on the peaceful clause in the text. "The main Doctrine," he says, "is this. All subjects ought to be glad when their sovereign is returned in peace. The sweetest music of this doctrine is in the close thereof, *in peace*; for nothing is more woeful than war," of which he draws, as in his last sermon, a vivid picture. Here again he censured those who would bring about a dishonourable peace.

"Now-a-days all cry to have peace, to have peace, and care not to have truth together with it. Yea, there be many silly Mephibosheths in our days that so adore peace that to attain it they care not what they give away to the malignant Zibas of our kingdom. These say '*Yea, let them take all, Laws, and Liberties, and Privileges, and Proprieties, and Parliaments, and Religion, and the Gospel, and godliness, and God himself, so be it that the Lord our King may come to his house in peace.*' But let us have peace and truth together, both, or neither; for if peace offer to come alone, we will do with it as Ezechiah did with the brazen serpent, even break it to pieces and stamp it to powder as the dangerous idol of ignorant people."

Here also he recapitulates what "truth" was according to the Anabaptist, the Separatist, the Schismatic; and some of their pretended truths he terms "flat falsities, mere fooleries." In

opposition to them the preacher, a true son of the Church, reiterated that it was a certain truth that formerly—

“We had in our churches all truths necessary to Salvation. . . . Yea, let these that cry most for the want of truth show one rotten kernel in the whole pomegranate, one false article in all Thirty-nine. . . . But these men know wherein their strength lieth, and they had rather creep into *houses*, and lead away captive silly women laden with infirmities than to meddle with men, and enter the lists to combat with the learned Doctors of the Church.”

In answer to the objection that peace, if made, would not be a true peace, he replies that—

“there must at last be a mutual confiding on both sides, so that they must count the honesty of others their only hostages. This, the sooner it be done, the easier it is done. For who can conceive that when both sides have suffered more wrongs they will sooner forgive, or when they have offered more wrongs be sooner forgiven? For our king’s part, let us demand of his money what Christ asked of Cæsar’s coin, Whose image is this? CHARLES. And what is the superscription? RELIGIO PROTESTANTIUM, LEGES ANGLIÆ, LIBERTATES PARLIAMENTI: and he hath caused them to be cast both in silver and gold, in pieces of several sizes and proportions, as if thereby to show that he intends to make good his promise both to poor and rich, great and small; and we are bound to believe him. Nor less fair are the professions of the Parliament on the other side, and no doubt but as really they intend them. But these matters belong not to us to meddle with; and as for all other politic objections against peace, they pertain not to the pulpit to answer. All that we desire to see, is the King remarried to the State; and we doubt not but as the Bridegroom on the one side will be careful to have his portion paid—*his prerogative*, so the Bride’s friends entrusted for her will be sure to see her jointure settled—the *liberty of the subject*.”

The following passage in the application of the text to the time sets forth the preacher’s loyalty, and his peculiar eloquence:—

“We begin first with the King, *as this day doth direct us*, and truly he may be called so emphatically for his goodness. . . . Seeing now the servants of our Sovereign are generally gone hence to wait on their lord, we may now boldly without danger to make them puffed up with pride, or ourselves suspected for flattery, speak that in praise of their master which malice itself cannot deny. Look above him; to his God how he is pious! Look beneath to his subjects; how he is pitiful! Look about him; how he is constant to his wife, careful for his children! Look near him; how he is good to his servants! Look far from him; how he is just to foreign princes! We may see in our catalogue of kings, that we shall scarce find any but besides the common infirmities attendant on mankind, were branded with some remarkable eyesores. . . . Let malice itself stain our sovereign with any notorious personal fault.”

Then taking up the King’s concessions to his subjects (which in a quaint manner he makes as though he cannot believe), he says:—

“Oh no, it is not so, it is sure, it is certain we are awake, we do not dream;

if anything be asleep it is our ingratitude, which is so drowsy to return deserved thanks to God and the King for his great favours."

He next proceeded to say that London was the Jerusalem of their David, and Westminster his Zion. Here he very impressively brought into notice the solemn associations of our national Sanctuary, and the historic buildings round about it.

"But alas! What have I done that I should not? Or rather, What have I to do that I cannot, having invited many guests now to a feast, and having no meat to set before you? I have called courtiers and citizens to rejoice and still one thing is wanting, and that a main material one, the founder of all the rest,—the King is not returned in peace. Thus the sun is slipt out of our firmament, and the diamond dropped out of the ring of my text. I pretended and promised to make an application thereof to the time, and must I now be like the foolish builder in the Gospel, begin and cannot finish? *Own house*: that is the bottom of the text; but this stands empty. *My Lord the King*, and that is the top of the text; but he is far off: and the words which are the side-walls to join them together, *he is come in peace*, these alas! cannot be erected. In this case there is but one remedy to help us, and that prescribed by our Saviour himself, John xvi. 23, 'Whatsoever ye ask the Father in my name, he will give you.'

"Let us pray faithfully, pray fervently, pray constantly, pray continually. Let preacher and people join their prayers together that God would be pleased to build up the walls and make up the breach in the application that what cannot be told may be foretold for a truth; and that our text may be verified of Charles in prophecy as by David in history. Excellently St. Austin adviseth that men should not be curious to enquire how *original sin* came into them, but careful to seek how to get it out. By the same similitude, let us not be curious to know what made our King (who, next to God, I count our *original good*) to leave this city, or whether offences given, or taken, moved him to his departure; but let us bend our brains and improve our best endeavours to bring him safely and speedily back again."

He urged his hearers not to be disheartened though their hopes were thwarted, but to cry the louder in their prayers. "The rather because our King is already partly come, come in his offer to come, come in his tender to treat, come in his proffer of peace. And this very day being the beginning of the treaty, I may say he set his first step forward: God guide his feet and speed his pace." He concluded thus:—

"Desist from sinning, persist in praying, and then it may come to pass that this our use may once be antedated, and this day's sermon sent as a harbinger beforehand to provide a lodging in your hearts for your joy against the time that my Lord our King shall return to his own house in peace."¹

This sermon brought the preacher into immediate trouble. His biographer says that the "theme was so distasteful to the ringleaders of the rebellion, . . . and so well and loyally enforced by him, that drew not only a suspicion from the

¹ Page 30.

moderate misled party of Parliament, but an absolute odium on him from the grandes and principals in the Rebellion.”¹

To save himself from misrepresentation and condemnation of his conduct, he determined to publish the sermon, being fully prepared to defend his positions if attacked.

In the preface he states that he published it to assert his innocence. “Sermons,” he says, “have their dooms, partly according to the capacities, partly according to the affections of the hearers. Some said of our Saviour ‘He is a good man;’ others, ‘Nay but He deceiveth the people.’ The bitter health which my Master began is now come to me, the lowest at his table, to pledge. I am therefore enforced to print my poor pains, not to get applause but to assert my innocency; and yet indeed he gaineth that can save in this age. Read with judgement, censure with charity. As for those who have unmercifully presentenced me, my revenge is in desiring that they may be forgiven.” He concludes that he would cease not to pray “for the blessed and happy agreement of the King and Parliament,” and he desired his readers to join him. For the same anniversary, in the year 1642, Bishop Brounrig, being Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge (succeeding Dr. Holdsworth), had at St. Mary’s preached a sermon (published at the King’s request) with the same result as Fuller experienced. “Many passages in it,” Fuller tells us, “were distasted by the Parliament party;”² whereupon the Bishop was banished the University, and deprived of his Mastership. We are also told of other bold clergymen who in the very camp of the enemy preached sermons against taking up arms against the King.³

The negotiations upon which Fuller placed such high hopes were prolonged through several weeks. It became evident that many of the commissioners attended “rather for faction than satisfaction, resolving to carry home the same opinions they brought with them.” No accommodation was therefore likely to result from the treaty; and it came to an end when on the 15th of April Essex marched to the siege of Reading.

The delivery of the Inauguration sermon brought Fuller under the displeasure of many of the sympathisers of the Parliament, but no proceedings seem to have been taken against him, and he still kept his position at the Savoy. But he was now in a somewhat anomalous position. Many of the more declared of the Royalist clergy had betaken themselves or had been driven by the Committee for Plundered and Scandalous

¹ Page 17.

² *Hist. Camb.* sect. ix. § 39, p. 169.

³ Ephraim Udall, *e.g.*, of St. Austin’s.

Ministers to the King's quarters at Oxford; and Fuller was almost alone among those with whose objects he had little sympathy. Dr. Pierce, in his *New Discoverer Discovered*, enumerated very many among the ejected who were the reverse of ignorant men of lax morals and incompetent preachers, as Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Westfield, Dr. Walton, Dr. Rives, Dr. Fuller (Dean of Durham), &c., but who suffered in various ways. The statement has been made that out of 123 parishes in London, 115 ministers were cast out. Fuller was one of the last of the 115. It seems remarkable that he should have remained unmolested after the delivery of his last sermon; but his known moderate opinions and attractive preaching had made him a favourite with the more liberal-minded of the Parliamentarians. He seems at this time to have done much as he liked; and his opponents may have thought it wise not to convert him into an outspoken enemy. But his solitary position brought him more into the notice of his opponents: "their inspection and spyal was confined almost to the Doctor's Pulpit, as to public Assemblies." His object in remaining behind was doubtless the desire of bringing about a peace. He not only preached peace, bringing it in by leave of his text (as he said) in every sermon, but he also *pursued* it.

During this time attempts were made, according to the Life,¹ to seduce him from his loyalty to the King; but he showed no inclination to attach himself to the rising side; as time advanced he seemed the rather to become more devoted to the Royalist cause, desisting not nor altering from "his main course,—the doctrine of Allegiance."²

At the end of May this year, an important incident connects itself with Fuller. During the earlier part of the year, a plot had been formed for an organization favourable to the establishment of peace, and from the fact of Edmund Waller taking an active share in it, it was afterwards called Waller's plot. On the accession of many influential persons, its purpose was altered by the introduction of violent measures. In furtherance of their scheme of seizing the city, the King sent a Commission of Array. This document was discovered in the possession of two persons named Tomkins and Chaloner, 30th May, 1643, and the metropolis was at once roused to great excitement. Waller and Tomkins being arrested, were "so confounded with fear and apprehension," that they divulged the names of their associates. Waller, however, ultimately got off by the pay-

¹ Page 21.

Page 17.

ment of a heavy fine ; but the other chief persons were executed, 5th July, 1643.

On the 17th of June a thanksgiving-day for the discovery of the plot was appointed by the Lords and Commons for the 13th of the following month, on which day a covenant and oath were to be tendered to every man in the parish churches of the kingdom ; and it was further ordered to be tendered to every man within the cities of London and Westminster, and liberties thereof on Sunday, 25th June, in the afternoon, after sermon, in all the parish churches and chapels within the said Cities and Liberties thereof. The preamble spoke of there being " a popish and traitorous plot for the subversion of the true protestant reformed religion and the liberty of the subject, in pursuance whereof a popish army hath been raised," &c. The oath itself took up the same topic, declaring, vowing, and covenanting that " I will not consent to the laying down of arms so long as the Papists, now in open war against the Parliament, shall by force of arms be protected from the justice thereof." It next expressed abhorrence of the late plot, and an assurance to oppose and reveal others of a like nature. It further said that the forces raised by the Parliament were for the just defence of it and of the Protestant religion and liberty of the subject, against the forces raised by the King ; concluding, " and I will not, directly or indirectly, adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist the forces raised by the King, without the consent of both houses of Parliament."¹

There was no penalty attached to neglecting to take this oath ; but it is easy to see that those who refused to take it would the more readily be singled out as " malignants." Clarendon states that there was much in the preamble which few believed ; yet fear of being believed guilty of the plot made them swallow all the rest.² It was first taken amidst great excitement by the Parliament, afterwards by many of the people, and finally by the army. We are told that great numbers of those who took it, never kept it. Fuller remarks that the oath " never exceeded the lines of communication, meeting with so much opposition that it expired in the infancy thereof."³ We may presume that he was one of those spoken of by Clarendon who " took time to consider of it." At length some busy official persons, who had perhaps heard his last sermon, actually tendered it to him ; but he would only take it with reservations. He mentions the matter in the following

¹ Rushworth, ii. 325.

² *Rebellion*, viii. 393.

³ *Ch.-Hist.* xi. 206, 207. According to

Fuller's biographer these lines were " new invented limits for the city's old liberties " (p. 17).

words:—"This oath was tendered to me, and taken by me in the vestry of the Savoy church, but first protesting some limitations thereof to myself." We may imagine our hero on this occasion "demurring a while," like Eliezer, before he would swear, "carefully surveying the latitude of the oath, lest some unseen ambushes therein should surprise his conscience." So in his *Holy State* wrote Fuller, who adds: "The most scrupulous to take an oath will be the most careful to perform it; whereas those that swear it blindly will do it lamely." Fuller's apparent unwillingness to give his consent to this oath, which was done before many witnesses, was not lost upon the oath-tenderers mentioned; but some weeks elapsed before further steps were taken against him. Meanwhile, amidst these vows and oaths, he still continued to discharge the duties of his parish; becoming more confirmed in his opinion that "a resolution is a free custody; but a vow is a kind of prison, which restrained nature hath the more desire to break." A paragraph in Rushworth (vol. ii. pt. iii. 277) shows how those were treated who refused this oath.

Great animosity was felt and expressed towards the King in consequence of this plot. Clarendon says that it raised ill-feeling against all moderate men of the King's party in London: henceforth "accommodations" with his Majesty were mainly regarded as stratagems on the City and Parliament.

We now come to notice a *third* sermon by Fuller. On the occasion of another FAST-DAY ordered by the Parliament, Fuller again complied with the ordinance, preaching at the Savoy Chapel another out-spoken discourse on the text, "Until the time of Reformation," Heb. xi. 10. Fuller says on the title-page of his sermon that the fast-day was "July 27,"¹ *i.e.* on a *Thursday*; but the particular occasion of the fast cannot be ascertained. The date is perhaps a misprint for July twenty-first, or twenty-sixth. The former of these days (which fell on a Friday) was "an extraordinary fast;" when "Mr. Hill" and "Mr. Spurstow" preached before the Parliament. The latter was the usual monthly Wednesday fast, and is the more likely occasion for Fuller's sermon, unless indeed the preacher wished to pointedly disregard the constituted days.

¹ The reprint of this sermon which was called for in the same year (1643), and which was issued without printer's name and Downam's *imprimatur*, is dated "July 37." The original edition was, by John Williams, entered at Stationers' Hall on 2nd Aug., 1643, "under the hands of Mr. Downham." The July

fasts were so numerous that confusion is apparent in the notices of them. Thus the order of Parliament of 17th June fixes 13th July for the thanksgiving for the discovery of Waller's plot; but a contemporary list of the preachers before the Parliament mentions 15th June for the service.

The subject of Reformation was chosen from the fact that the word was then on everyone's lips in consequence of the reforming zeal which first began to manifest itself at the opening of the Long Parliament. Bishop Hall, urged by the proceedings in Scotland, had in part originated the discussion by "asserting" his *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, 1640. Jeremy Taylor also made an appeal on the same side in his *Episcopacy Asserted*, getting thereby his doctorate degree. After the imprisonment of Laud, and the presentation of the bulky petitions to the House of Commons for abolishing the establishment, Hall wrote his *Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament*, 1641, in defence of Episcopacy. The writers under the name of *Smectymnuus* replied, continuing the discussion, Heylyn protesting that never was learning so employed to cry down the encouragement and reward of learning. Milton followed with his *Of Reformation, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it* [May or June], 1641. It is curious to note, as illustrating the attention that Fuller was paying to the subject, that the latter had read¹ this remarkable pamphlet on its appearance; and Masson says that Fuller's reference to it "may be considered as the earliest recognition of that pamphlet by any critic of note to us now. Whatever Fuller may have thought of the pamphlet as a whole, there were passages in it that shocked him."² Heylyn, by his *History of Episcopacie* (1642), came to the assistance of Hall, harassed by the number of his assailants. Other books which still further tended to give prominence to Church-reformation were issued by Lord Brook and Prynne.³ Meanwhile, shrewd Churchmen like Williams, Ussher, Holdsworth, Sanderson, &c., also prepared and advocated schemes for the preservation of their Church. "Reformation," accordingly, was a subject perfectly familiar to Fuller's auditors; and if lately the topic had become stale, it had just been revived by the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines⁴ which was constituted on the 1st July.

Fuller had never specially taken up the "frequent and

¹ See page 53, *anted.*

² *Life of Milton*, ii. 359. "There was not a better soul breathing," says Mr. Masson, "and certainly not a more quiet and kindly clergyman, than Thomas Fuller."

³ "Will. Pryn's *Antipathy of Prelacy to Monarchy*" is quoted in *Ch.-Hist.* v. (185); and elsewhere Fuller, citing him as one "zealous against Popery," combats his statements about Wolsey *seriatim*. He adds: "So great is his antipathy

against Episcopacy that if a *Seraphim* himself should be a bishop, he would either find or make some sick feathers in his wings." v. (187).

⁴ Of the names inserted in the first draft of this body we meet with many connected with Fuller,—Brounrig, Featly, Sanderson, Hacket, Holdsworth, Ward, Westfield, Ussher, &c., but they did not take part in the discussions. There is a full account of their proceedings in Fuller's *Church-Hist.* bk. xi. 197 *seq.*

thumbed" subject before this time, yet his familiarity with it may be gathered from many passages in his lately-published *Holy State*, from which Mr. Nichols concludes that "while he evinces a decided and commendable bias towards the Episcopal Church and the Monarchy, the interests of which were then in jeopardy; he shows himself to have been not insensible of some existing blemishes and defects, for the remedy of which he gives modest intimations rather than formal advice."¹

Fuller begins the discourse now to be noticed by stating that the word *Reformation* was "long in pronouncing, and longer in performing." He insists upon the fact that Christians "living under the Gospel, live in a time of reformation." Ceremonies had been removed, manners reformed, and doctrine refined, so that "our twilight is now clearer than the Jewish noon-day. . . . The Jews indeed saw Christ presented in a land-scept,² and beheld him through the perspective of faith—*seeing the promises afar off*. But at this day a dwarf Christian is an over-match for a giant Jew in knowledge."

Freely confessing the "deformation" of the Church by Popery, Fuller says that the reforming of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was but partial and imperfect. But the doctrines established by Elizabeth and her successors, as embodied in the Thirty-nine Articles, "if declared, explained and asserted from false glosses, have all gold, no dust or dross in them." He also confesses, in allusion apparently to the school of Laud, that "there may be some faults in our Church in matters of practice and ceremonies;" and he says that these innovations "might be instanced in were it as safe as it is easy to reckon them up." They were "rather *in* the Church than *of* the Church, and not chargeable on the public account, but on private men's scores, who are old enough; let them answer for themselves." Religion is described as being in some places "threadbare; may it have a new nap: in more it is spotted; may it be well scoured: and in all places rent asunder; may it be well mended."

"A through [*sic*] Reformation we, and all good men, do desire with as strong affections, though not perhaps with so loud a noise, as any whatsoever." This is in allusion to the mobs which in many parts of the country were at this time "providing against the growth of idolatry" by the defacing of churches and religious monuments. "The highest clamour," he adds, "does not always argue the greatest earnestness."

¹ Preface to *Holy State*, p. v.

² In Todd's *Johnson*, under the word "Landscape," this extract is quoted. One may imagine how Johnson delighted to read the discourse.

He then shows how a true, thorough reformation may be made and managed long to continue, by giving the "true characters of such who are to be true and proper reformers."

Such, he states, must (first) have a *lawful calling* thereunto. The supreme power alone had a lawful calling to reform the Church, to which end private men could pray that those in power be inspired to bring about such a reformation. He forgets not here to remind reformers that they are "seriously to reform themselves. He needs not to complain of too little work who hath a little world in himself to amend. A good man in Scripture is never called God's Church, because that is a collective term belonging to many, but is often termed God's temple; such a temple it is lawful for every private man to reform." To much the same effect he afterwards spoke in his *Pisgah-Sight*: "Oh, if order were observed for every one to mend his own heart or house, how would personal amendment by degrees quickly produce family-city-country-kingdom-reformation! How soon are those streets made clean where every one sweeps against his own door!"¹

In reply to the objection as to the preacher's own calling to meddle with this matter, Fuller replies:—

"I am or should be most sensible of mine own weakness, being *ἐλαχιστότερος* the least of those that dispense the Word and Sacraments. Yet have I a calling as good as the Church of England could give me. And if she be not ashamed of such a son, I count myself honoured with such a mother. And though mere private Christians may not intermeddle with public reforming of a Church, God's prophets have in all ages challenged the privilege to tell necessary truths to the Greatest. . . . We are Christ's Embassadors (2 Cor. v. 20), and claim the leave to speak Truth with soberness. And though I cannot expect my words should be *like nails fastened* by the masters of the Assemblies (Ecc. xii. 11), yet I hope they may prove as tacks [!] entered by him that desires to be faithful and peaceable in Israel."

Piety, knowledge, true courage and magnanimity, are set forth as other qualifications in a Reformer. Christian discretion ("a grace that none ever spake against but those that wanted it") is not forgotten. Under this latter head he speaks of letting things alone which are well-ordered already. "Yet is there a generation of Anabaptists, in number fewer, I hope, than are reported, yet more I fear than are discovered; people too turbulent to obey and too tyrannical to command. If it should come into their hands to reform, Lord, what work would they make! Very facile, but very foul, is that mistake in the vulgar translation, Luke xv. 8. Instead of *Everrit domum* (she swept the house), 'tis rendered *Evertit domum* (she over-

¹ iii. 327.

turned the house). Such sweeping we must expect from such spirits, which under pretence to cleanse our Church, would destroy it. The best is, they are so far from sitting at the *helm* that I hope they shall ever be kept under *hatches*."

The discretion of the Reformer would appear in the *manner* of reformation, as well as in the *matter* of it, and would be accomplished with reverence to the ancient fathers,¹ and to the memories of the first reformers. The reformer's last qualification was that he would proceed "with carefulness, not to give any just offence to the Papists."

He concluded by saying that there was a grand difference between the founding of a new Church and reforming of an old; and that a perfect reformation of any Church in this world may be desired, but not hoped for. He spoke with contempt on this occasion, as on others, of the "transcendent, extraordinary miraculous" light, "manifested in this age, more than ever before." The worst he wishes it is that it were true. If it were contrary to God's word, he dared boldly say that such a light was kindled from hell.

The preacher forgot not to allude to the condition of England, and to show how it might be remedied:—

"O the miserable condition of our land at this time! God hath shewed the whole world that England hath enough in itself to make itself happy or unhappy, as it useth or abuseth it. Her homebred *wares* enough to maintain her, and her homebred *wars* enough to destroy her, though no foreign nation contribute to her overthrow. Well, whilst others *fight* for peace, let us *pray* for peace; for peace on good terms, yea on God's terms, and in

¹ Fuller had spoken more at length of the Fathers of the Church in his *True Church Antiquary*. "He desires to imitate the ancient fathers as well in their piety as in their postures,—not only conforming his hands and knees, but chiefly his heart, to their pattern. O the holiness of their living, and painfulness of their preaching! How full they were of mortified thoughts and heavenly meditations! Let us not make the ceremonial part of their lives only canonical and the moral part thereof altogether apocryphal, imitating their devotion not in the fineness of the stuff but only in the fashion of the making." (*Holy State*, p. 63.) In the same book Augustine is his type of the Good Bishop. So also in his *Truth Maintained*: "We have the benefit of the Fathers' books—a mighty advantage if we were as careful to use it as we are ready to brag of it for our own credit. And

here I must complain of many men's laziness. Indeed a learned man (Holcot, F.) compareth such as live in the latter times in respect of the Fathers, to dwarfs standing on giants' shoulders. But then if we will have profit by the Fathers' learning, we must take pains to mount to the top of their shoulders. But if like idle dwarfs we still do but stand on the ground, our heads will not reach to their girdles. It is not enough to throw the books of the Fathers together on an heap, and then, making their works our footstool, to stand on the outside and covers of them, as if it were no more but *Up and ride!* boasting how far we behold beyond them. No; if we expect to get advantage by their writings, we must open their books, read, understand, compare, digest, and meditate on them. And I am afraid many that least look into the Fathers boast most that they look beyond them." (Page 59.)

God's time, when He shall be pleased to give it and we fitted to receive it. Let us wish both King and Parliament so well as to wish neither of them better, but both of them best—even a happy Accommodation."

In conclusion he urged his hearers to "provide for that perfect Reformation in the world to come."

Fuller was, of course, utterly dissatisfied with the reformation of the Church as it was accomplished by the Presbyterians and Independents; and often in after-times he alluded to it in witty scorn. Very early, for instance, in his *Church-History*, speaking of the whole week in Saxon times being bescattered with idols, he says: "This some zealot may behold as the object of a necessary reformation, desiring to have the days of the week new-dipt, and called after other names. Though, indeed, this supposed scandal will not offend the wise, as beneath their notice, and cannot offend the ignorant as above their knowledge."¹ The monks, he shows, took new names, "according to their Sub-de-re-reformations."² And again: "Of late the word *Reformation* is grown so threadbare, it hath no nap left it, thereunder to cover foul acts to attain a fair end. I much suspect the Animadvertor [Heylyn] will prove such a deform-ing-reformer, as our age hath produced too many of them."³

This sermon was the means of bringing about a sudden change in the prospects of the preacher. By many he was now censured as being too hot a Royalist; and with them his reputation for moderation was gone. A contemporary opinion states that Fuller was "extremely distasteful to the Parliament." Not ashamed of the opinions he had expressed, or afraid of the consequences that might result from proclaiming them; but fearing rather to be misrepresented to those whose good opinion he valued, Fuller determined to publish the sermon, and sent it to the recently-appointed licensers for regulating printing. It came to the hands of *John Downam*, one of the licensers of the divinity-publications; and he added his imprimatur in the following terms: "I approve this sermon as orthodox and useful. JOHN DOWNAM."⁴ Williams, whom we now begin to recognise as Fuller's usual publisher, entered the pamphlet at Stationers' Hall on 2nd August, being the first of Fuller's

¹ Bk. i. p. 55. Commenting on this passage, Coleridge (*Notes on English Divines*, i. 125) says: "A curious prediction, fulfilled a few years after in the Quakers, and well worthy of being extracted and addressed to the present Friends." But the Quakers were then a sect, having already floated their

opinions. See Fuller's dedication of the 8th book of his *History*.

² vi. 279. On a par with this word is Fuller's "*ὑπερ-super-over-commanding*."

³ *Appeal*, pt. i. p. 310.

⁴ Downam was son of a former Bishop of Chester, and had been educated at Cambridge. He became Lecturer at St.

pieces on those registers; and on the same day¹ it was published under the title of *A Sermon of Reformation*. Another impression seems to have been taken with a new title-page, &c., perhaps for circulation in the King's parts.

On the 31st of July, four days after the delivery of the sermon on Reformation, the important and startling news was brought to London of the surrender of Bristol, by Nathaniel Fiennes (27th of July, 1643). This event was the second important Royalist victory which had been achieved in July, that near Devizes, under Hopton, having occurred on the 13th. Clarendon says that the direful news struck the Parliamentarians to the heart. To the King "it was a full tide of prosperity, and made him master of the second city of his kingdom, and gave him the undisputed possession of one of the richest counties of the kingdom."² The posture of the Royalist armies at this time gave rise to the triplet:—

"Bristol taking,
Exeter shaking,
Gloucester quaking."

Consequent on this success, and on account of the condition of the army under Essex, then at Uxbridge, debates arose in the House of Lords, on 2nd August, favourable to another attempted accommodation with the King, on conditions more moderate than had been before demanded. Violent mobs at the same time made demonstrations in favour of peace. A conference took place between the Lords and Commons; and on Saturday, 5th August, a motion, carried by a majority of nineteen, was agreed to in favour of treating with the King.

On the following day, however, the City preachers—a great company, now augmented by the Assembly of Divines—urged the rejection of the proposed accommodation; and they had influence enough to bring about a strong feeling against it. Pennington, the Lord Mayor, and the Common Council declared against the proposals, and petitioned on the same day for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Their petition was on the morrow escorted to Westminster by large crowds of persons. Under these and other influences, therefore, Parliament rescinded the obnoxious resolution by a majority of seven.

Bartholomew's, London. Herle and Calamy were his associates in the censorship. Fuller had dealings with the two first mentioned of these names, and speaks of them with respect. It was with reference to this "regulation of

printing" that Milton wrote the *Areopagitica*.

¹ "Aug. 2" is added to the copy which is in the British Museum, E. 63. 3.

² *Rebellion*, viii. 409.

It is more in accord with these circumstances to suppose that that petition for peace which Fuller says he and five others were charged to take to the King¹ was now drawn up. At any rate, the recall of the delegates, when on their way to Oxford, is explained by the change of opinion in the House. Mr. Russell, Fuller's last biographer, placed this petition at this juncture;² but I have sought in vain in London collections of pamphlets and records to find an authentic trace of it. It must therefore be concluded that the petition given at the end of this chapter is that to which Fuller refers.

During these events many members of the Houses, and other Royalists, made their way to the quarters of the King,³ whose affairs now seemed promising. Fuller still remained in London at the Savoy, but his days there were numbered. "The violent party," says Clarendon, "carried now all before them, and were well contented with the absence of those who used to give them some trouble and vexation."⁴ The war was entered upon with renewed vigour, and the chances of peace again for a time became hopeless.

The printing or the delivery of Fuller's late sermon (or, as Mr. Riggall thinks, the delivery of the peace petition in spite of the Parliament's order) gave great umbrage to the popular party. There were certainly many passages in the sermon which could not fail to be unpalatable: such a sentence as "though papists forget their duty to us, let us remember our duty to them," would cause many to look upon the preacher as a hopeless malignant. Fuller's sketch of what a Church reformer ought to be was not at all applicable to many of those who had undertaken the reformation of the Church. His quiet but bold advocacy of episcopacy when it had been cast aside, and his allusions to the King, and the judgment which (as the preacher said) posterity would accord him when it saw the inscriptions on his coins, still less tended to allay the odium with which Fuller was now regarded. The King's recent successes in the field, moreover, did not modify the censures which were cast upon the preacher who had so imprudently (as his opponents deemed) pursued peace. "The present necessity of the cause," as my author states, "requiring that all the pulpits in London should be of one language and one speech," it was thought advisable to break up the influential congregations which Fuller weekly addressed; and it was now therefore that his refusal to take the recent oath afforded the

¹ *Appeal*, p. 444; see pp. 247, 248.

² Clarendon, vii. 418.

³ Page 139.

⁴ Page 419.

opportunity for driving the preacher away. Some who were present at the interview in his vestry at the Savoy Chapel now probably complained that the oath had not been taken in its entirety. Fuller was, therefore, peremptorily ordered (as he himself says) that the next Lord's day (perhaps 20th August) he should take the oath *in terminis terminantibus*, "in the face of the Church." In *Scobell*, under date of 17th August, 1643, an Act is given for the oath or covenant to be taken by all persons then in the city of London, or lines of communication. Under this act, therefore, it was that Fuller was proceeded against.

Fuller as promptly determined on his course of action. He would terminate his mission of peace. The oath he could not in conscience agree to; and to avoid the consequences of the refusal, "I withdrew myself," says he, "into the King's parts, which (I hope) I may no less safely than I do freely confess, because punished for the same with the loss of my livelihood, and since I suppose pardoned in the Act of Oblivion [1651]."¹ His case is, indeed, somewhat similar to that of Dr. Peter Baro, who, compelled to quit his office as Margaret Professor at the end of his three years' lectures, was asked the cause of his withdrawal, and returned, *Fugio, ne fugarer*—I fly for fear of being driven away.² So again, with a fellow-feeling, our author in his *Life of Jerome of Prague* speaks thus: "His adversaries much insult on his flight as one evidence of his guilt; whereas if matters be well-weighed, seeing he could not obtain license safely to stay, Christ gave him a warrant lawfully to depart in those words, not only *permissive directive*, but *injunctive*, 'When you are persecuted in one city flee to another.'"³ Fuller's flight is mentioned in the *Bill of Mortality of the Clergy of London* thus: "Savoy: Dr. Balcanqual sequestered, plundered, and forced to fly, and dead in remote parts; and Mr. Fuller forced to fly."⁴ Balcanqual, after sojourning at Oxford and York, went for safety to Chirk Castle, in Denbighshire, where he died in 1645. Bishop Pearson wrote his epitaph.

¹ *Ch.-Hist.*, bk. xi. p. 207.

² *Hist. Camb.* sect. viii. § 21.

³ *Abel Redeivous*, § ix. p. 25.

⁴ Quoted in Heylyn's *Hist. Presbyt.* xiii. 449. See also *Harl. Miscell.* vii. 84.

NOTE TO CHAPTER IX.

THE PETITION FOR PEACE.

A | PETITION | of the Citie of | WESTMINSTER, | And the Parishes | of
 | Saint *Clement Danes* | and | Saint *Martins* in the Fields, | as | It was
 carried from them by Sir | *Edward Warder*, Doctor *Castle*, Doctor
Fuller, and Doctor *Duckson*, and by them presented to his Sacred |
 Majestie at *Oxford*. | WITH | His Majesties gracious Answer concerning
 | the said PETITION. | *London*, Printed for *Thomas Hudson*, | *Jan.* 18,
 1643.

To the King's Most Excellent Majestie. | The humble Petition of
 the City of | *Westminster*, the Parishes of *S. Clement* | *Danes*,
 and *S. Martin's* in the Fields, | As it was presented to his
 Majestie at *Oxford*, *Jan.* 7, 1642.

May it please Your Excellent Majesty,

WE the Inhabitants of your ancient Citie of *Westminster*, sometimes
 the Regall Seat of your Ancestours of famous memorie, together with
 our neighbours, the Inhabitants of the populous Parishes of *St. Martin's* in
 the Fields, and *St. Clements Danes*, much afflicted and greatly impoverished
 by these intestine wars ; but more especially by the reason of your Majesties
 so long absence from your royall Palace at *White-Hall*, where wee were
 usually blest with the beames of your Majesties countenance, thought our
 selves engaged in dutie to your Majestie, and in charitie to our selves and
 families, to present with all humilitie and lowlinesse of mind, our grievances,
 and with them our loyal desires to your Sacred Goodnesse, which wee know,
 and are assured is so full of tender pitie to us your obedient Subjects, that
 your Majestie will lend a gracious eare to our complaints. We are (may it
 please your Sacred Majestie) oppressed with all the calamities that can be,
 grieved principally for your Majesties so long separation from the Honour-
 able your High Court of Parliament, the chiefe and most faithfull Councill
 appurtenant to our English Nation : We are above measure afflicted at the
 afflictions of our brethren, and have a fellow-feeling of their sufferings, who
 in the Countries round about us, groan under the heavie burden of a civill
 war, their houses plundered, their goods taken away, and their lives in daily
 danger. Nay, divers of our Country-men, Friends, and Allies (to our no
 small grieve and anguish of minde), having lost their lives in the fatall con-
 tentions, which have been frequent in these unnaturall wars. And though
 we in our persons have not yet felt any of these miseries, yet we can not be
 so foolishly secure, as to imagine we are proof against all these thunder-
 bolts which hang over us. And moreover we do daily run behind hand, and
 are much impoverished in our estates, to the utter undoing almost of our
 families, by reason that through the danger and calamitie of the times all
 traffique and commerce both at home and abroad, is as it were expiring, and
 at the last gaspe, no man having any valuable vent for his commodities, to
 the utter ruine and decay of many honest and able housholders, who are

enforced (without any income from their present estates) to maintaine themselves out of the whole stock ; which still decreasing without any augmentation or supply, must at last (and in a very short space) be consumed and brought to nought. One of the principall occasions of this our detriment and losse, being the long and lamented absence of Your royall person, and your Court, from this City ; we of your City of Westminster, and the adjoining Parishes of St. *Martins* and St. *Clements*, having our greatest intercourse of trade with your royall Court, by reason of our vicinitie to the same, and with the Families of such of the Nobility and Gentry as inhabited the Strand, and the adjacent places : who having most of their dependence on your Majesty, and Your regall Court, have by reason of Your long absence from hence absented themselves. Divers others also, by reason of these domestick tumults, being removed from their wonted habitations into the Country.

Besides, it may please Your Majestie to take into Your Gracious consideration the destructive effects of a Civill war, and Your Highnesse long disjunction and discontinuance from Your loyall and well affected Your honourable high Court of Parliament, assembled for the service and advancement of your Majesties affaires, which they have ever endeavoured and promoted; and for the good of your people in generall, the peace and securitie of all Your Majesties dominions, which have alwaies been the period and aime of this your Parliaments intentions, as by their honourable and just proceedings are and have been daily manifested.

In Consideration of all these premises, and for the honour of God, the maintenance and settling of Gods true Religion, now at many distractions in this Kingdome, for the quieting and appeasing of all these lamentable distractions : and finally, for the happinesse of all your Majesties liege people, we, your loyall and faithfull Subjects, found ourselves engaged in conscience, and doe most humbly beseech your Majesty to take into your Princely consideration these our vances, and tender them with the eye of your excellent compassion and pity. And since they have all derived themselves from one head, namely, your Majesties absence from your high Court of Parliament, wee in all humility desire that your Majesty out of your inbred clemency to all your Subjects, deserting all Malignant Counsells to the contrary, would graciously vouchsafe to hearken to the advices of your High Court of Parliament, and in your royall wisdom take some speedy course for an Accommodation of peace between your sacred Majesty and the honourable the High Court of Parliament ; and so the God of heaven, the fountaine of peace, blesse your Majesty, as wee your humble Suppliants in all duty bound shall ever pray, to our lives end.

HIS MAJESTIES GRACIOUS *Answer* to the *Petition* aforesaid.

WE have received your loyall Petition, and doe much rejoyce to finde your wishes so concurrent with the desires of your brethren of Our City of *London* and the most considerable Cities and parts of Our Kingdome, in requesting Our Royall care and furtherance for the settling of a sudden constant peace betwixt Our selfe and Our high Court of Parliament. We having as tender a resentment¹ of the long and deplorable breach between Us and them, as either you or any other of Our faithfull and obedient Subjects can

¹ *Resent*, Fr. *ressentir*, was at this time seldom used in a bad sense. It signified a reciprocal sentiment of kindness as well as unkindness.

possibly have : for the losses and damages which Our Subjects in generall have sustained, and your selves in particular have undergone by reason of these tumults and civill dissentions. We have had as great a consideration and sense of grieffe for all your sufferings, as you had been allyed to Us, as neere as Our owne children. Wee know very well, that in such times, when nothing but dissentions and the rumour of war is heard in Our borders, that all things which have beene produced and nourished by the continuance of a long and happy peace, must needs run the hazard of immediate ruine, and heartily wish that heaven had been pleased not to have laid in Our time this heave scourge upon this Our Kingdome ; but it was Our sins that hath pulled this rod of his vengeance upon this Our land, which We hope his mercy will suddenly, and in his good time avert from Us.

For Our owne parts, as Wee are by God and succession placed in the Throne of this Kingdome, Wee have ever been carefull to preserve and defend Our Subjects from all miseries or affliction that might fall on them, either to the prejudice of their Estates or persons, and so shall as long as God shall spare Us life ever continue, maintaining the Right and Proerty [*sic*] of the Subject equally with Oure owne prerogative and dignity, and ever seeking the advancement of Gods true Religion and Worship throughout all Our Dominions.

For these Dissentions betwixt Our selfe and Parliament, certainly Wee dare affirme they have not been more afflicted at Our long absence from them, then Wee Our selfe have, that We are inforced to absent Our selfe from Our Palace at *White-Hall*, which We have alwayes esteemed as Our best loved and capitall residence. But mis-interpretations betwixt Us, and mis-conceits of both our meanings have occasioned this difference, which We shall as much as is in Our power, hereafter strive to suppress and take away ; and then Wee doubt not, when they shall rightly understand Us and We them, but these dissentions will suddenly vanish, and leave no remembrance behinde them. For Our selfe, Wee doe protest to you, that could Wee with the safety of Our affaires fulfill that part of your Petition wherein you intreat Our return to Our Palace & Parliament, We should performe it without any regret, as willingly as Wee belive you desire it heartily, but as yet Wee are impossibilitated from putting those resolutions in act, through the urgency and importance of Our present businesse, but that will not last so long, but We shall be able in a short time in that also to accomplish your desires. But whereas you Petition Us in Our royall care to take such speedy order for Our accomodation of peace between Our selfe & Our high Court of Parliament, in that believe Us, Our endeavour shall be no whit wanting, We shall with as much zeale and willingness strive to perfect an atonement of all differences betwixt Us, as Wee shall desire of heaven to blesse Us with any earthly happinesse ; amongst all which We account the peace of Our Kingdome, and prosperity of Our people the chiefe ; and since that can no way be effected, but by a quick reconciliation between Us and Our high Court of Parliament, none Wee hope is so uncharitable to believe that We shall not further the compleating such a reconciliation with all the power We have : which Wee promise you We will do, being furnished with that good opinion of Our Parliaments loyalty and affection to Us their Sovereigne, that they will meet Our royall intentions halfe way for the compassing of peace, and be as ready to imbrace Our just Propositions as We shall to listen to and grant theirs. And this you may confidently credit, is Our royall Resolution, which no malignant or sinister counsell shall ever alter Us from.



CHAPTER X.

REFUGEE AT OXFORD. "TRUTH MAINTAINED." (1643.)

FULLER'S FLIGHT FROM LONDON.—THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.—LILLY THE ASTROLOGER.—FULLER'S DEFENCE OF HIMSELF.—OXFORD AND THE ROYALISTS.—LINCOLN COLLEGE.—PETER HEYLYN AND OTHER REFUGEES.—FULLER'S RECEPTION BY THE COURT.—HIS DISGRACE.—HIS MODERATION OF CONDUCT.—HIS "SERMON OF REFORMATION" ATTACKED BY SALTMARSH.—CHARLES HERLE.—FULLER'S "TRUTH MAINTAINED:" THE EPISTLES.—FATE OF SALTMARSH.—FULLER'S LIBRARY: THE HERTFORD FAMILY.—FULLER'S POVERTY.

"Reader, for the matter of 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 Truths for my sake; but think the better of me for the Truths' 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." (*Truth Maintained*, pp. 77-8.)

IT does not appear in what way Fuller contrived his flight. It was evidently in concert with a plan arranged at Oxford. The communication between the two cities was very difficult, passes from both sides being generally required. Rushworth mentions an order of the Commons, January 1643, restricting carriers going to Oxford, and making it a capital crime for the servants of Royalists in arms to come to London. Similar restrictions existed at Oxford, two royal proclamations being issued this year in July and October.¹ A few months earlier than the time at which we have arrived, Milton (as his latest biographer shows) had made his way from London through Oxford to bring back his first wife.²

Fuller's sudden disappearance from London occurred between the date given to the Act we have quoted from Scobell and a date

¹ Rushworth, vol. iii. pt. iii. p. 343.

² Masson's *Milton*, ii. 503.

shortly before the excitement consequent upon the siege of Gloucester, to the relief of which Essex successfully marched with the trained bands (Aug. 21-26). Upon the General's return, the first battle of Newbury was fought, "wherein the Londoners did shew," says Fuller, "that they could as well use a sword in the field, as a metward in a shop"¹ (Sept. 20). Five days later the Solemn League and Covenant, the pledge of the assistance of the Scotch, was taken with great solemnity at Westminster by the House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines, being afterwards eagerly signed by their adherents. Many, like Walton, regarded the whole proceedings with aversion: "all corners of the nation," he says, "were filled with Covenanters, confusion, committee-men, and soldiers."

With regard to this League and Covenant, it was said some years afterwards that Fuller had taken it; and the statement has often been repeated in Walker, the biographies, &c. The charge seems to have been first made in print by the notorious William Lilly,² the astrologer and almanack-maker, in the

¹ *Worthies*, § Barkshire, p. III.

² Lilly uttered prophecies in favour of the King till the royal cause declined. He was often consulted by Royalists, with the King's privity, on questions of policy; and he was well paid for his opinions. He predicted a battle for the King in 1645, but *Naseby* was the result! He afterwards gave his services to the Parliament, engaging his "body and soul" in their cause, "but still with much affection to his Majesty's person and unto monarchy." (*Hist. of his Life and Times*.) He foretold their victories, getting good pay here, too, for his pains. *Hudibras* ridicules him under the name of Sidrophel:

"Did not our great Reformers use
This Sidrophel to forbode news?
To write on victories next year,
And castles taken yet i' th' air."

During Cromwell's campaigns in Scotland, Lilly says that a soldier encouraged his comrades before an engagement by the month's predictions of victories for them out of his *Merlinus Anglicus*. At one time he associated with Elias Ashmole, the antiquary, in one of whose MSS. in the Bodleian written by the Astrologer, there is the cast of the nativity of one of Fuller's name, thus:—

"Dno. Fuller—1646

13 D. 3. 10 A.M.
1633 8 July 1633."

In the course of events he again attempted to change sides, but performing this feat too suddenly, he was for a time taken in custody. His reputation was most seriously damaged by announcing an eclipse which never took place. In 1656 he was again consulted by the Royalists, whom he inspired by predicting the King's restoration in the following year. Fuller somewhere notices this curiosity to know things to come, "one of the kernels of the forbidden fruit," as still "sticking in the throats of too many, even to the danger of choking them if it be not warily prevented." (*Andronicus*, bk. v. § 14.) Both King James and Archbishop Laud were affected by astrology. But Thomas Gataker, B.D., attacked the certainty of the art in the Assembly's *Annotations on Jeremiah*, Lilly having maintained that it was revealed to mankind by the good angels. The astrologer accordingly so roughly handled the divine that the latter, in defence, wrote an entertaining *Discours Apologetical*, 1654, a valuable autobiographical tract. After his death in the same year, Lilly again abused him.

Oldys does not find that Fuller ever looked with a malignant aspect on any of the planetary schemes of Will. Lilly; or that ever he charged any of his unaccomplished predictions with being retrograde, or in opposition to truth. (*Biog. Brit.* iii. 2052.)

address to the reader of his *True History of James the First and Charles the First*, which is dated July 23, 1651. After vouching for the sincerity of his work, Lilly says that he would be sorry to belie the Dead, as Mr. Fuller had done in the case of Paracelsus (see his Life in the *Holy State*). He adds: "That Mr. Fuller may know he hath wantonly abused his Oratory, I let the Ages to come know thus much of himself, namely, That he took the *Covenant* twice for the *Parliament*, before my Face in the *Savoy-Church*; invited others unto it; yet, *Apostate*-like, ran within few days to *Oxford*, and there whined to his Companions and protested, the Countess of R[utland, to whom we shall presently refer] made him take it. 'Let not thy jests, like Mummy, be made of Dead Men's Flesh. Abuse not any that are departed; for to wrong their Memories, is to rob their Ghosts of their Winding-Sheets,' says Thomas Fuller in his *Holie State*, (*On Festing*, page 156.)¹ And yet this man must call *Paracelsus* a Quacksalver,² and give him besides other *Billingsgate* Language. Dr. Charlton (in his *Mag. Cure of Wounds*, page 30) stiles *Paracelsus* the Ornament of *Germany*, &c. Let the World and Writings of the Man judge of the Truth of Mr. Fuller's scurvy Language." Oldys very trenchantly remarked that it little became such a scribbler as Lilly to charge Fuller with having belied one man, who, through the impostures of his pretended arts, made it his constant practice to belie and deceive the whole nation.

As to Fuller and Paracelsus, Coleridge says: "It is a matter of regret to me that Fuller had not looked through the two Latin folios of Paracelsus's *Works*. It is not to be doubted that a rich and delightful article would have been the result. For who, like Fuller, could have brought out and set forth this singular compound of true philosophic genius with the morals of a quack and manners of a King of the Gypsies!"³

The assertions of Lilly are probably only some of many calumnies that were in circulation after the flight of Fuller, whose conduct must have given rise to a great amount of bitter feeling against him. Lilly's mistake as to the oath was due to his confusing the two Covenants at a time when the taking of oaths and protestations were common events. Evelyn's entry in his diary—"The *Covenant* being pressed, I absented myself" (from London)—would naturally be taken to indicate

¹ Page 146 (edit. 1663).

² Fuller's words are: "the famous Quacksalver Paracelsus" (p. 50). He inserts the life after his character of The Good Physician, pp. 51-56, because his

life was not ordinarily to be met with. Paracelsus ought properly to have found a place in the *second* part of Fuller's book.

³ *Notes on English Divines*, i. 120.

the Solemn League, did not the date, July 23, 1643, point to the fact that the oath meant is that which Fuller acknowledges he took with reservations at the Savoy.

In the *Church-History* Fuller makes a satisfactory refutation of Lilly's statement;—a passage which his biographers have not always quoted. After having given the particulars of the Solemn League and Covenant, with the objections which were made to it, he says: "So much concerning the Covenant, which [during?] some three months after [namely after Oct. 1st, 1643] began to be rigorously and generally urged. Nor have I aught else to observe thereof, save to add in mine own defence, that I never saw the same, except at distance, as hung up in churches, nor ever had any occasion to read, or hear it read, till this day¹ in writing my History, whatever hath been reported and printed to the contrary of my taking thereof in London, who went away from the Savoy to the King's quarters long before any mention thereof in England."² Then, in a paragraph which he terms *The Author's plea in his own just defence*, he describes what the oath was which he did take, namely that already referred to and quoted.

Fuller's biographer refers at length to these circumstances; but, as usual, he is not free from error. He says, for instance, that "the Covenant" was generally pressed in the *beginning* of 1643³ (*i.e.* March), and that Fuller left London in the following *April*;⁴ dates which, if followed, would throw us utterly wrong in our chronology of this critical period of our author's life: "Several false rumours and cavils there are about his carriage and opinion touching that sacrilegious thing. [the League and Covenant] by persons, who were distanced as far from the knowledge of those passages, as fortunately from being concerned and engaged within the reach of that snare. 'Twas not only easy, but most prudential, for other ecclesiastical persons to quit their livings who were out of the gripes and clutches of those ravenous Reformists in order to keep their consciences inviolable; but it was difficulty enough of itself for the Doctor to escape and get out of that place where the next preferment would have been a dungeon.

"Some velitations [disputes], transient discourses, he made

¹ July 1st, 1654.—F.

² Bk. xi. p. 206. On the 18th of July Parliament agreed on the instructions for a treaty with the Scotch, and the Earl of Rutland was sent to Scotland with the Commissioners appointed. They arrived August 7, and it was not until the 18th of August that the Covenant was agreed

upon and sent to England. On the 28th August it was presented to Parliament, and was printed about a month later. Fuller is very exact in giving the dates and circumstances connected with its public introduction.

³ Page 20.

⁴ Page 22.

about that frequent and thumbed subject of the reformation, the rather to suspend the busy censures of the Parliament and their party; wherein, though he seemed to comply (but as far as the rule and example would allow), and indulge the misapprehension of those men; yet these his charitable disguises could not obscure him from the severe animadversions of several ministers eminent in those reforming times, particularly Mr. Saltmarsh."

And again: "The Doctor was settled in the love and affections of his own parish, besides other obligations to his numerous followers; so that the Covenant then tendered might seem like the bright side of that cloud (promising serenity and prosperity to him, as was insinuated to the Doctor by many great parliamentarians), which showered down after a little remoteness such a black horrible tempest upon the clergy, nay, the Church and three kingdoms. But the good Doctor could not bow down his knee to that Baal-Berith, nor for any worldly considerations (enough whereof invited him even to fall down and worship, men of his great parts being infinitely acceptable to them) lend so much as an ear to their serpentine charms of religion and reformation. Since therefore he could not continue with his cure without his conscience, and every day threatened the imposition of that illegal oath, he resolved to betake himself to God's providence and to put himself directly under it, waiving all indirect means and advantages whatsoever towards his security. In order thereunto, in April [August], 1643, he deserted the City of London, and privately conveyed himself to Oxford, to the no less sudden amazement of the faction here [London], (who yet upon recollection quickly found their mistake), than to the unexpected content and joy of the loyal party there, who had every day Job's messengers of the plundering, ruins, and imprisonments of orthodox divines."¹

Oxford, in the year 1643, in consequence of the King's resort thither after the battle of Edge-hill, was (as the author of *The Worthies* describes it) "a Court, a Garrison, and an University;" and so remained about three years. Cambridge had early fallen into the power of the Parliament, which had possession of it throughout the struggle; but Oxford adhered to the King. The students generally laid aside their pens for swords: some were even enrolled as archers. Magdalen College was especially loyal: there Prince Rupert was quartered. The Court, thronged with the King's adherents, was kept at Merton College, formerly most "famous for schoolmen:" the Queen,

¹ *Life*, pp. 18-22.

who in June this year had marched to her husband's assistance, was the centre of attraction there. Great changes had been made in the appearance of the city; fortifications, at which the students worked with a will, were thrown up around it; colleges became barracks, and the inmates cavaliers. Soon after the King resorted to the city, there was an influx of his adherents thither; and this was especially the case soon after the failure of the negotiations for a treaty. Fuller's eulogist describes it as "the common refuge and shelter of such persecuted persons [as Fuller], so that it never was nor is like to be a more learned university, (one breast [*i.e.* Cambridge] being dried up by Cromwell's visitation, the milk resorted to the other) nor did ever letters and arms so well consist together, it being an accomplished academy of both;" adding of the King's friends, that they came "like the clean beasts to the Ark when the waters increased!"¹

Upon the arrival of our fugitive at Oxford, he took up his abode at LINCOLN COLLEGE. This college was reputed to be the least in the University. Its Rector then was Dr. Paul Hudd [Hood]. Dr. Robert Sanderson, who at this time was holding office in the University, and who was of the same school of churchmanship as Fuller, is mentioned by our author as one of the modern worthies of the college still (1655) surviving. The collegiate life was much disturbed by the demands made upon its generosity by the Court and its adherents. All the colleges were crowded with other inmates besides their ordinary households, and the cost of living was proportionably high. Among others who were sheltered at Lincoln College while Fuller was a resident there, was Sir Gervase Scroop, who here told him the story of his remarkable preservation after the fight at Edge-hill, where with his tenants he had fought upon the King's side. Fuller speaks of him, when partly recovered from his twenty-six wounds, as a monument of God's mercy and his son's affection. "He always after carried his arm in a scarf; and loss of blood made him look very pale, as a messenger come from the grave to advise the living to prepare for death. The effect of his story I received from his own mouth in Lincoln College."² The old soldier's tale is related with a difference in detail by Clarendon.

The Calculus of 1643, still preserved at Lincoln College, shows that "Sir Edward Wardour," the colleague of "Dr. Fuller" of the peace petition, was also a resident there, occupying for "the three last quarters" of the year "the low chamber

¹ Pages 22, 23.

² *Worthies*, § Lincolnshire, p. 175.

at the west end of the new chapele," £2 10s. being entered as his rent. The "second upper cockloft" is also stated to have been rented by him in "the fourth quarter" of the year. He died March 14, 1645-6, and was buried in All Saints' parish (in which Lincoln College is situated).¹ In all probability the following entry in the same document relates to Fuller himself:—

"Item, Ffor ye 2nd. Cock-loft over Mr. Kelham ye whole yeare. *Fowler.* 16 s."

"Fowler" appears to have been afterwards added. The same hand apparently who wrote this word spells Prince Rupert's name *Robert*. There is no list of those who occupied rooms in any other year but the busy year of 1643.²

Fuller's prospects were now probably too much disturbed to allow of the prosecution of his self-imposed task of writing an ecclesiastical history. He had, he said, "little list" to write. Hence it does not appear that he was an attendant at the Bodleian Library. The Book of Admissions being imperfect about this time, there are no means of ascertaining whether any of his time was actually spent at this resort of scholars. Nor are there, strange to say, traces of his presence there in the subsequent more peaceful years, when it may be concluded he certainly attended to consult the rare works.

Fuller remained at Lincoln College during his abode in the city. But he found the charges for living there so very great, that afterwards, when writing his *Church-History*, he thus referred to it: "I could much desire (were it in my power) to express my service to this foundation, acknowledging myself for a quarter of a year in these troublesome times (though no member of) a dweller in it. I will not complain of the dearness of this University, where *seventeen weeks* cost me more than *seventeen years* in Cambridge, even all that I had; but shall pray that the students therein be never hereafter disturbed upon the like occasion."³

Unfortunately for Fuller's peace, his antagonist, Heylyn, was a native of Oxfordshire; and as the University was his *Alma Mater*, he was extremely jealous of her honour. This, Fuller states, he had from Heylyn's mouth. The latter had, indeed,

¹ Upon the right side of the chancel window of the old church of All Saints' was a tablet with the arms of Wardour, and this inscription in capitals:—

"Here underneath lyeth entered
The Body of Sr. Edward Wardour Knt. who
Departed this life March the 14th
1645 and likewise the Body of
His Deare and Loveinge wife the
Lady Iane Wardour who desired

to be entered Here also who
Departed this life Jan. 26th 1652
and was Buried the First of
February Followeinge."

² For these details I am indebted to the Rev. W. Best, the Bursar of Lincoln College, who very obligingly made a careful examination of the accounts at the dates in question.

³ Bk. iv. p. 168.

written a history of the University. He therefore angrily attacked Fuller on account of the passage just cited: "He hath no reason to complain of the University, or the dearness of it; but rather of himself for coming to a place so chargeable and destructive to him. He might have tarried where he was (for I never heard that he was sent for), and then this great complaint about the dearness of that University would have found no place." To whom Fuller: ". . . As for my being sent for to Oxford, the animadverto, I see, hath not heard of all that was done. I thought that as St. Paul wished all 'altogether such as he was, except these bonds,' so the animadverto would have wished all Englishmen like himself, *save in his sequestration*, and rather welcomed than jeered such as went to Oxford."¹

Oldys remarks as follows on Heylyn's perversion of Fuller's meaning with respect to the dearness of the University: "Many such bitter draughts of his gall should we swallow if we were to run through the *Examen*, and many other of his controversial writings, in which he surely did not sufficiently reflect, that if the clergy were to make a practice of thus treating their own cloth, it would soon be no wonder that the laity, of whom they are the instructors, should in their treatment of them follow their own example."

Heylyn, whose importance had ceased with the fall of Laud, was himself then also at Oxford. He had been especially singled out for the revenge of the Long Parliament. He himself has left us a droll anecdote of his unpopularity. Passing along a London street, a fellow "shouldered him" as he went along, saying (in allusion to his well-known *Cosmography*), "Geography is better than Divinity!" He was summoned to attend several of the committees in London, and was at length glad to obtain leave to go back to his Hampshire vicarage; and as he went he purposed never to come back to Westminster while his two good friends, the House of Commons and the Lord of Lincoln, abode in it! When Waller, with his army, was at Portsmouth, Heylyn was compelled to flee to Oxford. Upon this, his property was sequestered. He accounted the loss of his library the greatest of his losses; "for nothing is dearer to a good scholar than books, that to part with them goes as much against his nature and genius as to lose his life; for he spendeth his days wholly in them, and thinketh that a horrible night of ignorance, worse than Egyptian darkness, would overshadow the world without their learning."

¹ *Appeal*, pt. ii. p. 444.

The books were taken to Portsmouth, where they were appraised at £1,000, and put into a public library, from whence they could never be redeemed. Heylyn remained at Oxford during the actual fighting, editing the weekly *Mercurius Aulicus* (the first number of which appeared June 1, 1643), which was conducted "with an activity and virulence, and with a disregard of fact in his statements, which even more than rivalled the exaggerations of those sent forth by the weekly writers of the Parliament's party."¹ Heylyn's pen, however, could write on such subjects with great vivacity, and even with ability; and a reader taking up this old journal will not soon lay it aside. His periodical affected the Parliament otherwise; for they were resolved if they could take him "that he should follow his good Lord of Canterbury to another world than that described in his *Cosmography!*" Having lost all his preferments, he was very poor; and being asked soon after reaching Oxford how he lived, he answered "by horseflesh and old leather;"² meaning that he was living on the proceeds of the sale of his coach and horses which had conveyed him thither, the only property he then had. He left Oxford after a while, and for two or three years led the life of a "wandering divine."³

The dignified clergy who had been threatened or silenced by the Parliamentary officials were at this time very numerous in Oxford. Our hero was not the only one of his name who found a retreat in that city. Two, at least, can be indicated. The one was that Dr. WILLIAM FULLER, the Dean of Ely, who had attended the Convocation of 1640.⁴ Very early in the troubles he had come under censure, in connection, apparently, with disturbances about the altar rails at St. Giles's. Articles were accordingly exhibited against him in Parliament⁵ (Oct. 1641) "for opposing the order about lecturers, the zealots being desirous of setting up Mr. Sedgwick, a factious minister, to preach a Thursday-lecture in his parish." Fuller was, in consequence, committed into custody as a delinquent, Oct. 22: divers dangerous and scandalous matters delivered by him in several sermons having been urged against him.

His own account states that he was taken from his dwelling house in London and imprisoned in Ely House. In the prison "he preached so comfortably," says Lloyd, "as if (to use Mr. Noyes' words of another) he knew the mind of God."⁶ On

¹ Nugent's *Hampden*, p. 342.

² A similar remark, attributed to Priedeaux, is quoted at the end of this chapter.

³ Barnard's *Life of Heylyn*.

⁴ See page 183 *anted*.

⁵ *Nelson*, ii. 492 *seq.* The petition and articles against him was printed, 4to. 1641.

⁶ *Memoires*, p. 509.

Nov. 11th, he was ordered to be bailed on his own petition.¹ He himself says that he was sent by his Excellency the Earl of Essex to Oxford, in exchange for another. There he remained throughout the siege, being his Majesty's Chaplain in Ordinary. Meanwhile his property in London was sequestered. His preaching at Oxford gave great satisfaction to the King. "He preached there so seasonably," says Lloyd, "that King Charles would say of him and some others there, that 'they were sent of God to set those distracted times in their wits by the sobriety of their doctrines and the becomingness of their behaviour.'" This eulogy as markedly applies also to Thomas Fuller, who was one of those tranquil men who generally come into notice in seasons of contention: him the King also came to appreciate, ordering him to print at least one sermon preached before the Court. Charles, according to our Fuller's biographer, was "the most excellent intelligent prince of the abilities of his clergy."² On the death of Balcanqual, the King made William Fuller Dean of Durham; but he never took institution of it, because he would not quit Ely. He was already D.D. of Cambridge, and in August, 1645, he was incorporated at Oxford, where he remained until its surrender.³

Fuller would also meet at Oxford with another WILLIAM FULLER (1608-75), who is not to be confounded with the foregoing. He ultimately became Bishop of Lincoln. He has by some authorities been regarded as the uncle of the author of *The Worthies*; ⁴ and is even confounded by others with Thomas Fuller himself.⁵ The pedigree at p. 280 will indicate his immediate connections. He was the son of Thomas Fuller, citizen and goldsmith of London, where he was born in 1608. He was educated at Westminster School; afterwards entered Magdalen Hall, and from thence was translated to Edmund Hall, Oxford, where he studied fifteen years. He became a petty canon of Christ Church; and to this college he bequeathed "my picture chest of violls and organ, wishing myself more able to expresse my affection to them in some more rich legacy." Upon his return to London he was received into the family of

¹ *Nalson*, ii. 626.

² Page 23.

³ *Newcourt's Repertor.* i. 357; *Wood's Fasti Oxon.*; *Royalist Composition Papers*, 2nd Ser. vol. xxvi. 617 *seq.* In 1643 a report was made to the House that £500 and some plate and five muskets were found in his house, and were said to have been intended for the King. The property was all taken to Guildhall.

(*Wallington's Hist. Notices of the reign of Charles I.*, i. 207.) See chaps. xiii. and xiv. *infra*, for his future life.

⁴ Nichols in *Fuller's Appeal*, ii. 532; and others.

⁵ The Editors of *Pepys' Diary* in their index of the entries on 17th May, 1660, and 20th August, 1664; both entries referring not to Thomas Fuller (as indexed), but to this Dr. William Fuller.

Lord Lyttleton, to whom, when Keeper of the Great Seal, he became chaplain. In 1641 he was Rector of Ewhurst, Surrey, where we find him baptising a *Thomas Fuller* (perhaps his nephew and co-heir, being son of his brother Thomas, goldsmith, of London). William Fuller retreated with his patron to Oxford at the beginning of the troubles, and there he remained till its surrender. He suffered as others did, and lost the office which he held under Christ Church. He was one of the intimate friends of Pepys, who declares that he was one of the most becoming prelates in all respects that ever he saw in his life.¹

From the King and his adherents our loyal and witty Fuller received a hearty welcome. He was already well known among the courtiers; and, as his own words imply, was not without many invitations from former parishioners to withdraw to Oxford, some of them being then in attendance at the Court. The King had in all probability often heard of the attractive discourses of the late Lecturer at the Savoy, as also of his attachment to the royal cause, which we are told Fuller "dutifully" enforced. It was now suggested to his Majesty that Fuller's well-known and long-continued services in aid of the royal cause should not pass by without some acknowledgment. Accordingly, with the desire to become better acquainted with him, as also to reward him for his zeal and loyalty, the King "vouchsafed the Doctor the honour of preaching before him." Fuller willingly con-

¹ Walker's *Sufferings*, pt. ii. 110; *Athen. Oxon.* iv. 850. (On the same page A Wood mentions a William Fuller who, 1641, was admitted to St. Mary Woolchurch at the presentation of the King, but resigned in December of the

same year.) Mr. J. F. Fuller discovered Wm. Fuller's connection with Ewhurst. Pepys' *Diary*, 18th July, 1666. For the remainder of the Bishop's life see the note appended to chap. xvii.) The following was his family:—

THOMAS FULLER, merchant, = LUCY, dau. of Simon CANNON, citizen and merchant-taylor, of London. (He had a son, Horsmandine.)

THE RT. REV. DR. WILLIAM FULLER, Dean of St. Patrick's 1660; Bishop of Limerick 1663; Bishop of Lincoln 1667.

THOMAS, citizen and goldsmith, of London.

THOMAS, co-heir to the Bishop.

CATHERINE = John BLIGH, first of Plymouth, afterwards of Rathmore, co. Meath; founder of the *Darnley* family; died 1666.

ELIZABETH mar. PAULSON. She died October 12th, 1673. (Monument at Lincoln.)

EDWARD.

THOMAS BLIGH, father of *John, Earl of Darnley*.

MARY, co-heiress to the Bishop, mar. Wm. FARMERY, of Thavies Inn, Executor to the Bishop.

SARAH (co-heiress) = BLIGH.

DOROTHY; CATHERINE; ELIZABETH.

(Note. — One of the Bishop's nieces married a MR. BOYS (or BOIS), "a wholesaley man at the Three Crownes, in Cheapside." Pepys says that she sang well, and he longed to see her. (*Diary*, 11th Aug., 1662; 20th Aug., 1664.)

sented, and prepared a sermon, to be preached at an early date. Now had he been (as was afterwards said) of a time-serving spirit, he would have made this particular occasion a means of his present popularity and future advancement. But it was not so. A brilliant audience, attracted by the reputation he had earned, had gathered at St. Mary's to hear him; but Fuller, whose sermon is unfortunately not extant, seems to have boldly preached to them instead of *before* them as is usual, by no means to the satisfaction of the assembled courtiers. He is said to have addressed himself moderately to discuss the cause of the prevailing bad feeling between the two parties. He urgently advised a course of conduct which would not altogether shut out the hope of a reconciliation between brethren who were then eagerly preparing to meet anew in deadly strife, importunately calling upon them to calm the angry feelings which had been aroused. "He laid open," says his friend, "the blessings of an accommodation, as being too too sensible (and that so recently) of the virulency and impotent rage, though potent arms, of the disloyal Londoners, which, as the Doctor then christianly thought, could not better be allayed than by a fair condescension in matters of Church Reformation."¹

Amidst all this the preacher rebuked the injustice of the conduct of the party in some respects, and made some broad allusions to the godlessness of those cavaliers whose "heaven upon earth," says Hacket, "was to see the day that they might subdue and be revenged of the Roundheads." All this, and much more, Fuller said in fulfilment of his mission as minister of the Gospel, being, as one of his biographers has said, so intent on the public good "that he minded neither his own estate, habit, or carriage." Thus in the divisions which agitated the country socially, politically, and ecclesiastically, did Fuller, undisturbed by passion in a most excited time, live and "pray for the peace of Jerusalem," as if he heard and echoed the words of his Master, who, though foretelling divisions, blessed the peacemakers and spoke words of peace. Fuller had seen enough of both parties to enable him to utter the earnest hope that there were none "so wicked and wilful as to deny many good men (though misled) engaged on both sides;" and he censured those who uncharitably denied any good in that party which they disliked. His conduct in London, it will be seen, here repeated itself, and it met with the same result. His honest, sincere, and plain-spoken nature pleased the Royalists no better than it had pleased the Parliamentarians.

¹ *Life*, p. 23.

“Some particulars in that sermon” were considered by “some at Court” (his ill-judging critics) to have been far too lukewarm, having a tendency to damage the royal cause, then, it seemed, in so prosperous a condition.¹ Such censures read as if they proceeded not from the King or the more moderate of his friends, but from the hot-blooded and those eager for war. The same faithful minister who in London had been censured as “too hot a Royalist,” was thus now at the Royalists’ quarters charged with not thoroughly owning his Majesty’s cause. Again he fell into disgrace, “to the great trouble of the Doctor.” He was not the only clergyman who offended in this respect. Ussher was making many enemies by his preaching. Chillingworth, in a sermon preached before a similar audience in the autumn of this year, took as his text 2 Tim. iii. 1-5, saying that he could not think of any fitter introduction than that wherewith our Saviour began a sermon of His, “This day is the Scripture fulfilled;” “and I would to, God,” he added, “that there were no great occasion to fear that a great part of it may be fulfilled in this place.” In the view he took of the state of affairs, his mind was in unison with that of his fellow-prebendary.² And Fuller’s friend, Dr. Symons, afterwards complained that a good undertaking had never “so many unworthy attendants; such horrid blasphemers, and wicked wretches as ours hath had. I quake to think, much more to speak, what mine ears have heard from some of their lips; . . . a day may come when the world may see that we who adhere to the King for conscience sake (whatever is said of us to the contrary) have as truly hated the profaneness and vileness of our own men, as we have done the disloyalty and rebellion of the enemy. . . . Without all ques-

¹ *Life*, p. 23.

² He could not help saying that he saw “so many Jonahs embarked in the same ship, the same cause with us, and so many Achans entering into battle with us against the Canaanites; seeing publicans and sinners on the one side against scribes and pharisees on the other; on the one side hypocrisy, on the other profaneness; no honesty nor justice on the one side, and very little piety on the other; on the one side horrible oaths, curses, and blasphemies, on the other pestilent lies, calumnies, and perjury: when I see amongst them the pretence of reformation, if not the desire, pursued by anti-christian, Mahometan, devilish means; and amongst us little or no zeal for refor-

mation of what is indeed amiss, little or no care to remove the cause of God’s anger towards us, by just, lawful, and Christian means; — I profess plainly I cannot without trembling consider what is likely to be the event of these distractions. I cannot fear but that . . . God in his justice, because we will not suffer his judgments to achieve their prime scope and intention, which is our amendment and reformation, may either deliver us up to the blind zeal and fury of our enemies, or else (which I rather fear) make us instruments of His justice against each other and of our own just and deserved confusion.” (*A Sermon preached at the public Fast, before his Majesty, at Christ-Church in Oxford, 1644, p. 12.*)

tion, neglect of religion and want of discipline hath weakened and undone the King's armies." ¹

Fuller's conduct on this occasion is worthy of the eulogies bestowed upon it, affording as it does a strong proof of his adherence to principle. For this he had offended the two chief parties in the kingdom. He himself regarded his present position as presumptive evidence that he was in the right. His conduct, indeed, as has been truly remarked, can "only be ascribed to his moderation, which he would sincerely have inculcated in each party as the only means of reconciling both." It was a most thankless endeavour. He looked elsewhere for approval of the line of action which, after pursuing it himself, he had recommended and enforced. Later in his life he made use of an original expression in one of his Thoughts, in which he had alluded to the sad fate of those who mediated between opposite parties: "Let not such hereby be disheartened, but know that (besides the reward in heaven) *the very work of moderation is the wages of moderation*. For it carryeth with it a marvellous contentment in his conscience who hath endeavoured his utmost in order to unity, though unhappy in his success."² Fuller's condition calls to mind that of another great man who, buffeted by all parties for his honesty, wrote: "If an impartial writer resolves to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiassed truth, let him proclaim war with mankind after the fashion of Poland,—neither to give nor take quarter. . . . But if he regards Truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides; and then he may go on fearless. It is the course I take myself."

The odium into which Fuller had now fallen must have been excessively galling to his free and independent spirit, coming as it did from that party on whom he foresaw he must ultimately rely for protection in such a strait, and for whose sake his sympathies had all along been enlisted. The failure of his conciliatory efforts among both parties he afterwards ascribed to the *pride* of the age. In his *Mixt Contemplations*, written in 1660, he said: "Had any endeavoured, some sixteen years since [*i.e.* about 1644], to have advanced a firm peace betwixt the two opposite parties in our land, their success would not have answered their intentions, men's veins were then so full of blood, and purses of money."³ Pride, he says elsewhere, was the greatest enemy of moderation; and next to

¹ *Vindication of King Charles*, 1647, p. 165.

² *Mixt Contemp. in Better Times*, xviii. p. 28.

³ No. xii.

pride popular applause, "and sure they who will sail with that wind have their own vain-glory for their haven."¹

As to the charge of "lukewarmness" advanced against him at London and Oxford, Fuller was afterwards at pains to show how lukewarmness differed from moderation; and his observations form a fitting parallel to his essay *Of Moderation*. They are taken from a defence of his conduct at this very time:—

"I must wash away an aspersion, generally, but falsly, cast on men of my profession and temper; for all moderate men are commonly condemned for lukewarm.

As it is true, *Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.*
It is as true, *Sæpe latet virtus proximitate mali.*

And as Lukewarmness hath often fared the better (the more men's ignorance) for pretending neighbourhood to moderation; so Moderation (the more her wrong) hath many times suffered for having some supposed vicinity with lukewarmness. However, they are at a grand distance, moderation being an wholesome cordial to the soul; whilst lukewarmness (a temper which seeks to reconcile hot and cold) is so distasteful that *health itself* seems sick of it and vomits it out, Rev. iii. 16. And we may observe these differences betwixt them:

"First: the Lukewarm man (though it be hard to tell what he is who knows not what he is himself), is fix't to no one opinion, and hath no certain creed to believe; whereas the Moderate man sticks to his principles, taking truth wheresoever he finds it, in the opinions of friend or foe; gathering an herb though in a ditch, and throwing away a weed though in a garden.

"Secondly: the Lukewarm man is both the archer and mark himself, aiming only at his own outward security. The Moderate man levels at the glory of God, the quiet of the Church, the choosing of the Truth, and contenting of his conscience.

"Lastly: the Lukewarm man, as he will live in any religion, so he will die for none. The Moderate man, what he hath warily chosen, will valiantly maintain, at least wise intends and desires to defend it to the death. 'The kingdom of Heaven,' saith our Saviour, 'suffereth violence.' And in this sense I may say the most moderate men are the most violent and will not abate an hoof or hair's-breadth in their opinions, whatsoever it cost them. And time will come when moderate men shall be honoured as God's doves, though now they be hooted at as owls in the desert."²

Meanwhile Fuller's *Sermon of Reformation* led to that common incident in those times—a controversy. For soon after its delivery it was attacked in print by MR. JOHN SALTMARSH, the minister of HESLERTON, YORKSHIRE (East Riding). Saltmarsh was one of the numerous pen-and-ink busybodies of the period, well known for his controversies with learned men, and as the author of several works. According to A Wood, he was "full of poetical raptures, and highly conceited of himself and parts." He belonged to an ancient family, and had received his education at Cambridge. His generous opponent has left it on record:

¹ *Holy State*, p. 203.

² *Truth Maintained: To the Reader*.

“He was one of a fine and active fancy, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher, as by some of his profitable printed sermons doth appear. [In the very titles¹ of some of these pieces Oldys sees some tincture or glimpses of enthusiasm, if not of frenzy.] Be it charitably imputed to the information of his judgment and conscience, that of a zealous observer, he became a violent oppressor of bishops and ceremonies.”²

Fuller had already left London when Saltmarsh put forth *Examinations; or, a Discovery of some Dangerous Positions in a Sermon on Reformation, preached in the Church of the Savoy, last Fast-day, July 27, by Thomas Fuller, B.D., and since printed.* This tract was licensed by CHARLES HERLE, of the Assembly of Divines, to which “most sacred Assembly” Saltmarsh dedicated his book. Herle belonged to Exeter College, and was Rector (not of Winwick, a little village east of Fuller’s birth-place, as has been stated, but) of Winwick, in Lancashire, then one of the largest and richest livings in England. Among other employments in which he was now engaged was that of a licenser of Divinity books. He is spoken of by Fuller in his *Worthies* as being a good scholar, and esteemed by his party a deep divine. He was a moderate Presbyterian—“one so much Christian, scholar, and gentleman, that he can unite in affection with those who are disjoined in judgment from him.” This is shown by his controversial relation with the Independents. Fuller continued by referring to this controversy: “As I dare not defend all the doctrine delivered in his [Herle’s] printed books, so I will not inveigh against him lest in me it be interpreted a revenge on his memory for licensing a book written against me [by Mr. John Saltmarsh.—F.], wherein I was taxed for *Popish compliance*, though since (in myself still the same man) I groan under a contrary representation.” (This, written towards the close of the author’s life, is in allusion to his supposed compliance with the Presbyterian discipline.) “The best is, innocence doth turn such groans into songs of gladness.”³ Herle died in 1655.⁴

¹ One of these, dated 1646 and dedicated to Sir Thomas Fairfax, is entitled: “Some Drops of the Viall, poured out in a season when it is neither Night nor Day: or Some Discoveries of Jesus Christ his Glory, in several Books.”

² *Worthies*, § Yorkshire, p. 212.

³ *Worthies*, § Cornwall, p. 205; *Church-History*, book xi. 213.

⁴ The following anecdote is related by Fuller in his *Worthies* (chap. v. p. 15): “I know the man full well to whom Mr.

Charles Herle, President of the Assembly [succeeding Twisse, who died in 1646], said somewhat insultingly, ‘I’ll tell you news! last night I buried a Bishop’ (dashing more at his *profession* than *person*) ‘in Westminster Abbey.’ To whom the other returned with like latitude to both, ‘Sure, you buried him in hope of resurrection.’ This our eyes at this day [1661] see performed; and, it being ‘the work of the Lord,’ may justly seem ‘marvellous in our sight.’ Fuller adds,

Saltmarsh's *Examinations* were hurriedly prepared, being, as he says, "but the thoughts of an afternoon." Hence the apparent absence of learning and recklessness of statement. His main charge against Fuller was that the sermon showed leanings to Popery. Saltmarsh was one of those who made a great deal out of the Popish inclinations of some of the clergy. Whitelocke notices a debate in Parliament (August, 1643) on what were deemed to be scandalous expressions in a work which "gave distaste to sober men," published by Saltmarsh, in which he had urged that "all means should be used to keep the King and his people from a sudden union;" that the war ought to be cherished "under the notion of Popery, as the surest means to engage the people;" and that "if the King would not grant their demands, then to root him out, and the royal line, and to collate the crown upon somebody else."¹

Fuller, shortly after the 10th of September, 1643, composed a sober reply, which he valiantly entitled, *Truth Maintained; or, Positions Delivered in a Sermon at the Savoy: since Traduced for Dangerous: now Asserted for Sound and Safe. By Thomas Fuller, B.D., late of Sidney College in Cambridge. Printed at Oxford, Anno Dom. 1643.*² At Oxford no license was necessary for the publication of the tract.

Fuller has prefixed to his defence a small budget of epistles which, although of much biographical interest, have never before now been quoted in connection with Fuller's life. This is apparently due to the rarity of the pamphlet in which they are contained. The fine satire and manly spirit which pervade these "elegant epistles" make them more deserving of recognition as specimens of epistolary correspondence. For these reasons we shall here quote them pretty fully. He inserted them "to clear the occasion of this book."

Fuller begins, then, by reprinting his opponent's dedication "to the most sacred and reverend Assembly³ for the reformation of the Church, now convened by the Parliament;" and imme-

that of the Bishops alive in 1642, *nine* were living at the Restoration, "a vivacity hardly to be paralleled of so many bishops in any other age, Providence purposely prolonging their lives, that, as they had seen the violent ruining, they might also behold the legal restitution of their order."

¹ *Memorials*, p. 68 (ed. 1682).

² In the British Museum copy, "Mar. 8" has been added in ink; but this, if referring to the day of its publication, is manifestly an error. For the loan of a

copy of the book under notice I am indebted to Edw. Riggall, Esq., of Bayswater.

³ Fuller afterwards alluded to the Assembly in the *Ch.-Hist.* (xi. 200), where he says that its good success was publicly prayed for by the preachers in the City, "and books dedicated unto them under the title of the most [Mr. Saltmarsh his book against Tho. Fuller—F.] *Sacred Assembly*, which, because they did not disavow, by others they were interpreted to approve."

diately afterwards he places his own dedication “to the two most famous Universities of England.” Here, after alluding to Saltmarsh’s errors, he says, with an apparent ‘lurking irony: “Methinks Master Saltmarsh, in his expression to the Assembly ‘under such a shade as yourselves,’ making them in the Assembly but a shadow (and then what is the shadow of a shadow¹ worth under which he desireth to sit?) was but an undervaluing and diminutive expressing of their worth. I honour you as you deserve, and counting you a Real and Lasting Substance, so I address my respects unto you.” . . . “Some, perchance, may blame my choice in chosing You for my protection who in these troublesome times are scarce able to defend yourselves: the universities being now degraded, at least suspended, from the degree of their former honour. And I wonder men should now talk of an extraordinary great Light, when the two Eyes of our Land (so you were ever accounted) are almost put out.”

This is followed by a second epistle “To the learned and my worthy good friend *Master Charles Herle*.” Fuller here states, that when he saw his opponent’s book under Herle’s recommendation, he could not believe it; adding that he had submitted his own sermon to some of Herle’s friends, and they had not detected in it any of the “dangerous positions” which Saltmarsh had discovered, “except such as were dangerous for a preacher to deliver, but safe for people to receive, in these troublesome times.” “Consider how your [*i.e.* Herle’s] accusing of me to maintain dangerous positions might, as the times stand, have undone me and mine, and at last have intituled me to a prison, now-a-days the grave of men alive.” This is especially in allusion to Archbishop Laud and Bishop Wrenn. Fuller next reminds him that in controversies the times were not then as they were formerly: “honorable tilting is left off since men fell to downright killing, and in vain should I dispute my innocence against soldiers’ violence, who would interpret the accusation of a man of your credit to be my sufficient conviction.” Fuller finally challenged Herle to indicate the dangerous points said to have been maintained; adding that if convicted of fault he would “in a printed sheet” do “public penance.”

It may conveniently be noted here, that to this letter Herle gave a reply in the following year. Having occasion to publish

¹ Scott, it will be remembered, has used this *umbra-nominis* simile in *Guy Mannering*, where (chap. xxxvii.) Pleydell says: “I am a member of the Suffering

and Episcopal Church of Scotland—the shadow of a shade now, and fortunately so.” Fuller has likewise the phrase, “The brink of the brink.”

some sermons¹ under the title of *Ahab's Fall by his Prophet's Flatteries* (London [May 30²], 1644, 4to.), he dedicated it to "his worthily much esteemed, and choicely learned Friend, Mr. Thomas Fuller, B.D., late preacher of God's Word at the Savoy." The terms of this inscription show that the writer felt that some reparation was required. He confesses that Fuller's letter is commenced with so much fairness and ingenuity, "that though I do not answer the challenge, yet having this opportunity, by the leave of the authour of what folloves, I cannot but say somewhat in answer to your friendly epistle.

"I have received so much of contentment and benefit by your *Holy Warre*, and *State* (having often read them over), that though I do not deny my hand to the licensing M. Saltmarsh's Examinations of your sermon, yet I must confess, had I known you to have been the authour of that sermon, I should have endeavoured to have satisfied M. Saltmarsh of your good meaning therein before I had set my hand to his Examinations of it. Your other books, calling their author 'Prebendary of Sarum,' and this 'Minister of the Savoy,' seventy miles distant, made me conceive the author some other of your name: Prebendaries have been so seldom Lecturers, specially London-Lecturers, that the mistake was not a little easy: however, the sermon, I must needs say, (though carried on with much smoothness and ingenuity,) especially given out to be preached by one extremely disaffected to the Parliament, is not in itself so free from some passages that may admit of an ill meaning (at least, had the author been such as he was reported), but that a desire that whatever of danger might be in them should meet with a timely Rancounter, might possibly have wrought as far upon a judgment of greater stayedness than I pretend to." He added that it troubled him not a little to read Fuller's statement about his imprimatur entitling the latter to a prison. His licensing of the Examinations was on supposition that the meaning of some passages had been such as some conceited them; nor was it "but the rule of Parliamentary justice to have heard the authour's sense of his own words before it had condemned him to a prison." In his own sermons which follow Herle expects so much justice from "the adverse party," that if any should say that Ahab and Jezabel were in any way meant "for our dread soveraigne and his consort," he might

¹ The first sermon was preached before the House of Parliament; the second before the Lord Mayor of London; "the third at the Abbey Church in Westminster,

where it was much acqurrelled by some and as much desired to be published by others."

² British Museum.

have leave to show, before he suffer for it, how far it was from his purpose. He concludes: "Sir, this is all of answer you shall need to expect from him who hath learned from you, in your character of a *Controversial Divine*, 'neither to multiply needless, nor compound necessary controversies:' this controversy between yourself and M. Saltmarsh is (at least) needless for me to make one in; M. Saltmarsh is of age to answer for himself, and much more both able and at leisure. Besides, I think I may say (without a Bull) this controversy of yours is so much the more needless, by how much that about which it is (*Reformation*) is so without all controversy needful. I rest, Sir, your much obliged reader and respectful friend, Cha. Herle."

The spirit of this reply seems to have mollified Fuller, whose next reference to Herle was in his *Church-History*, viz. in the passage already quoted, which shows that Fuller had forgotten the cause of their estrangement. Herle's moderation in the Assembly was, we are told, much commended; and John Howe spoke of him with respect.

The *third* letter prefixed to Fuller's defence is inscribed "To the reverend and his worthy good friend *Master John Downam*," who had licensed the sermon which gave rise to the controversy, and who, at a later period, licensed another of Fuller's works. Fuller assures him that he (Fuller) has been misrepresented, and he complains of a passage in his opponent's book to the effect that a "Reverend Divine" had heard Downam complain that Fuller had not altered some passages in the sermon as he (Fuller) had promised. "Here," says Fuller, finely and trenchantly, "here is an accusation without a witness, or a witness without a name, and both without truth. Would the ink of this reverend Divine (whosoever he was) only hold out to blot my name and not to subscribe his own?" He bemoans the condition of his country: "God put an end to these woful times," he ejaculates, "before they put an end to us; that all outward hostility being laid aside we may have more leisure to attend, and comfort to follow, that inward *Christian Warfare* which your pains have so well described." Fuller found a place for Downam among his *Worthies*. He again mentions him in *Hist. Camb.*, as author of "the worthy work of *The Holy Warfare*" [1634], and as "lately deceased."¹ Downam also wrote a concordance to "the last translation" of the Bible.

Fuller next addresses a letter to his opponent, "minister of Heselton, in Yorkshire." "You have," he says, "almost con-

¹ Sect. vi. § 9, p. 92.

verted me to be of your opinion, that some *extraordinary light*¹ is peculiarly conferred on men in this age: seeing what cost me many days to make, you, in fewer hours, could make void and confute. 'You examined' (you say) 'the same pace you read,' and (as is intimated) wrote as fast as you examined, and all 'in one afternoon.' This, if it were false, I wonder you would say it; and if it were true, I wonder you could do it." We also read here that it was the "tenth of September before either friend in love would do me the favour, or foe in anger the discourtesy, to convey your book unto me." Fuller slyly wonders whether this proceeded from the intercepting commerce between the city and the country, or that Saltmarsh's book was loath to come out of London, as sensible that the strength of his positions consisted in the fortifications thereof!

The *fifth* letter in succession is that which is of most interest by reason of its references to matters more personally connected with Fuller. This is an epistle "to my dear parish, *Saint Mary Savoy*." We quote it *in extenso*: "My dear parish, for so I dare call you, as conceiving that although my calamities have divorced me from your bed and board, the matrimonial knot betwixt us is not yet rescinded. No, not although you have admitted another (for fear I hope rather than affection) into my place. I remember how David when forced to fly from his wife, yet still calls her 'my wife, Michall,'² even when at that time she was in the possession of Phaltiel the son of Laish, who had rather bedded than wedded her.

"This sermon I first made for your sake, as providing it, not as a feast to entertain strangers, but a meal to feed my family. And now having again enlarged and confirmed it, I present it to you, as having therein a proper interest, being confident that nothing but good and profitable truth is therein contained.

"Some perchance will object that if my sermon were so true, why then did I presently leave the parish when I had preached it? My answer is legible in the Capital letters of other ministers' misery who remain in the city. I went away 'for the present distress,'³ thereby reserving myself to do you longer and better service, if God's providence shall ever restore

¹ The Rev. John Balle, "an excellent schoolman and scholmaster (qualities seldom meeting in the same man), a painful preacher and profitable writer," hated (we are told) "all new lights and pretended inspirations besides Scripture: and when one asked him 'Whether he at any time had experience thereof in his own heart?'—'No,'

said he, 'I bless God; and if I should ever have such phantasies, I hope God would give me grace to resist them.'" Fuller relates this with a relish. Balle had, it is added, "an holy facetiousness in his discourse." He died 1640. (*Worthies*, § Oxfordshire, p. 339.)

² 2 Sam. iii. 14.

³ 1 Cor. vii. 26.

me unto you again. And if any tax me as Laban taxed Jacob, 'Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly'¹ without taking solemn leave? I say with Jacob to Laban, 'Because I was afraid.' And that plain-dealing patriarch, who could not be accused for purloining a shoe-latchet of other men's goods, confessed himself guilty of that lawful felony that he 'stole away' for his own safety: seeing truth itself may sometimes seek corners, not as fearing her cause, but as suspecting her judge.

"And now all that I have to say to you is this: 'Take heed how you hear:' imitate the wise and noble Bereans, whatsoever the Doctor or doctrine be which teacheth or is taught unto you. 'Search the Scripture daily whether these things be so.' Hansell this my counsel on this my book; and here beginning, hence proceed to examine all sermons by the same rule of God's Word.

"Only this I add also: pray daily to God to send us a good and happy peace, before we be all brought to utter confusion. You know, how I in all my sermons unto you, by leave of my text, would have a passage in the praise of Peace. Still I am of the same opinion. The longer I see this war the less I like it, and the more I loath it. Not so much because it threatens temporal ruin to our kingdom, as because it will bring a general spiritual hardness of hearts. And if this war long continues, we may be affected for the departure of charity, as the Ephesians were at the going away of St. Paul, 'sorrowing most of all that we shall see the face thereof no more.'² Strive, therefore, in your prayers that that happy condition which our sins made us unworthy to hold, our repentance may, through God's acceptance thereof, make us worthy to regain. Your loving minister, THOMAS FULLER."

This touching letter, while authentically explaining the cause of Fuller's flight from London, and giving an accurate date to this event, markedly expresses his sorrow at parting from his flock, and his buoyant hope of an early return to them. He hints at the very different doctrine preached at the Savoy to that advanced by himself. If it were Dr. John Bond (see chap. xiii.) to whom he refers as the "Doctor" who succeeded him, we may form an idea of his sermons from a statement by Dugdale, who said that once Bond urged his auditors to "contribute, and pray, and do all they were able to bring in their brethren of Scotland, for settling of God's cause: I say, quoth he, this is God's cause; and if our God hath any cause this is

¹ Gen. xxxi. 27.

² Acts xx. 38.

it; and if this be not God's cause, then God is no God for me, but the devil is got up into heaven!"

Fuller's letter to his parishioners is succeeded by an address "to the *unpartial reader*;" whom he requests to have no fear of his "dangerous" positions. "The saints did not fear infection from the company of St. Paul, though he was indicted to be a pestilent fellow." He calls attention to the moderation he had practised: "I cannot but expect to procure the ill-will of many because I have gone in a middle and moderate way betwixt all extremities. I remember a story too truly applicable to me. Once a jailor demanded of a prisoner newly committed unto him whether or no he were a Roman Catholic. 'No,' answered he. 'What then?' said he; 'are you an Anabaptist?' 'Neither,' replied the prisoner. 'What!' said the other; 'are you a Brownist?' 'Nor so,' said the man; 'I am a Protestant.' Then said the jailor, 'Get you into the dungeon; I will afford no favour to you, who shall get no profit by you: had you been of any of the other religions, some hope I had to gain by the visits of such as are of your own profession.' I," continues Fuller, "am likely to find no better usage in this age, who profess myself to be a plain Protestant, without welt or guard, or any addition: equally opposite to all heretics and sectaries. . . . Yet I take not myself to be of so desolate and forlorn a religion as to have no fellow professors with me. If I thought so, I should not only suspect but condemn my judgement, having ever as much loved singleness of heart as I have hated singularity of opinion. I conceive not myself like Elijah 'to be left alone;'¹ having as I am confident, in England, more than seventy thousand just of the same religion with me. And amongst these there is one in price and value, eminently worth ten thousand, even our gracious Sovereign, whom God in safety and honour long preserve amongst us."

Alluding to a report of his own death, which he quaintly contradicts, and which doubtless arose through the commonness of his surname, he sets his book forth as his *will and testament*, "which if it can be of no use to the reader, it may be some ease and comfort to the writer that the world may know, in this multitude of Religions, what is the Religion of, Thy servant in Christ Jesus, THOMAS FULLER."

The writer then addressed himself to a plain and detailed reply to the strictures of his opponent. In doing this, he shows himself a fairer controversialist than Saltmarsh. The latter had taken *isolated* passages from Fuller's sermon and

¹ 1 Kings xix. 14.

commented upon them when so dissevered. “This disjointing of things,” Fuller reminded him, “undoeth kingdoms as well as sermons; whilst even weak matters are preserved by their own unity and entireness.” He then adds: “I have dealt more fairly with you, and set down your whole *Examinations*.” He thus gives the entire “cloth and texture” of his opponent’s exceptions: this is an especial feature in the controversies in which Fuller was engaged, and is a proof of his justice as a polemic. This habit he had derived from the example of his uncle Davenant, who, in answering Hoard’s *God’s Love to Mankind*, incorporated the whole of it in his reply. Notwithstanding the posture of affairs Fuller is occasionally as witty in this piece as he is sarcastic: “some mirth in this sad time,” he says in exculpation of his weakness for the former quality, “doth well.”¹

His reply is characterised by its minute exhaustiveness. He maintains, moreover, by additional arguments and reasons, the positions he had taken up in the original sermon, which he had prepared, as we see, with great care and method. The following are “the particulars” of his argument:—

“I. That the doctrine of the impossibility of a church’s perfection in this world, being well understood, begets not laziness but the more industry in wise reformers. II. That the Church of England cannot justly be taxed with superstitious innovations. III. How far private Christians, ministers, and subordinate magistrates are to concur to the advancing of a public reformation. IIII. What parts therein are only to be acted by the supreme power. V. Of the progress and praise of passive obedience. VI. That no extraordinary excitations, incitations, or inspirations are bestowed from God on men in these days. VII. That it is utterly unlawful to give any just offence to the papist, or to any men whatsoever. VIII. What advantage the fathers had of us in learning and religion, and what we have of them. IX. That no new light, or new essential truths are, or can be revealed in this age. X. That the doctrine of the church’s imperfection may safely be preached, and cannot honestly be concealed.”

There now remains to be added a few passages from this remarkable controversy. Saltmarsh spoke of both Arianism and Popery having been found in the Thirty-nine Articles, and the latitude in them encouraged “Cassanders” to attempt a reconciliation. “Thus,” replied Fuller, with an illustration now out of date,—

¹ Page 70.

"many Egyptian kings attempted to let the Red sea into the Mediterranean. A project at first seeming easie to such as measured their nearness by the eye and at last found impossible by those who surveyed their distance by their judgment, seeing art and industry can never marry those things whose bands [banns] nature doth forbid. And I am confident that with the same success any shall undertake the accommodating of English and Romish Articles."¹

With regard to the innovations in religion of which Saltmarsh complained, Fuller, after giving his views in regard to them, reminds his opponent that these ceremonies were now left off; it was neither manners nor charity "always to lay that in men's dishes which the voider some pretty while since hath cleane taken away."²

Saltmarsh had told Fuller that if he (Fuller) thought it his virtue that he could be silent "in the midst of our importunities and loud cries after Reformation, I am sure 'tis your policy, too; for should you make too great a noise after it, you might be heard to Oxford, and perhaps you are loath to speak out till you see further." Whereupon Fuller very nobly: "I care not how far I be heard, nor which way, to Oxford and beyond it, to Geneva or to Rome itself: Truth is calculated for all meridians. But speak not slightingly of Oxford: it is ill-wounding of a court, and a camp, and an University, and all in one word. . . . I see too far already; namely that ruin and desolation is likely to follow, except Moderation be used on both sides. If you mean 'till I see farther' into his Majesty's pleasure of reforming what shall be found amiss, his unfeigned desire thereof doth already plainly appear. But if you mean till I see further into his success, know, Sir, *my Religion observes not the tides of His Majesty's fortune, to ebb and flow therewith. Where Conscience is the Fountain, the stream keeps the same height.*"³

Saltmarsh speaks of providence often guiding private men in public engagements to find out-ways of facilitation and advancement for reforming; "besides some other arcana and secret preparations." FULLER: "I protest against all *out-ways* if they be any way different from the *highroad* of the King of Heaven. Reformation, however, must come lawfully; and if it will not come easily, let it come hardly; we will try at it with our prayers (which are always best at a dead lift) and will sweat, but not sin, to obtain it. Nor can any better 'facilitation' for private men be found out than for every one of them to reform themselves. . . . Good sir, play fair and above-board: the surface of the earth is wide enough for us both; creep not into crannies to put me to the pains of pioneers to

¹ Page 10.² Pp. 12, 13.³ Page 17.

mine for your meaning. I know ‘the secret of the Lord is with the righteous’; but then it is such a secret, as being concealed from profane persons is revealed in the Word. This your expression if clear from fault, is not free from just superstition; for hereby you buzz into people’s hands (and such tinder I tell you is ready to take fire) that there are some strange unknown mysteries of religion lately communicated to some private men. Strange that others of the same form with you for learning and religion should know no such secrets, except you have received from Heaven some express packet of intelligence.¹ You might have done well to have told us what these *arcana* are, unless being of Heaven’s *close Committee* you be bound to secrecy. Meantime I will be bold to tell you that if these secrets differ from God’s will in his Word, they are depths of the Devil and mysteries of iniquity.”²

Saltmarsh had said that Fuller would put private men upon such duties (praying, reforming themselves, &c.): the policy was to keep them exercised in one good duty that they should not advance another. “I confess it is an ancient subtilty of Satan,” observes Fuller, “to keep men so exercised. Thus he busieth some men in praying to neglect preaching; all in preaching to neglect catechizing; *all in prayers, preaching, catechizing, to neglect practicing!*”³ In the same vein is the following:—“At the last day of judgment, when God shall arraign men and say, ‘Thou art a drunkard, thou art an adulterer, thou art an oppressor;’ it will be but a poor plea for them to say, ‘*Yea, Lord; but I have been a public Reformer of Church and State!*’ This plea, I say, will not ‘hold water,’ but prove a ‘broken cistern.’ . . . Such people therefore are daily to be called upon to amend themselves and their families, which is a race long enough for the best breathed private Christians, though they start in their youth and run till their old age.”⁴

In the section in which he discusses the giving offence to the Papists, Fuller speaks of some “who in their opinions and affections [are] the borderers betwixt us and the Papists, *almost* Protestants, *not far from* our religion, having one foot in it and the other likely to follow.”⁵ And as regards the Papists, he said:—

“I pity the persons of all Papists and heartily desire their conversion; but hate theirs, and all other errors with a perfect hatred. And this my enmity

¹ Fuller cogently suggests that for aught he knew those who sided with the Supreme Power might also allege “extraordinary excitations” to *oppose* the

reformation by the other party! (Page 34.)

² Pp. 42, 43.

⁴ Page 46.

³ Page 44.

⁵ Page 50.

to all popish tenents doth the more plainly appear to be grounded on my judgment, not on my passion. . . . What friar will not laugh in his cowl at this your opinion that it is lawful to give papists just offence? Well, you shall never have my consent to combat as our church's champion against Rome for the Protestant cause until you have learnt more skill in fencing and not to lie at so open a guard. . . . You will next hold it lawful to give just offence to all which are termed 'popishly affected,' the Gangrene of which expression is by some extended to taint as sound and hearty Protestants as any be in England."¹

His opponent had charged the preacher with commending the Fathers that he might reform the "church by the Canterburyan Gnomon, and so set us back to a falsly-reputed primitive Reformation." "I protest before God," replies Fuller, "I have neither base nor by-respect in praising the Fathers. . . . 'A falsly-reputed primitive Reformation' I abhor from my heart, and I presume our church is too wise to be cozened therewith. If 'Canterbury' hath misbehaved himself, his friends for him desire no more, and foes to him should grant no less, than a legal trial. But insult not on any man's sufferings. Organs I dare say are not so offensive in churches as the making of music on men in misery. Time was when you set as much by a smile from 'Canterbury,' as he still sets little by a scoff from you."²

This very spirited treatise is concluded with the earnest words placed at the head of this chapter.

Fuller afterwards made the following reference to his own carriage in this controversy: "I appeal to such who knew me in the University, to those that have heard my many sermons on this subject in London and elsewhere, but especially to my book called *Truth Maintained*, made against Mr. Saltmarsh; wherein I have heartily (to place that first), largely, and to my power, strongly vindicated: *non licet populo, remuente magistratu, reformationem moliri.*"³ [Against the will of the magistracy the people ought not to undertake a reformation.]

Although Fuller challenged Saltmarsh to a reply, that reply was never made, the latter alleging as a reason some time afterwards ("in the beginning of his book against Mr. [Thos.] Gattacre"), that he would not shoot his arrows against a dead mark, having heard a report of the death of Fuller at Exeter. Possibly the *William Fuller* who held the Bodleian Lectureship in that city before our hero had it, did die there. (See chap. xii.) Saltmarsh was not the first to make a mistake as to the personality of the real Simon Pure.⁴ A reply to Fuller

¹ Page 53.

² Pp. 67, 68.

³ *Appeal*, pt. ii. p. 501.

⁴ Reports of Fuller's death seem to

have been frequent. Such a rumour gained credence about the time that he left London. He refers to it in *Truth*

seems to have been looked for by many; and Saltmarsh certainly did not hear the last of his witty antagonist for a long time: no doubt he was very glad to catch at this report of Fuller's death. But Fuller lived to note *Saltmarsh's* untimely death; and in giving his opponent a place in *The Worthies*,¹ he said with that marked generosity and courtesy which ever distinguished him: “I have no cause to be angry with fame (but rather to thank her) for so good a lie [as the premature announcement of his death]. May I make this true use of that false report—to *die daily*. See how Providence hath crossed it: the dead (reported) man is still ² living; the then living man dead. And seeing I survive to go over his grave, I will tread the more gently on the mould thereof, using that civility on him, which I received from him.”

As to the way in which Saltmarsh met with his death at the end of 1647, and of his very eccentric conduct for some time previously, see Rushworth, vii. 945. He had been successively minister of Brasted, Kent, and Ilford, Essex. Fuller's generosity concealed a fact which was well known—that he was of a deranged intellect: “so resplendent and durable was the Doctor's charity!” exclaims his eulogist.³ Fuller was always especially tender in his expressions towards any of the dead with whom he differed. Of an old Oxford historian he says: “Because he is (and I know not how soon I may be) dead, I shall deal the more mildly with him. For, he that falls heavy on a ghost, or shadow, will in fine give the greatest blow and bruise unto himself.”⁴

This discussion attracted much attention at the time; and eighteen years afterwards Fuller's eulogist spoke thus: “The contest betwixt them is so known in print that it will be needless to trouble the reader with it here.”⁵ The spirit and wit of Fuller's piece created a demand for the original sermon, which was printed at London, but without Downam's authorization or printer's name, those particulars being naturally omitted in a book intended to circulate in the King's quarters. Fuller himself advises that his sermon should be read before the “Examination” of it.

Shortly after arriving at Oxford, Fuller received the news that the Parliamentary sequestrators had been at work trans-

Maintained: “It was generally reported that I was dead; nor was I displeas'd to hear it. May I learn hence with the apostle to *die daily*.” (*To the Reader*.) The *Thoughts* which he put forth during the war will be found to abound with such lessons as this.

¹ § Yorkshire, p. 212.

² May 20, 1661, at the writing hereof.—F.

³ Page 20.

⁴ *Hist.-Camb.* sect. i. § 51, p. 14. This is said of Brian Twine.

⁵ *Life*, p. 19.

ferring his property to other hands. Sequestration he afterwards spoke of as a yoke "borne in our youth, hoping that more freedom is reserved for our old age."¹ He also calls it a "rod formerly in fashion, but never so soundly laid on as of late."² What most affected Fuller in all that he lost was the wanton destruction and dispersion of a part of his library and his manuscripts, which for a time put an end to those studies in which he had hitherto found delight. It does not appear whether the books were confiscated in London or at Broadwindsor, but most probably in the former place. In thus leaving his books behind him on his flight to Oxford, Fuller thought, with many others who repaired thither, that he was only abandoning them for a time: in the discussion just noticed he uttered the hope that in due time God would restore his losses again. He never suspected that his literary property would suffer as it did suffer at the hands of his opponents. He himself tells us that the books, &c. that were not stolen were wantonly *disfigured* by the "mischievous ignorance" which seized them.

About this time many collections of books, manuscripts, &c. were taken among the property of the disaffected, and either dispersed or destroyed; and many instances are recorded of the losses of students in this respect. Fuller often feelingly alluded to the subject. Thus the books and papers of Dr. Harvey, containing his curious observations in reference to the circulation of the blood, were plundered in his lodgings at Whitehall, "he being for the King, and with him at Oxon." "He often said that of all the losses he sustained, no grief was so crucifying to him as the loss of these papers, which for love or money he could never retrieve or obtain."³ Of Archbishop Ussher, it is told that, taking a journey with his daughter from Oxford into Glamorganshire, they fell into the hands of some Welsh insurgents, who stripped them of their property, and recklessly scattered the prelate's papers and books. From time to time afterwards the neighbours, pitying the misfortunes of the old man, brought to him the dispersed documents, so that being put together but a few leaves were found missing. Fuller afterwards derived a certain benefit from the dispersion of collections of books, since, when rambling through England seeking materials for his works, he met with many important

¹ *Triple Reconciler*, p. 8; 1653.

² *Ch.-Hist.* bk. iii. In the Preface to *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, he moralises on our Saviour being termed by the Latin fathers Sequestrator (*Sequester*) "in

the proper notion of the word. For God and man being at odds the difference was *sequestered* or referred into Christ."

³ *Aubrey's Letters, &c.* ii. 372; *Worthies*, § Kent, p. 79.

documents which otherwise would not have been published. He has in his *Worthies* an account of the chief English libraries, and regrets that the larger collections were dispersed. He avers that there were “many other excellent libraries of particular persons—Lord Brudenell’s, Lord Hatton’s, &c., routed by our civil wars; and many books which scaped the execution are fled (transported) into France, Flanders, and other foreign parts.”¹

The dispersion or destruction of these private collections is mentioned in the preamble of an ordinance in Scobell, dated 18th November, 1643, where it is said that whole libraries and choice collections of printed books of several arts and faculties had been taken; “the dispersion of which by sale or otherwise” (it was by this time seen,) “may be much more disadvantageous and prejudicial to the public, both for the present and for posterity.” It was therefore ordered that such “manuscripts and written books should not be sold or dispersed, but that they should be delivered to the care of Algernon Earl of Northumberland, Theophilus Earl of Lincoln, William Lord Viscount Say and Seale, John Selden, Esq., Francis Rous, Esq., Simon D’Ewes, Esq., &c., to be put in some safe place for public or other use.” Under this measure, accordingly, the books in the Bishop of London’s palace at Lambeth were, by Selden’s orders, first deposited at Sion College, and afterwards given to the University of Cambridge.

As has been already stated, only a *part* of Fuller’s library was lost. From the dedication of a most interesting portion of his *Pisgah-Sight* to HENRY LORD BEAUCHAMP, son of William Marquess of Hertford, we gather that the *greater* part of them was fortunately preserved. In this dedication, which, written in 1650, discusses the origin of nobility, he says: “Besides desire to shelter myself under your patronage, gratitude obligeth me to tender my service to your honour. For all my books, being my ‘nether and upper millstone’ (and such by the Levitical law might not be ‘taken to pledge,’ because a ‘man’s life’—Deut. xxiv. 6), without which I had been rendered unable to grind any grist for the good of myself or others, had been taken from me in these Civil Wars had not a letter from your Lady-mother preserved the greatest part thereof. Good reason, therefore, that the first handful of my finest meal should be presented in thankfulness to your family.”²

The Marchioness of Hertford here alluded to, was Lady Frances Devereux, the eldest daughter of the ill-fated Earl

¹ *Worthies*, § Oxfordshire, p. 327.

² Bk. ii. p. 50.

of Essex;¹ and it was probably, therefore, through her intercession with her brother Robert, the third Earl of Essex, then holding a general's commission in the Parliamentary army, that this larger part of Fuller's books was preserved. The fact that this treasured property was in jeopardy, led the owner, anxious as to their fate, to put forth among his friends at Oxford great efforts to redeem them. In this emergency, Fuller may have applied in the first place to the Marquess of Hertford, the Chancellor of the University, and then at Oxford, who was also related to the Earl of Essex by ties of friendship. The Marquess, the hero of the romantic marriage with Lady Arabella Stuart, was a man on whose sense of right Fuller knew he could rely; he was, says Clarendon, in "universal esteem over the kingdom," being "generally loved where he was not enough known to be so." Clarendon also eulogizes his great regard for the Church; but says that though of great courage, age disqualified him for taking part in active affairs. He was a good scholar, skilled in Latin and Greek, and loved the retirement of the country. Later on in the war, he was appointed general of the King's forces of the counties of Wiltshire, Southampton, and Dorset, where his influence and popularity was greatest.² For him, it is to be noted, Lord Hopton also had a devotion which "had been ancient, fast, and unshaken." Fuller and the Marquess may therefore have frequently met. On the death of the King, this nobleman obtained a licence from the Parliament to bury the body of Charles, to whom he had been eminently faithful. He was made Duke of Somerset in 1660.

Fuller's literary patron, Henry Lord Beauchamp, died before his father in 1655, aged 28 years. His wife, "your worthy lady—that she-pattern of meekness, modesty, piety, and patience," was daughter of Lord Capel (whose mother was Theodosia, sister of Edward, Lord Mountagu). Fuller's words

¹ To another of her family, the Right Hon. LEICESTER DEVEREUX, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrars, of Chartley, Fuller also dedicated a book (vii.) of the *Church-History*. He was perhaps the son of Sir Walter Devereux, fifth Viscount (1646), who was one of the six peers deputed to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, shortly before the Restoration (Clarendon, xvi. 908.) Sir Walter had in 1646 succeeded to the estates of his relative the Earl of Essex, which were confirmed to him by Parliament. Alluding to his patron's life in the Low Countries, where he was sent when

yet very young, Fuller says (perhaps confounding him with his father): "Since being returned into England, partly by your patrimony, partly by your matrimony, an ancient and fair estate hath accrued unto you. Yet it hath not grown (as S. Basil fancieth roses in Paradise before Adam's fall) without thorns and prickles. Many molestations attended it, through which you have waded in a good measure, having had TRIALS indeed, wherein on what side soever the verdict went, you gained patience and experience." (P. 376.)

² Clarendon, iv. 170; vi. 369.

show that he had some knowledge of her, and of her family. He elsewhere alludes to her house at Eddington, Wiltshire (formerly a house of the Bons-Hommes Friars), "now known for the hospitality of the Lady Beauchampe dwelling therein."

In 1655, Fuller dedicated Book iii. of his *Church-History* to WILLIAM LORD BEAUCHAMP, the eldest son of Henry Lord Beauchamp, "grand-child and heir-apparent to William Marquis of Hertford," then a mere child of four years old, but who became (1660) the third Duke. Notwithstanding his tender age, Fuller gravely made his dedication a discourse on the time of a man's conversion! He concluded it by recommending "to your childhood the reading of the Holy Scriptures." Now next to the study of the Scriptures, History best becometh a Gentleman; Church History, a Christian; the British History, an Englishman; all which qualifications meeting eminently in your honour, give me some comfortable assurance that these my weak endeavors will not be unwelcome to you; by perusing whereof, some profit may probably accrue to yourself."¹

Fuller's library does not appear to have been a large one. He has said somewhere that he was not one of those who would try to persuade the world they have much learning by getting a greater library. And yet the books which he lost greatly troubled him, for they were connected with the studies upon which he had entered, and were mementoes of his friends. He was harassed for want of them when replying to Saltmarsh. Such a loss could not but fall heavily upon him both as a scholar and minister. It was a loss, too, which, in those days of dear books could not readily be made up.

In a speech on *The Remonstrance*, delivered by Sir Edward Deering in the House on November 22, 1641, we have the value of a library put before us thus: "How shall he with one hundred pounds (perhaps two hundred pounds) *per annum* with a family, and with constant preaching, be able either in purse for charge, or in leisure for time, or in art for skill, to disgrace this so chargeable, so different, so difficult a work? I speak it, Mr. Speaker, and pardon my want of modesty if I say I speak it not unknowingly. Six hundred pounds is but a mean expense in books, and will advance but a moderate library."² So Dr. Ward, Fuller's tutor, found his income barely sufficient to keep his poorer relations and to find him in books.³ The value of the literature of those days is also seen in the fact that many of the clergy who lost their means of living, existed on

¹ Bk. iii. Dedication.

² Rushworth, iv. 428.

³ Sanford's *Sketches*, p. 205.

the sale of their books. Many anecdotes are told of these "book worms." Thus John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester (who deliberately excommunicated all who took up arms for the Parliament), converted his library into bread for his household; and when once asked "How doth your Lordship do," he replied, "Never better in my life. . . . I have eaten that little plate which the Sequestrators left me; I have eaten a great library of excellent books," &c. &c. Fuller somewhere urges that a minister's income should be plentiful because of the chargeableness of their education at school and in the university; "their books very dear, and those which they bought in folio, shrink quickly into quartos, in respect of the price their executors can get for them."

Fuller's first printed reference to the loss of his books is very characteristic of him. It occurs four years after this time, in one of his *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, where, still smarting under his loss, he has a paragraph entitled:—

"MUCH GOOD DO YOU.—On Nicias' a Philosopher, having his shoes stolen from him, 'May they,' said he, 'fit his feet that took them away!' A wish at the first view, very harmless; but there was that in it which poisoned his charity into a malicious revenge. For he himself had *hurl'd*² or crooked feet, so that in effect he wished the Thief to be lame.

"Whosoever hath plundered me of my Books and Papers, I freely forgive him; and desire that he may fully understand and make good use thereof, wishing him more joy of them than he hath right to them. Nor is there any snake under my herbs, nor have I (as Nicias) any Reservation, or latent sense to myself; but from my heart do desire that to all purposes and intents my Books may be beneficial unto him. Only requesting him, that one passage in his (lately my) Bible [namely Eph. iv. 28], may be taken into his serious consideration."³

Twelve years after Fuller's literary misfortunes occurred we find him again dwelling upon these particular losses with a mingled indignation and sorrow. "Saint Paul," says he, "gave a great charge to Timothy 'to bring the cloak which he left at Troas, but especially the Parchments.' Here we have the Inventory of a Preacher's estate, consisting of a few cloathes and Books; what he wore and what he had written. But the Apostles care was not so much concerned in his cloathes (which might be bought new) as in his Writings, where the damage could not be repaired. I am sadly sensible (though far be it from me to compare scribbling with Scripture) what the loss of a Library (especially of Manuscripts) is to a Minister, whose books have passed such hands which made riddance of

¹ "Plutarch's Morals."—F.

² "Hurl'd," i.e. "hurtled" = turned-about feet. See the concluding para-

graph in *The Wise Statesman: Holy State*, p. 253.

³ *Meditations on the Times*, x. 56.

many, but *havock* of more. Was it not cruelty to torture a Library, by maiming and mangling the Authors therein? neither leaving nor taking them intire. Would they had took less, that so what they left might have been useful to me; or left less, that so what they took might have been useful to others. Whereas now, mischievous Ignorance did a prejudice to me without a profit to its self, or anybody else."¹

From a position of comparative affluence, Fuller now fell into poverty. His income from his prebend was no longer available; for the town of Salisbury, which was not capable of defence, came early into the possession of the Parliament, and the district in which his rectory lay was also subject to it. The Savoy was no longer a source of profit to him, his cure passing into the hands of a man of very different principles from Fuller; the minister chosen showing that the Parliament was fully alive to the importance of the post. These reverses of fortune, which came suddenly upon him, were borne with a Christian resignation and a cheerful acquiescence in the decrees of that Providence who had, he thought, justly scourged the nation with a wasting war because of its sins. "God could no longer be just if we were prosperous. Blessed be His name that I have suffered my share in the calamities of my country. Had I poised myself so politicly betwixt both parties that I had suffered from neither, yet could I have took no contentment in my safe escaping. For why should I, equally ingaged with others in sinning, be exempted above them from the punishment? And seeing the bitter cup which my brethren have pledged to pass by me, I should fear it would be filled again, and returned double, for me to drink it. Yea, I should suspect that I were reserved alone for a greater shame and sorrow. It is therefore some comfort that I draw in the same yoke with my neighbours, and with them jointly bear the burthen which our sins jointly brought upon us."²

And again: "I have observed that towns which have been casually burnt, have been built again more beautiful than before; mud walls, afterwards made of stone; and roofs, formerly but thatched, after advanced to be tiled. The Apostle tells me that I must 'not think strange concerning the fiery trial which is to happen' unto me."³ May I likewise prove improved by it. Let my renewed soul, which grows out of the ashes of the old man, be a more firm fabric, and stronger structure: so shall affliction be my advantage."⁴

¹ *Ch.-Hist.*, Dedication to Bk. v.

² *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Mixt Contemplations*, xvi. 79.

³ 1 Pet. iv. 12.

⁴ *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Mixt Contemplations*, ix. 74.

Thus Fuller, by exchanging London for Oxford, paid a heavy cost. Besides his other troubles, the expensive charges for his daily maintenance at Lincoln College consumed his present means of living, and with London closed to him he had no prospect of replenishing them, since all hope of Church preferment was taken from him by the disgrace under which he lay. So that now, as his biographer says, he literally trusted in Providence.

Fuller rapidly found that his position among the Cavaliers at Oxford was by no means so pleasant as he had anticipated. He was more perplexed than he had been in London; and, in addition, had now no refuge, being practically under the ban of both parties. Suspicious hints began to be uttered, arising most likely from such jeerers as Heylyn, as to the sincerity of Fuller's zeal and loyalty for the cause of the King, whom his Royalist opponents forgot that he had defended at London much longer than they. He is said to have even been assailed with many ill-natured taunts as to his motives for coming to Oxford. He soon saw that the cordiality with which he was wont to be welcomed in London was wanting in the conduct of the Cavaliers towards him. Perhaps, too, the love of many of his friends had waxed cold. Not unlike Fuller's reception at Oxford was that of many other sincere Royalists who went thither. Fuller afterwards alluded to this inconsiderate conduct on the part of the Court, but not in such strong terms as the matter deserved: "COURTESY GAINETH. I have heard the royal party (would I could say without cause) complained of, that they have not charity enough for converts, who came off unto them from the opposite side; who though they express a sense of, and sorrow for, their mistakes, and have given testimony (though perchance not so plain and public as others expected) of their sincerity, yet still they are suspected as unsound; and such as frown not on, look but asquint at them. This hath done much mischief, and retarded the return of many to their side."¹

¹ *Misc Contemp. in Better Times*, xxiii. 35.





CHAPTER XI.

CAVALIER PARSON. BASING HOUSE & OXFORD.

(DEC. 1643—JULY 26, 1644.)

MILITARY CHAPLAINCIES.—SIR RALPH HOPTON.—HIS ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE WAR.—IS MADE BARON.—BECOMES GOVERNOR OF BRISTOL.—THE MILITARY LIFE OF FULLER.—HOPTON'S ADVANCE INTO SUSSEX.—DEATH OF WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.—THE ENGAGEMENT AT CHERITON DOWN.—FULLER'S RETREAT TO BASING HOUSE.—ACCOUNT OF THE STRONGHOLD.—TWICE STORMED BY SIR WM. WALLER.—FULLER INSPIRITS THE BESIEGED.—DEATH OF DR. THOS. JOHNSON.—FATE OF THE STRONGHOLD.—FULLER REPAIRS TO OXFORD.—THE ROYALISTS' FASTS.—FULLER PREACHES "JACOB'S VOW" BEFORE THE KING.—THE KING'S VOW.—FULLER REJOINS HOPTON.—HIS MINISTRATIONS TO THE TROOPS.—ROYALIST FORMS OF PRAYER.—FULLER'S ANTIQUARIAN ZEAL.

"These sorrowful times have turned all our tongues to military phrases."—*A Sermon of Contentment.*

WHILE Fuller was suffering from the reproaches of those whose good opinion he valued, it is said that there were no means at hand by which he could defend or advance his conciliatory projects: "to explain and free himself, an opportunity was wanting both of Press and Pulpit."¹ But even if he could have published another *Truth Maintained*, few would have listened to his "particular vindication" amidst the prevalent excitement. Fuller's eulogist seems to imply that consequent upon his disgrace the pulpits were closed against him; and, to increase his perplexity, his means of living were exhausted in providing for his maintenance, &c.

Heartily weary of his inactive life, and of being regarded with suspicion, Fuller at length began to look around for some employment which might dispel the low spirits which misfortune had brought upon him. No longer waiting for a reconciliation between the contending parties, he betook himself to an argument which would, at any rate, put his loyalty above suspicion.

¹ *Life*, p. 24.

True to his sacred profession, he would unite himself to the army as a "preacher militant" to the King's soldiers.¹ Such chaplaincies were then, indeed, the usual resort of ministers on both sides, and especially of those who by the violence of the times had been driven from their benefices. In the course of the war, prelates and other dignitaries of the Church fought with the vigour of Norman ecclesiastics on behalf of Church and King; and many of the inferior clergy followed (if they did not set) the example. And not on one side alone were these military chaplains to be found. Their presence in the armies was upon many occasions very salutary, having in especial a good effect upon the morals of the troops. Our story, however, takes us mainly among the "Cavalier parsons," as they were afterwards called, some of whom are referred to *passim*. Jeremy Taylor's biographer says that it is not uninteresting to remember that, including Taylor himself, "five of the most eminent of English theologians were brought into scenes of difficulty that put their nerves as well as piety to the proof. Fuller picked up stories of English Worthies in the rear of a marching column. Pearson was chaplain to the King's troops at Exeter, under Lord Goring; and Chillingworth acted as engineer at the siege of Gloucester, in 1643, and was only prevented from trying on English fortifications the implements of Roman science by the sudden advance of the parliamentary army. Barrow was not summoned to the standard of his sovereign; but, much as he admired Horace, there is no reason to think that he would have imitated his flight. Upon one occasion, at least, he stood gallantly to his gun, and succeeded in beating off an Algerine privateer, sailing from Italy to Smyrna."²

Now there was one general about this time at Oxford, by name not unknown to Fuller, to whom the unfortunate clergyman was attracted. This was SIR RALPH HOPTON. He was one whom both parties united in praising,—“a man,” to use Clarendon's words, “superior to any temptation, and abhorred enough the licence and the levities with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a generosity that was not to be exhausted,—a virtue that none of the rest had.”³ And May⁴ testified that of all commanders that sided with the King, Hopton, “by his unwearied industry and great reputation among the people, had raised himself to the most considerable

¹ *Life*, p. 24.

³ *History*, viii. 482.

² *Bp. Jeremy Taylor: A Biography*, p. 113.

⁴ *Hist. Parl.* iii. 69.

height." The King's affairs had been far less disastrous if he had had more generals of this stamp. There was, perhaps, no other officer under whom Fuller would have more willingly and contentedly served. The latter showed, indeed, much prudence in the connection which he formed; for Hopton possessed the confidence of the more sober of the Royalists, whose favour would also in time be extended to his chaplain. The introduction was brought about by some "honourable friend"—it may have been the Marquess of Hertford—who "recommended" him to Hopton, desirous at that time to choose a chaplain. An arrangement was accordingly made between them. Some clue as to the design of Fuller in taking this step may be gathered from a passage written soon after the close of his military career. "It is recorded to the commendation of such Israelites as assisted Barak [against Sisera] that they 'took no gain of money.' Indeed, they of Zebulun were by their calling 'such as handled the pen' (Jud. v. 14), though now turned swordmen in case of necessity. And when men of peaceable professions are, on a pinch of extremity for a short time, forced to fight, they ought not like soldiers of fortune to make a trade to enrich themselves thereby, seeing defence of religion, life, and liberty, are the only wages they seek for in their service."¹ In his *Truth Maintained* he had hinted at dying for the Protestant religion; and he set forth that book as his last will and testament to show what his religion was.² He therefore fully intended to stoutly fight with weapons that were carnal; although he was fully aware of the "incongruity of prelates going to fight," having formerly deemed it improper except in defensive wars.

As regards his equipment for his new mode of life, we have the following contemplation in one of his devout *Thoughts*. "Lord,—When our Saviour sent his apostles abroad to preach, He enjoined them in one gospel, 'Possess nothing, neither shoes nor a staff,' Matt. x. 10. But it is said in another gospel, 'And He commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only,' Mark vi. 8. The reconciliation is easy. They might have a staff, to speak them travellers, not soldiers; one to walk with, not to war with; a staff which was a wand, not a weapon. But oh! in how doleful days do we live, wherein ministers are not, as formerly, armed with their nakedness, but need staves, and swords too, to defend them from violence!"³

¹ *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 160.

² *To the Reader*.

³ *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Scripture Obs.*, No. xx. pp. 111—113 (orig. ed.).

Hopton had many qualities in common with Fuller; but there was one in particular which it may be concluded greatly influenced the mind of the latter in the choice of a military patron: it is thus referred to by Fuller's eulogist:—"This noble Lord, though as courageous and expert a captain, and successful withal, as the King had any, was never averse to an amicable closure of the war upon fair and honourable terms, and did therefore well approve of the Doctor and his desires and pursuit after peace. The good Doctor was likewise infinitely contented in his attendance on such an excellent personage, whose conspicuous and noted loyalty could not but derive the same reputation to his retainers, especially one so near his conscience as his chaplain, and so wipe off that stain [of disloyalty] which the mistakes of those men [at the Court] had cast on him. In this entendment God was pleased to succeed the Doctor, and give him victory (proper to the camp he followed) against this first attempt on his honour."¹ So reputable a captain would be eagerly sought after by clergymen who when harassed by the Committees were compelled, with Fuller, to take up arms. Thus Roger Clark, a fellow-Prebendary of Sarum, and Rector of Ashmore, Dorset, who had fled to Oxford, "betook himself to the army under my Lord Hopton; for which he was plundered of all that he had;" and he afterwards received shelter in Herefordshire from an aunt of Lord Hopton's.² Of other clergymen who attached themselves to the same general was the famous William Chillingworth, and Richard Watson.

A short account of Hopton, the "Good Soldier," who is said to have fortified for the King during the campaign no less than *thirty* strongholds, is demanded in a biography of his chaplain. He was born in Monmouthshire, 1601, and educated in Somersetshire, where his father, Sir Robert Hopton, had his seat. At a suitable age he was sent to Lincoln College (Oxford), and was brought up at the feet of Dr. Sanderson. On leaving the University, Hopton went to the Low Countries, where his military education was gained, and where his future opponent Waller was also fleshing his sword: "they learned in one camp," says Lloyd, "what they practised in two."³ Hopton was present at the fatal battle of Prague, and in the retreat afterwards he carried Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (daughter of James I.), forty miles behind him. At home he was well known and beloved. At the King's coronation he had been made Knight of the Bath; and he represented Somersetshire in the Short, and Wells in

¹ *Life*, p. 25.² *Walker*, ii. 66.³ *Memoires*, 347.

the Long Parliament. He is described as being an effective speaker and a ready writer. Hopton was not closely connected with the events which took place at the outbreak of the war. The respect with which he was regarded by the Long Parliament led to his being chosen to carry a Petition to the King, for speaking favourably of whom, indeed, he was on one occasion for a short time imprisoned. He ultimately ranged himself against the Parliament; and in January, 1642, he is found busily raising troops in Cornwall, and "mastering all unquiet spirits in that county."

In August he was associated with the Marquess of Hertford, the Earl of Bath, Lord Seymour, Lord Poulett, Capt. John Digby, and others, in opening the Commission of Array in Dorsetshire, the gentry of which shire (Fuller declared), "in birth, brains, spirit, and estate, were inferior to no county in England." From Hopton's military services being chiefly rendered in the western and the south-western counties, he became known as "Hopton of the West." There his influence was very great: in his own county, indeed, it was "second to no man's."

His position was attained by the discipline to which his men were subjected. Clarendon speaks of the "extraordinary temper and virtue of the chief officers of the Cornish;" and commends the virtue and valour of their men. Hopton's earnest piety also tended to bring about this result. He was considered the most religious of the King's generals. He never forgot to give God public thanks for his victories. Fuller afterwards eulogized this conduct on the part of generals: "And because all true valour is founded in the knowledge of God in Christ, such generals may and must, to raise the resolution of their soldiers: by inserting and interposing passages of Scripture, animating them to depend on God, the just maintainer of a right cause. Thus Queen Elizabeth, in '88, at Tilbury Camp, inspirited her soldiers with her christian exhortation."¹

An old memoir says that Hopton kept "strict communion with God all the while he was engaged in a war with men. He was reckoned a Puritan before the wars for his strict life, and a Papist in the wars for exemplary devotion; entertaining serious and sober Nonconformists in his house, while he fought on foot against the rebellious and factious in the field." Both at home and in the army he enforced "the strict observation of the Lord's day, the encouragement of good ministers and people throughout his quarters." He is also said to have been severe in the case of rapines committed among the people, and

¹ *Triple Reconciler*, 76.

profaners against God; saying that "the scandal of his soldiers should neither draw the wrath of God upon his undertaking, nor enrage the country against his cause."¹

Shortly before Fuller connected himself with Hopton, that general had gained important victories. These our author in his *Worthies* prominently describes; ² stating that he builds his discourse thereon, "not on the floating sands of uncertain relations, but on the rock of real intelligence, having gotten a manuscript of Sir Ralph Hopton's (courteously communicated unto me by his secretary, Master Tredui) interpolated with his own hand, being a memorial of the remarkables in the West, at which that worthy Knight was present in person."³ Fuller here speaks as if a record made by Hopton must be true. The General's first victory, after his discomfiture under Ruthven, was near LISKEARD (January 19th, 1643), where the hitherto divided command was by the King, and with unanimous consent, given to Hopton. "He first gave order," relates his chaplain, "that public prayers should be had in the head of every squadron; and it was done accordingly; and the enemy observing it did style it saying of mass." The result of the engagement was that Ruthven and Stamford were defeated, and numerous prisoners, munitions, &c., were taken. "Marching that night to Liskeard, the King's force first gave God public thanks, and then took their own private repose." Fuller passes over a subsequent defeat at Modbury, Feb. 21. Hopton's next victory, consequent on renewed hostilities, was on May 16th, at STRATTON, where, exposed to great disadvantages, he routed the forces of the Parliament under the Earl of Stamford, obtaining a large booty and very many prisoners. On the summit of the hill which they had won, the general returned the usual thanks for their deliverance and victory. This transaction is set forth in *The Roundhead's Remembrancer* as a "great defeat." In consequence of this engagement, Stamford retired to Exeter, whither "the Cornish army" followed. The attention of the garrison at Oxford was now turned to the West; and Hopton's division was at once reinforced with cavalry, which joined him in Somersetshire. The army was at this time nominally under the Marquess of Hertford

¹ Lloyd's *Memoires*, 344.

² "These battles are here [*Worthies*, cap. xviii. p. 52] inserted, not with any intent (God knows my heart) to perpetuate the odious remembrance of our mutual animosities; that *heart-burnings* may remain when *house-burnings* are removed; but chiefly to raise our gratitude to God

that so many battles should be fought in the bosom of so little a land, and so few scars and signs thereof extant in their visible impressions. Such who consider how many men we have lost would wonder we have any left; and such who see how many we have left, that we had any lost." ³ Cornwall, p. 211.

(Lord Lieutenant of the Western Counties) and Prince Maurice, but really under Hopton, "whom the people took to be the soul of that army, the other names being not so much spoken of, or so well known."¹ While on their march, the Oxford detachment, especially at Taunton, lost its reputation by its license. "For whereas the chief commanders of the Cornish army had restrained their soldiers from all manner of license, obliging them to solemn and frequent acts of devotion, insomuch as the fame of their religion and discipline was no less than of their courage," the troops referred to "were disorderly enough to give the enemy credit in laying more to their charge than they deserved."² Sir William Waller meanwhile had been despatched from London with a new army to oppose the Royalists. After slight skirmishes an indecisive engagement was fought at LANDSDOWN (July 5th), an open plain near Bath.

Fuller describes the battle as "a heap of skirmishers huddled together." Here Hopton was shot through the arm; and while on the next day visiting his wounded men on the field, which the troops kept, eight barrels of powder exploded near him, and he was so seriously hurt that for some time he was regarded as dead. Clarendon states that the troops were much dispirited at this misfortune, for the wounded general was indeed "the soldiers' darling."³ They rested awhile at Marsfield, "principally in care of Sir Ralph Hopton, who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel." The marks of the explosion never entirely disappeared from his countenance, and they deprived him of his former personal gracefulness and lustre. The portrait of him exhibited at South Kensington in 1866, attributes to him a very sedate countenance and a clear eye. His nose would have gained him the favour of Napoleon. His hair is cut short, and he has a reddish beard closely cut.

After the engagement at Landsdown, the greater part of the infantry under Hopton was conducted by way of Chippenham to Devizes, whither Waller followed them. Devizes commanded the county of Wilts., and was situated on the line of traffic between London and the West. Here the Marquess of Hertford and Prince Maurice determined, with the cavalry, to break through the lines of the enemy that they might reach Oxford; Hopton and others remaining to defend the town till relieved. The castle had once been an old fortification, which had been raised on a huge mound of earth, and was a place of some strength. Surrounded by the enemy and in want of supplies, Hopton, notwithstanding his mishap, was sound in his

¹ Clarendon, vii. 404.

² *Ibid.* vii. 400.

³ *Ibid.* vii. 404.

wits: he had "passed danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir!" "His men wanted match," says Fuller, "whom Sir Ralph Hopton directed to beat and boil their bed-cords (necessity is the best mother of ingenuity), which so ordered did them good service." On July 11th, Waller unsuccessfully assaulted the town, and next offered to treat. While a capitulation was being negotiated, the besieged were reinforced with cavalry, under Wilmot, from Oxford, July 13th. Waller hereupon drew off his forces to ROUNDWAY DOWN, near to which, on the same day, he suffered a defeat. The place was, in consequence, jocularly called *Runaway Down*. Waller betook himself to Bristol, and subsequently to London; and from this time his popularity declined. Clarendon says that this victory redeemed the King's whole affairs for that time. Bath was taken; and Bristol was surrendered to Prince Rupert by Colonel Fiennes (July 27th). Meanwhile, "the terror of Sir Ralph Hopton's name, and of his adjutant Sir Francis Doddington, appears to have been sufficient to keep all Wilts. and Somerset in awe."¹

The Marquess of Hertford now appointed Hopton Governor of Bristol, the latter being "most gracious and popular to that city and the country adjacent;" but Prince Rupert, conceiving that *he* had the right to dispose of the post, conferred it on himself; and the King, knowing nothing of the hitch, confirmed the appointment. Ultimately Charles had to proceed to Bristol to arrange the dispute; whereupon Rupert became the nominal governor, and Hopton (who greatly regretted that these differences arose on his account) the lieutenant-governor; but the latter held practically the real command. He had then so far recovered from his accident as to be able to walk out into the air. These disputes kept the King's affairs at a stand for several weeks.

When Prince Maurice went into the West, towards Exeter, which he took in September, Hopton remained behind in Bristol for the purpose of recovering his health and establishing the garrison. It was intended to make a magazine at that town for men, arms, and ammunition; and Hopton was entrusted with the business.

Before the King left Bristol for Gloucester, says Clarendon, he sent to Hopton, on account of the good service he had rendered, a warrant creating him Baron Hopton of Stratton, entailing the title upon the heirs male of his body, and for want of such upon Sir Arthur Hopton, Knt., and his heirs male. The

¹ Waylen's *Hist. Devizes*, p. 141.

patent (dated Oxon., 4th Sept., 19 Car. 1), is given by Fuller in his *Worthies*¹ in full; "being chaplain to this worthy lord, I could do no less than (in gratitude to his memory) make this exemplification." It was the news of these important successes that gladdened the closing hours of Fuller's old tutor, Dr. Ward, whose dying words were breathed up to heaven with his parting soul" in benediction of the King and his general.²

Hopton had before him, at Bristol, no easy task. The whole of the troops had left for the West, and a new army had to be organised. The King "obliged my Lord Hopton to garrison it as he could, which he shortly did." By his personal efforts and influence, the indefatigable soldier got together a good body of foot and horse.

It was, then, at about this point in Hopton's military career that Fuller joined his division; but I have in vain searched for direct evidence to fix the exact date, which is of some importance. According to Fuller's rough statement, he remained at Lincoln College, Oxford, seventeen weeks. By our computation this would place the date of his departure from Oxford in the early part of December; and as Hopton visited the King at Oxford during this very month,³ it may be safe to conclude that Fuller went away with that General to his military command at Bristol or elsewhere.⁴

The first few months of Fuller's life as chaplain to Hopton are involved in obscurity. He himself has left no details of it; and we shall find it troublesome to indicate with certainty the course of his marches. His own account of his life during the war is that of a campaigner: it was thus told by himself when excusing the non-appearance of his promised ecclesiastical history: "For the first five years, during our actual civil wars [1643-7], I had little list or leisure to write, fearing to be made a history, and shifting daily for my safety. All that time I could not live to study, who did only study to live."⁵ We can, therefore, best follow him during the first year or so of this period by continuing to trace the career of Hopton, upon whom Fuller was now in close attendance.

As soon as it was determined to send Waller into the West, the King prepared to "attend" him. "To this purpose the

¹ Cornwall, p. 212; Dugdale's MSS. (Bodl.), M. 1, p. 53.

² See p. 105; and *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, p. 9.

³ Russell's *Memorials of Fuller*, 151.

⁴ Fuller's account of Bristol (*Worthies*, p. 33) does not seem to show his personal familiarity with that city. He was in-

deed intimate with Mr. John Taylor, "Burgess for Bristol in the Long Parliament," but disabled 1645. The latter was a colonel on the King's side at the siege of Bristol, where, refusing quarter, he was killed under its walls, Sept. 1645. (*Appeal*, i. 368.)

⁵ *Appeal*, pt. i. 317.

Lord Hopton was appointed to command an army apart, to be levied out of his garrison of Bristol, and those western counties adjacent newly reduced." This force, with two regiments, which in the beginning of December had arrived from Munster under Sir Charles Vavasour and Sir John Poulett, made up the army. Hopton conducted it first to Salisbury, and then to Winchester, where he was joined by a detachment of Devonshire troops under Sir John Berkeley, so that he had an army of 3,000 foot and 1,500 horse.¹

For some time past, the King's adherents in Sussex and Hampshire eagerly pressed Hopton to advance thither; or at least to send troops to form the nucleus of an army, which they were eager to assemble in those parts. Hopton, after consulting the King, consented to this course, and reinforcements were sent to him from the garrisons. Hopton first determined to visit Farnham, the quarters of Waller, whose troops had been gathered from the "associated counties of Southampton, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent." Rushworth says that it was to break this combination that Hopton was sent. Waller was waiting about Farnham until his numbers were increased, and for this purpose he went to London. Meanwhile Hopton "had an extraordinary appetite to engage Waller in a battle upon old accounts." Of the latter, one says that none was fitter to balance Hopton's successes, none likelier to understand his stratagems, none abler to undermine his designs than his fellow-soldier, Sir William, who understood his method as well as he was acquainted with his person.²

Hopton now advanced into Sussex. It was on this march that the famous William Chillingworth, "out of kindness and respect to the Lord Hopton," attached himself to the army. Chillingworth was at this time of some service to the Royalist generals, for he assisted as engineer at the siege of Gloucester and elsewhere, having constructed *testudines cum pluteis*, which being musket-proof were filled with marksmen and run out upon cart-wheels. He was called the King's Little Engineer, and Black-art-man. Cheynell said that he was "in the conceit of his fellow soldiers the Queen's Arch-Engineer and Grand-Intelligencer" [*i.e.* spy]. He had, however, made himself unpopular among the Royalists for "lukewarm" preaching; and was doubtless as glad as Fuller of the protection which this connection with Hopton afforded. Hopton took possession (Dec. 9th) of Arundel Castle, a place of great strength. Hastily leaving a garrison, he returned to Winchester, having heard of

¹ Clarendon, viii. 477.

² *State Worthies*, ii.328 (ed. 1766).

Waller's advance. At Arundel, Hopton, on account of the bitter coldness of the season, was compelled to leave Chillingworth. With his army of about 12,000 men, Hopton meanwhile found Waller with 10,000 ready to "attend his motion." The latter suddenly fell on part of the royal forces near *Alton*, and they were compelled to retreat in some disorder to Winchester. Arundel Castle consequently fell into Waller's hands (January 6th). Among the captured was Chillingworth, who, not being able to accompany the other prisoners to London, was removed to Chichester, and so barbarously used (as Clarendon says) that he died there within a few days (about January 30th). The account of his closing days, as given in a remarkable volume, written by his old antagonist Francis Cheynell, is exceedingly curious, and throws some light on the military habits of the chaplains. To Cheynell,¹ who accidentally met him at Arundel Castle, and who was at this time usufructuary of the rich parsonage of Petworth, he was indebted for many favours, and by him was tenderly cared for. The "malignants" were allowed to be present at Chillingworth's burial, which was arranged, as Cheynell puts it, by "men of a cathedral spirit." They saw a curious scene. Cheynell, during the burial service, came up to the grave holding in his hand what he called *the mortal book* of his dead brother (*The Apostolical Succession of Christianity*), denounced the volume in an abusive speech, and then flung it upon the coffin! "But his book," says Clarendon, "will live,"² and declare him to be a man of rare and admirable parts to all posterity." It is noticeable that Fuller, in his account of Chillingworth, does not speak as if he were present in these transactions. He says that Chillingworth was taken prisoner as described, "and not surprised and slain in his studies, as Archimedes at the sacking of Syracuse, (as some have given it out); but was safely conducted to Chichester, where, notwithstanding, hard usage hastened his dissolution."³ He had been

¹ Cheynell (who was a Presbyterian, and had been ejected by the Royalists from a living which he held in this county) accidentally fell in with Chillingworth at Chichester, and he obtained for him lodgings in the Bishop's palace. Cheynell afterwards accompanied the Earl of Essex into Cornwall, exhibiting such bravery that it is said that his commands were obeyed as readily as the General's. See his *Chillingworthii Novissima*.

² His book "shall still survive unto the world in its own just value, when the poor threepenny commodities of such a

sorry haberdasher of small wares shall be out of credit." (Heylyn, *Examen*.) "Mr. Cheynell," said Fuller, in reply to this passage, "is now rather the object of the Animadvertor's prayer and pity than of his anger." "Every true Christian," comments Mr. Nicholls, "must admire Fuller's characteristic inclination to 'prayer and pity,' especially on being informed that at the time when Heylyn's *Animadversions* were published, the headstrong but unfortunate Dr. Francis Cheynell was labouring under confirmed aberration of intellect." (*Appeal*, ii. 495.)

³ *Worthies*, § Oxfordshire, p. 340.

a prebendary in the Church of Sărum since 1638, succeeding Dr. Duppa in the Chancellorship. He had also been deputed to attend the Convocations of 1640. Wood tells us that in 1642 Chillingworth with others was "put into the roll" to be created D.D., "but he came not to take that degree, nor was he diplomated."

Hopton, greatly troubled at his defeat at Alton, and at the surrender of Arundel, received at Winchester further accessions of troops from the Royal quarters. The King's General, the Earl of Brentford, "who had a fast friendship with the Lord Hopton," came with the reinforcements. Hopton "was exceedingly revived with the presence of the General, and desired to receive his orders, and that he (the Earl) would take upon him the absolute command of the troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offered to keep him company in all expeditions, and to give him the best assistance he was able." The arrangement was agreed to, and we are assured that there could not be a greater union between friends.¹

The troops now proceeded from Winchester to meet Waller, who was marching upon Alresford. Hopton, however, with a party of horse, leaving the remainder of his army to follow, marched quickly thither and gained the town before his opponent, whose increased forces had quartered in the villages. After a day had been spent in skirmishes, it was agreed to fight on the morrow. On Friday, March 29th, Hopton drew up his forces on CHERITON DOWN, seven miles east of Winchester. The battle is described by Rushworth² more fully than by Clarendon: "The field-word of both armies happened at first to be the same, namely *God with us!* which by some accident being made known to Waller, he changed it on his side to *Jesus help us!*" The King's forces seemed as usual to have the advantage at first, but they were afterwards worsted with very great loss, the first who ran off being two regiments of Irish. Both parties fought very stoutly; howbeit the royal forces were routed and dispersed; scarce ten of them, says Whitelocke, were left together. Many captains of note were killed: among others the Lord John Stewart (brother to the Duke of Richmond), who had followed Hopton both "to observe his conduct and attain his other great virtues."³ Hopton

¹ *Rebellion*, viii. 479.

² vi. 654.

³ Lloyd's *Memoires*, p. 326. An admirable character has been left of this amiable nobleman. He was, we are told, witty; but he did not bestow his

wit "in jesting upon, but in adorning and obeying religion, being none of them that commend wit by blasphemy, and cannot be ingenious but by being impious." One of his brothers died at Edgehill; and another died at Chester.

“managed his forces soldier-like, and with a party of horse kept facing the enemy as well as he could to secure his rear.” Some of his soldiers attempted in their retreat to fire the town of Alresford.

Waller in his pursuit failed to capture the artillery of Hopton, because he supposed the latter had retreated to Winchester, towards which he vigorously directed a pursuit. But in the darkness of the evening Hopton had turned off to Basing House. Fuller was then in the company of the General, for the biographer of our hero (of whom we at length get a definite notice) now records that after the fight “my Lord Hopton drew down with his Army and Artillery to Basing [House] (and so reached that way to Oxford, intending to take up winter Quarters [*sic*] as soon as he had consulted with the King), and left the Doctor in that as courageously manned, as well fortified house.”¹ On Sunday (31st) Hopton advanced to Reading, and then to Oxford.

Waller captured some fugitives at Winchester; and leaving the castle fortified he proceeded to Andover and Christchurch, taking both places. At Andover Sir William Balfour was informed that Lady Hopton (she was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Arthur Capell, and widow of Sir Justinian Lewen) was about Newbury. A band was accordingly sent out which surprised and captured her, with her attendants, coaches, and horses. The lady was treated with the respect due to her quality, being conveyed to Oxford with the plate and jewels which properly belonged to her household, the rest being made prize of.²

Waller, upon his return, found the gates of Winchester closed; but he battered them down, and the town was plundered, some of the tombs, images, escutcheons, &c. in the cathedral being barbarously thrown down by the soldiers. The ignorantly-directed zeal against heraldic devices is glanced at by Fuller when he spoke of “crest-fallen” churches. Waller himself thought that his ill-fortune in the succeeding year was a divine judgment upon him for the irreverence of his troops. Clarendon speaks of these military events as forming a doleful entering upon the beginning (March) of the year 1644, breaking up the King’s measures. From Winchester Waller took his troops, not for the first time, to the assault of Basing House, which he endeavoured to obtain by treachery, having opened a correspondence with Lord Edward Pawlet, brother to the Marquess, “then with him as unsuspected as a brother should be.” The presence of our hero in this stronghold will now take our attention to it.

Basing House, once a magnificent mansion, but then a

¹ Page 29.

² Rushworth, vi. 655.

fort, was about that time becoming as famous and as memorable as many other such strongholds, by reason of its gallant defence. Its ruins even to-day form one of the most interesting relics of the civil war. It was a strong mansion in the time of Henry III. In the course of time it came into the possession of Sir William Pawlet, who was by Edward VI. created Marquess of Winchester. He greatly added to the original structure until, says Fuller, it became "the greatest of any subject's house in England, yea larger than most (eagles have not the biggest nests of all birds) of the king's palaces."¹ The Marquess, born, as he said, of the willow, not of the oak, held for thirty years the post of Lord Treasurer to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; but he died full of years, renown, and debt. He was succeeded by his third son, John, who had great difficulty in maintaining the huge establishment. All the rooms were richly furnished. When Hugh Peters went through the house three weeks after its final storming, he was amazed at its elaborate decorations. By the exercise of great thrift and frugality John Pawlet, fifth Marquess of Winchester, 1628, had, about the time that the civil war commenced, contrived to free himself from the pecuniary embarrassments incurred in its maintenance. This nobleman was described by Dryden as having been "a man of exemplary piety towards God, and of inviolable fidelity towards his sovereign." He was a Roman Catholic. Peters was horrified at the "popish books many, with copes and such utensils," which he saw; "the old house had stood (as it is reported) two or three hundred years, a nest of idolatry; the new house surpassing that in beauty and stateliness; and either of them fit to make an emperor's court." The severity of the Puritans against it was as much owing to the religion of the owner, as to his fidelity to the cause of the King. On the breaking out of the war, the Marquess had taken the King's side, held the mansion for him, and expressed his readiness to turn it into a garrison for his use; and at his disposal the nobleman also placed the whole of his savings. The house was gladly accepted on account of its position; for it stood upon rising ground two miles north-east of Basingstoke, an important trading town where five several roads met. Donington Castle, near Newbury, was then likewise a Royalist stronghold. By means of the garrisons at these places the King had complete control of the great western highway. But Basing House was of the chief importance, and many efforts were put forth to capture it. As

¹ *Worthies*, § Hampshire, p. 3.

opportunities offered the inmates had considerably strengthened their shelter, the works enclosing a space of about fourteen acres, and consisting of deep dry ditches or moats with high strong ramparts made of brick and lined with earth.

At first the defence of the house was in the hands of the Marquess, his family and his retainers forming the garrison. He was reinforced from Oxford in August, 1643, the King ordering thither 100 musketeers under the command of Sir Robert Peake. After the first attack Col. Rowden with 150 men arrived as reinforcements.

It was first invested in August, 1643, from which time till its capture it suffered from continual attacks. Sir William Waller unsuccessfully attempted its capture in the following November, storming it thrice in nine days. To a summons to surrender, the Marquess replied that if the King had no more ground in England than Basing House, he would maintain it to the uttermost. Waller was thus compelled to retire with loss to Farnham (17th November). These constant attacks weakened the garrison, which seems never to have amounted to more than five hundred soldiers, with ten pieces of ordnance. During the next few months the besiegers endeavoured to starve the stronghold rather than to storm it; and troops were set round about it under other captains, whom the besiegers harassed by constant successful sallies. Besides Col. Peake, two brave Majors, Cussand and Langley, held commands in the fort.

Between Waller's visit in November and his next at the end of the following March, Fuller had arrived at the fortress, being perhaps the bearer of important messages, which at critical times like the present were usually conveyed by trusty clergymen. The Marquess was related to Fuller's patrons, the Pouletts, on account of whom Fuller would receive a welcome to the shelter. The biographer, indeed, assures us that he was not an unemployed or unacceptable guest to that loyal garrison and to the Marquess. The latter, like most of Fuller's titled patrons, was devoted to literature, being afterwards known as the translator of Quare's *Devout Entertainments of a Christian Soul*, of *The Gallery of Heroic Women*, 1652, and of Salon's *Holy History*; 1653. He died in 1674; his epitaph at Englefield Church being written by Dryden.

Basing House likewise sheltered another refugee, who in common with the soldiers, for the defence of the stronghold, hazarded his life in the sallies. This was Dr. Thomas Johnson, "the best herbalist in England," author of early local catalogues of plants, and the editor of an enlarged edition of

Gerard's *Herbal*, which continued the most useful work on the subject until the time of Ray. Johnson's valour procured for him a command, being a lieutenant-colonel; and in the year 1643 he was for his loyalty created M.D. at Oxford.

While entering into the spirit of the defence by his exhortations to the soldiers, our hero, with the power of abstraction which was a feature of his character, found occupation in arranging the notes of some literary work. This seems to relate to his antiquarian collections for his *Worthies* or *Church-History*, which it seems he could not wholly forget even in such awkward times. The interruption to this employment by Waller's besieging forces, now fresh from the capture of Winchester, gave rise to that well-known incident which is inseparably connected with the histories of Basing House. Our hero's eulogist having safely brought him (as has been related) to this refuge, proceeds thus in his narration:—

“He had scarce begun to reduce his marching observations into form and method, but Sir William Waller, having taken in Winchester, came to besiege the Doctor's Sanctuary. This no way amated or terrified him, but only the noyse of the cannon playing from the enemy's Leagure interrupted the prosecution of digesting his Notes, which trouble he recompensed to them by an importunate spiriting of the Defendants in their sallies; which they followed so close and so bravely, suffering the besiegers scarce to eat or sleep, that Sir William was compelled to raise his siege and march away, leaving above a thousand men slain behind him; and the DOCTOR the pleasure of seeing that strong Effort of Rebellion in some way by his means repulsed and defeated, and in being free to proceed in his wonted intendments.”¹

It is singular that none of the contemporary notices of Basing House² make mention of this episode in Fuller's life, a fact which seems to imply some exaggeration in the account of our authority, who has certainly confounded Waller's attack in November, 1643, with the proceedings at one of the subsequent investitures. Waller never lost so many men before the place as is here represented. The biographer has perhaps placed a

¹ Pages 29, 30.

² Sanderson's *Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of Charles I.*, pp. 774-780, 834, 835; *The Description of the Siege* by the Marquess; *Journal of the Siege*, printed at Oxford; Sir Edward Walker's *Hist. Discourses*, p. 90 *seq.*; the *Full Relation* of Hugh Peters. Also, Chandler's *History of Basing-house*, 8vo.

1827; Hone's *Year Book*, vol. iv. 1187; Burke's *The Patrician* (v. 473-479). The latter, after relating the incident, apparently from the anonymous *Life*, adds: “The fate of Basing House was for a long time suspended. When it was besieged a second time, and fell, Lord Hopton's army took refuge in the city of Exeter, whither Fuller accompanied it.”

different colour on a statement in Sanderson's *History* where the latter states that when the winter of 1644 was coming on, "the besiegers dwindled from two thousand to seven hundred," and drew off from the House with their guns and wagons (Nov. 16); a passage which evidently gives the *result* of that investment. The sallies from the garrison were, however, of so frequent an occurrence that those with which Fuller was connected might readily be overlooked. Fuller himself makes no mention of the matter; and we may therefore say of him as he said of Samson, that "his silence was no less commendable than his valour. But indeed the truest prowess pleaseth itself more in doing than reporting its own achievements."¹ The mention of his connection with the place would in after times certainly have little benefited him, and he therefore kept a wary silence. In Fuller's annoyance at the "noise" of the cannon, Hone sees an indifference during so great a danger similar to that of the water-carrier who, at the siege of another place, was going about crying, "Water, threepence a bucket," when a bomb-shell taking away one of his vessels, he changed his cry to "Water, *sixpence* a bucket," and walked on.

In another sally from the garrison connected with the soldierly relief of the fort by Col. Gage from Oxford (Sept. 9-12, 1644) at which time the House had suffered a three-months' strict investment, Col. Johnson, the herbalist, is said to have rendered as efficient service as Fuller. He was, however, more unfortunate in his retreat than our divine, who lived to give him a place in the *Worthies*. A dangerous service having to be done, "this Doctor," says our author, "who publicly pretended not to valour, undertook and performed it. Yet afterwards [1644] he lost his life in the siege of the same house, and was (to my knowledge) generally lamented of those who were of an opposite judgment. But let us bestow this epitaph upon him:—

*Hic Johnson jacet, sed si mors cederet herbis,
Arte fugata tua cederet illa tuis.*

Here Johnson lies: could physic fence Death's dart,
Sure Death had been declined by his art."²

Sanderson relates that he was shot in the shoulder, and that the wound brought on a fever from which he died.

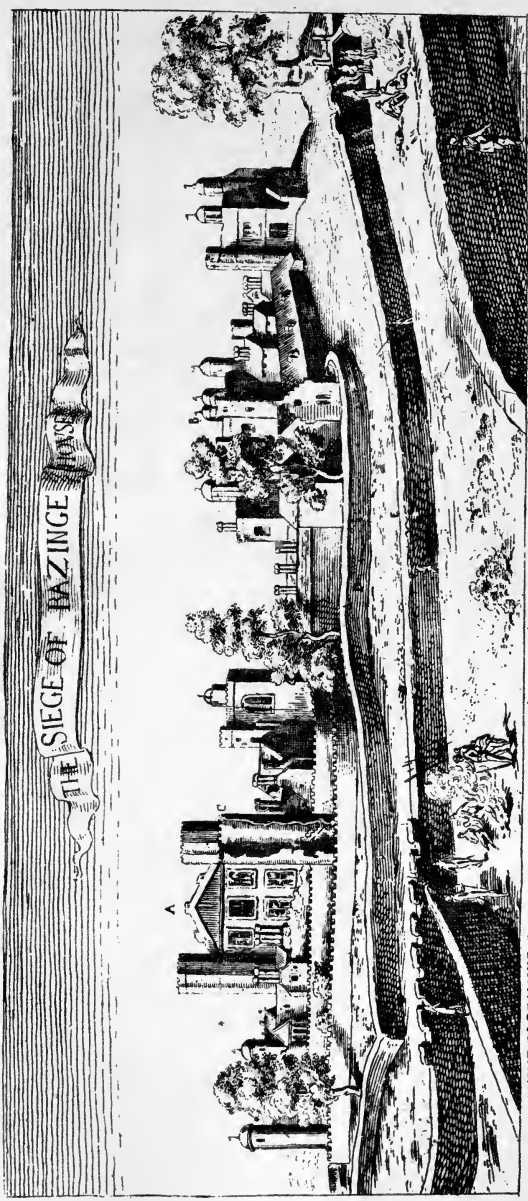
The house also proved a refuge to others. Thus Inigo Jones, the architect, is mentioned as being there in the last siege,—"an excellent Architector to build, but no Engineer to pull down,"—as well as Wentzell Hollar, the well-known engraver.

¹ *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 215. ² *Worthies*, § Yorks., p. 204; Lloyd's *Memoires*, p. 578.

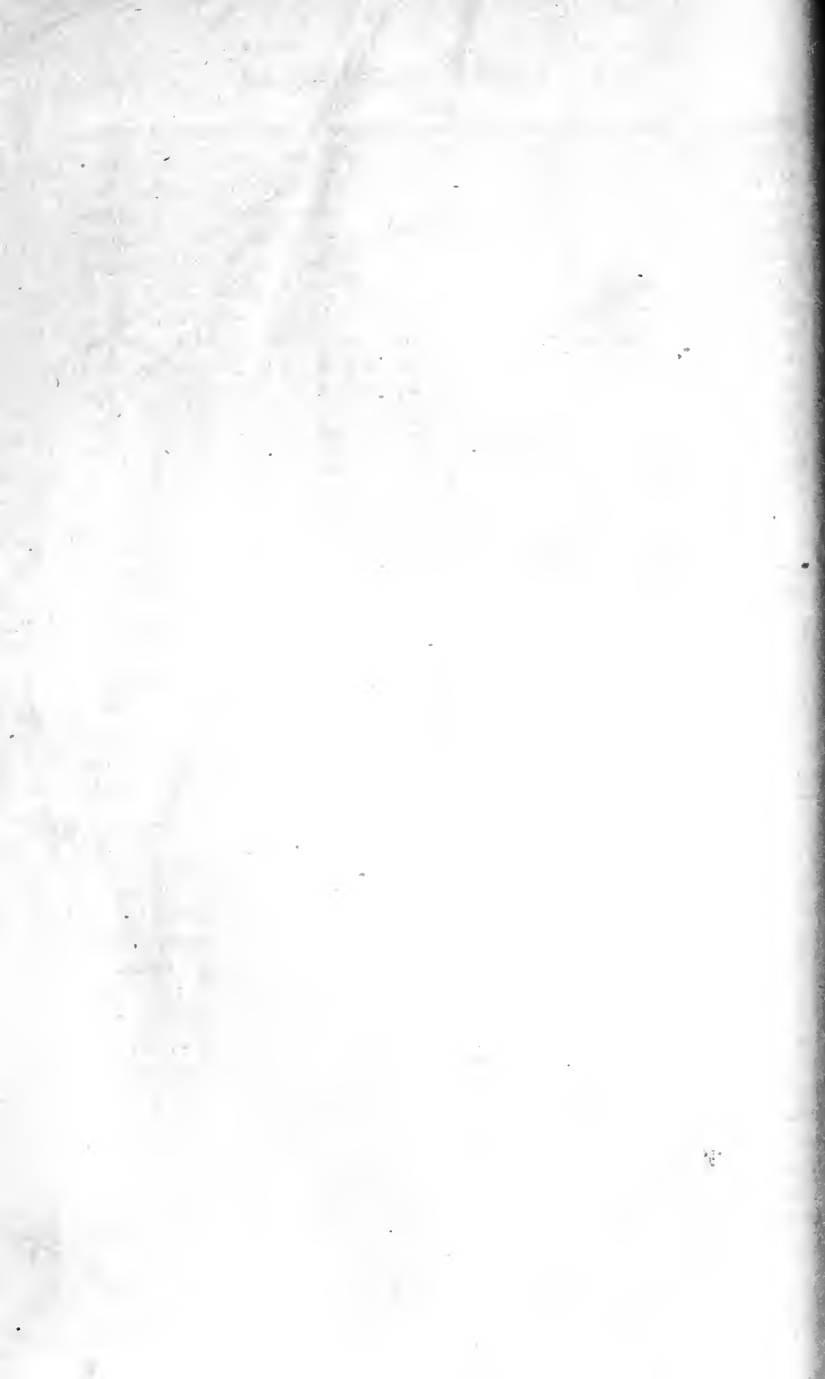
The latter was afterwards an illustrator of Fuller's works. He engraved the west front of Lichfield Cathedral for the *Church-History*; and also etched the frontispiece for the collection of sermons published in 1657. Hollar afterwards executed a portrait, now very rare, of Lord Winchester, his host at Basing. Under Hollar's name there also passes a much rarer etching (unsigned), entitled, "The Siege of Bazinge Hovse," which has been reproduced in fac-simile by the photozincographic process at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, under the direction of Major-General Sir Henry James. From the negative which has been preserved by the Department, the annexed copy of this interesting topographical relic has, by the kind consent of Sir Henry James, been reduced to illustrate this portion of Fuller's biography. The size of the original is $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by 4 inches wide. That the etching is from a contemporary sketch is shown by the legend, "The tower that is halfe battered dovne."

In a window at the rectory at Basingstoke are two quarries, of domestic character, which were found in a cottage in that town some years ago, and are supposed to have come from old Basing House. One bears the crest of the Pawlet family (a falcon gorged); the other Lord Winchester's badge as Chamberlain (namely, a key surrounded by a cord). This device occurs repeatedly on brackets and shields in Basing Church, and also upon a stone corbel, now at Basingstoke Rectory, which appears to have come from Basing Church, as it resembles others which are still *in situ*. The Rector of Basingstoke also has one of Cromwell's cannon-balls (a large one); and the marks of others are to be seen in the walls of the church.

Basing House afterwards underwent further attacks at the hands of the Parliamentary captains, whose military reputation was not thereby improved. Herbert Morley, a lieutenant of Colonel Norton, summoned it to surrender in the name of the Parliament; but the Marquess replied that he knew no parliament without the King, by whose order he kept the house, and that he would hold it in despite of Morley's forces; adding, that he would keep his letter as a testimony of his rebellion. The account characteristically adds that "the choller of the disappointed lieutenant spoke from his gunnes." Colonel Harvey and Sir Hardress Waller were also baffled before the fort. It was again assaulted by Waller at a later period; but its ultimate reduction was brought about by Cromwell (October 4th, 1645), who described its fall in the famous letter addressed to the Speaker, beginning: "I thank God I can give you a good account of Basing." There is a traditionary report in the neigh-



A. THE OLDE HOUSE. B. THE MEW. C. THE TOWER THAT IS HALFE BAT TERED DOWNE. D. THE KINGES BREAST WORKS. E. THE PARLIAMENTS BREAST WORKS.



bourhood, that the garrison was surprised when many of them were engaged at cards; and local whist-players still have a saying: "Clubs trump, as when Basing House was taken." Altogether two thousand soldiers are said to have been slain before the place. By reason of the repulses of the besiegers it came to be wittily called "*Basting House*." In Shoreditch there is, or used to be, an inn called after the famous house, the sign perhaps dating from the time of the siege. Another name by which it was known throughout the country was *Loyalty House*, which epithet arose from the fact that the proprietor had given orders for every pane of glass in the mansion to be inscribed with that motto which his descendants still use, *Ayez loyaulté*. Fuller himself says that the posy "was often written in every window thereof; and was well practised in it, when for resistance on that account it was lately levelled to the ground."¹ Sanderson describes it as a place seated and built as if for royalty. The biographer, alluding to the princely edifice as standing when Fuller was there, "in spight of their potent arms," adds that "afterwards, through the fortune of war, being fallen into their hands, and razed by their more impotent revenge, he [Fuller] doth heartily lament in his *Worthies General*, preferring it, while it flourished, for the chiefest fabric in Hantshire. This his kindness to the place of his refuge, though no doubt true and deserved enough, yet no questionless was ideared in him, by some more peculiar obliging regards and respects he found during his abode there; though, indeed, his worth could want and miss them nowhere."²

If Fuller—who with "apostolic blows and knocks" was now practically showing that he belonged to the Church militant—stayed at Basing for any period, it could not have been for more than four or five weeks (not months, as has hitherto been stated); after which time there is evidence of his presence at Oxford, whither he probably went with one of the frequent convoys to that city. Our biographer does not help us out of the uncertainty which again enshrouds Fuller's movements. He says: "What time the Doctor continued here is very uncertain; sure we may be he was not an unemployed or an unacceptable guest to that loyal garrison, and that as noble as honourable Marquis the Proprietary of the place." He adds that "the next removal" of his hero was "to his charge in the army, and his particular duty of chaplain to his said Lord."³

Our story thus again takes us back to the neighbourhood of Oxford, where Lord Hopton, ever active, was again busy col-

¹ *Worthies*, § Hants, p. 3.

² Page 31.

³ Page 30.

lecting and manœuvring troops, with the intention of attacking Taunton, and re-inspiring the West, where, it was now patent, the chief hope of the Royalists lay. The royal forces were mustered about Marlborough, as it was expected that Sir William Waller was about to march to the West. They remained thereabouts for some weeks. The King, who on the 10th April was at "Merlinborow" at "the Lord Seymer's," had been disconcerted by the defeat of Hopton, and by the advance of the Scots. Moreover, the Convention, or "Mongrel parliament," as he called it, had failed in its purpose, being dissolved on 16th April. Councils of war were hereupon held as to future movements. The only persons with whom at this time the King consulted in military matters "were (besides Prince Rupert, who was at this time absent), the *general* [of the army], who was made Earl of Brentford; the *Lord Wilmot*, who was general of the horse; the *Lord Hopton*, who usually commanded an army apart, and was not often with the King's army, but now present;"¹ *Lord Digby* and others, more regarding, as was his Majesty's wont, the person giving the advice, than the advice itself. A contemporary letter dated April 16, 1644, says: "Lord Hopton is quartered about Merlinsborough. His forces exceed 10,000 foot and horse." Fuller was again upon his staff. The troops afterwards removed to Newbury, where they remained inactive about a month until the opposing forces revealed their intentions. The King meanwhile was at Oxford; and there, mayhap, Fuller at this time occasionally resorted. On Tuesday, the 16th April (the day of the dissolution of the "Mongrel" Parliament, and of the final parting of the King and Queen), Fuller may probably have been a witness in Christ Church of that remarkable scene, in which the King in presence of his peers, receiving the Eucharist at the hands of Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh, rose from his knees and made the following protestation, or vow: "My lord, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my soul to become a worthy Receiver; and may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery. I bless God that in the midst of these public distractions I have still liberty to communicate; and may this Sacrament be my damnation if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation!"² In some way or other, Fuller again

¹ Clarendon, viii. 482.

² Sanderson's *Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of Charles I.* p. 702.

now came under the notice of the King. Hearing that Fuller was in the city or in the neighbourhood, he seems to have made a special request that he should preach a second time before him. This token of the King's regard is all the more noteworthy, since Fuller was never one of the chaplains to Charles I. So much we gather from a passage in the Fuller-Heylyn controversy, wherein Fuller had incidentally alluded to Heylyn (who was a royal chaplain) as his "fellow-servant." Heylyn thus commented on the remark: "If he were, it must not be in the capacity of a Chaplain in *Ordinary* (for I never saw his name in the list of the forty-eight), accompanied with his fixt times of attendance, as the others were; but supernumerary and at large, of whom there is no notice taken in the Court, though they may make some noise in the country."¹

The fact that Fuller did preach at this time before the King at Oxford, and that the sermon was afterwards published at the royal request—new and interesting items in our biography—is derived from an extremely rare and hitherto unknown sermon, formerly in the Surrenden Library (Sir E. Dering's), but now in the possession of Edward Riggall, Esq., of Bayswater, by whose courtesy the abstract of it appears in this work.

The discourse was preached on Friday, 10th May, one of the monthly public fast-days. This was the fast-day generally observed by the Royalists. The old Wednesday fast-days, 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 at the nation,—to avert which was the chief intention of the fast. The King accordingly ordered that fast to be discontinued (October 5th, 1643); but the Royalists for some time continued to observe the 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 prayers 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 (October 13th, 1643), Chillingworth, who was not a royal chaplain, preached before the King a sermon on 2 Timothy iii. 1-5, which, after his death in the year ensuing, was published by royal command.²

¹ *Letter Combate*, p. 340.

² Nichols' *Life of Chillingworth*, p. 289; Rushworth, vol. ii. pt. iii. 365.

There were thus, then, *two* monthly fasts being observed. Fuller, writing in 1647, thus refers to them: "During these civil wars Wednesday and Friday fasts have been appointed by different authorities. What harm had it been if they had been both generally observed? . . . Do not our two fasts 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."¹

Fuller's Fast sermon, which seems to have been printed immediately after delivery, was thus entitled: *Jacob's Vow: A Sermon Preached before His Majesty and The Prince His Highnesse, at St. Maries, in Oxford, The tenth of May, 1644, being [Friday] the day of Publique Fast. By Thomas Fuller, B.D., and published by special command. Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University. 1644. [4to. pp. 27.]* The text (Genesis xxviii. 20—22) is printed on the reverse of the title. The piece is not dedicated, and the omission is noticeable.

The preacher describes the general circumstances under which the patriarch's vow was made, dividing it into two parts: (1) *Petitio*, a request which he desired of God; (2) *Promissio*, a dutie which he promised to perform to God. (I.) Jacob asks not for all the four things God had promised him, but for bread for necessitie. Fuller then asks why Isaac, being exceeding rich, had sent forth his son so poore, when he had sent forth his very servant on the same journey so richly attended? He gives four reasons: (1) That his brother might not so easily miss him, or know which way to go after him; (2) That this misery might move his brother to compassion and reconciliation; (3) That, having no money to maintain him, he might have more mind to return home again; and (4) That he might have the better experience of God's mercy. He then deduces that Adversitie is the blessing of God's children as well as Prosperitie. Jacob's moderate petition was designed to teach *us* moderation: "having once seen God in Bethel, and set his heart upon Him who is the true treasure, he neither admired nor much desired (more than was necessary) this worldly trash." "Earthly honors and riches are the shadows of heavenly, and the pleasures of sinne not so much as shadows of heavenly pleasures."

But in addition to this moderate request for *worldly* good, he desires the Divine Protection, "which is the staffe of Bread and Blessing, without which a man may starve for hunger,

¹ *Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Med. on the Times*, No. xvii.

with bread in his mouthe, and die like the Children of Israel with the flesh of Quail betweene their teethe."

(II.) He comes to the duties he promiseth to perform to God. "Jacob having received but even the promise of a benefit, presently voweth the performance of a dutie, to teach all true Israelites, that *beneficium postulat officium*; and that the thankfulness of the receiver ought to answer unto the benefit of the bestower, as the eccho answereth to the voice." He concludes, "that we all having received the same spiritual and temporal mercies, are bound to the like thankfulness." He reminds his congregation, that "many of them have passed over, not Jordan, but the river of *Trent*, or *Thames*, or *Severne*, with their staves in their hands: *i.e.* poor estates in comparison, and are now laden with riches and honours," and yet have not vowed with Jacob to have the Lord for their God. "One religious vow you see weekly paid in this place by our Royal Jacob, I mean our Tuesday's exercise: which was devoutly vowed, upon as just an occasion, as ever vow was made. And hitherto (God be thanked) it hath been religiouslie performed. God grant that this our *Jacob* may long and long live a happie King of this happie Island, even as long (if it be His will) as the old Patriarke Jacob did, to pay this tribute and the rest of his vows to the King of Kings." "And thus much for the generall of Jacob's Vow."

In the next division of the discourse Fuller discussed the particular duties vowed by the Patriarch: these are three: "(1) That the Lord should be his God. (2) That the stone he had set up for a pillar should be God's house: *i.e.* that he would dedicate that place to the publique worship of God. (3) That for the maintenance of both these he would give the Tenth of all that he had." (I.) He describes as the summe of the first commandment and the duty of everyone not an atheist. "How they performe this dutie, who bestowe more cost even upon points and shoe strings in one day, than upon the worshipping of God in a whole yeere, judge ye."

(II.) This dutie necessarily depends on the former, "for if God must be worshipped, then must He have a place to be worshipped in, here called an House." He called the place Bethel because (1) God had manifested His presence here in an extraordinary manner; and (2) because Jacob had consecrated the place to His service. To teach us, that as our first care should be of the worship of God, so our second care should be of the place of His worship. "He distilleth the drops of His mercie upon every part of the earth: but He powreth it down upon that holy ground, which is dedicate to His service."

Fuller then refers to the existing condition of the parish churches: "some of these Houses which they [our forefathers] have built, and even the fairest of them, since their Butteresses and Pillars (I mean their maintenance) have been pluckt away, begin to droop alreadie and in time (if it be not prevented) will moulder away and drop down. And yet who pittieeth the ruines of Zion, or repaireth any one wall or window thereof?" "As we need not therefore vow to build, let us vow to beautifie or at least to keep up those houses which are built to our hands."

(III.) Jacob, in the third place, "voweth for himself, and all the posteritie, as well of his Faith, as Flesh, unto the end of the world, the payment of Tithes." Why does he vow *the tenth*? Because he knew, that by the light of nature or the tradition and practise of his ancestors, that this *quota*, the very tenth, and no other part, was, is, and for ever must be due as unto God, as either His House or His Worship. That God from the very creation of the world reserved to Himself (1) a form of Divine Worship; (2) a time for this worship, the Sabbath Day; (3) a place for this worship, which is His House; (4) a priesthood which may never bow knee to Baal; (5) Tithes for maintenance of all these. He suggests that Cain and Abel *may* have been taught to offer Tithes by Adam—names the payment to Melchisedek—the practice of the Levitical Priesthood—and challenges any man "to shew when and where they were abrogated by the Gospel? Not by Christ, Matthew xxiii.; not by St. Paul, Gal. vi. 6, though he nameth not the very *Quotum*, but took it for granted. He then refers to 1 Corinthians ix., and lastly ("which in mine opinion is the most impregnable place") Heb. vii. He goes on: "It is absurde to say that these Tithes were only Leviticall, and that there is now nothing but a competencie due by a morall equitie." Having shown that they were more than Levitical, he proceeds: "To speak of a competencie now, is a mere conceite; for who shall presume to set down an uncertain competencie when God Himself hath set down a perpetuall certaintie, which He never yet altered? Or why should any man think that God who provided a standing, certain, and liberal maintenance for the Leviticall Priesthood in the time of the Law, which was less honourable, should leave the Ministerie of the Gospel, which exceedeth in honour, unto an uncertain and beggarlie competencie: especially foreknowing and foretelling that in these last days Charitie should wax cold, and men be lovers of themselves and their pleasures more than lovers of God and His Church;¹ and yet He requireth

¹ See similar observations by Fuller in his *Church-History*, bk. ii. p. 111.

Hospitalitie at our hands too,¹ which He knew the world's competency could not afford." He advises the nobility not only to pay their own tithes, but to redeem the Captive Tithes out of the hands of those who have usurped the same, "than which they cannot almost offer a more acceptable sacrifice unto God." He says the competency of ten pounds a year left in some parishes is "scarce a competency now for a Hog-heard," and that "the poor Levite has in some places, not the tenth, in some not the twentieth part of the tithe." In conclusion, he prays God "that the Body of the Honourable Parliament were as willing as the Religious and Royal Head thereof to take this grievance into their serious consideration," and enact "some wholesome law for the honour of God, the advancement of His Church, the peace of their own Consciences, and the reliefe of the poor Clergie in this behalfe, that so we might all (as we are all bound), pay *Jacob's* vow unto the God of *Jacob*, and receive from him *Jacob's* blessing."

The vow of the King, which is so prominently brought into view by the preacher, appears to point strongly to the pledge (which seems to have been publicly made and weekly commemorated) to bestow on the Church all the Abbey lands which he held. No record is apparently in existence of the interesting circumstances connected with its public utterance (unless, indeed, the protestation above recorded as made to Ussher is, as is likely, connected with it); nor yet, strange as it may appear, of the public weekly "exercises" consequent upon it. The vow "concerning the Restoring Church Lands" does not seem to have been reduced to *writing* until the year 1646, being dated Oxford, 13th April, a few days before the King in disguise left the city. It is thus given in Robert Nelson's *Address to Persons of Quality and Estate*, 1715, Appendix No. iv. p. 24:—

I *A. B.* do here promise and solemnly vow, in the presence, and for the Service, of Almighty God, That if it shall please His Divine Majesty of His Infinite Goodness, to restore me to my just Kingly Rights, and to re-establish me in my Throne, I will wholly give back to His Church, all those Improprations which are now held by the Crown; and what Lands soever I now do, or should Enjoy, which have been taken away, either from any Episcopal See, or any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, from any Abbey, or other Religious house. I likewise promise for hereafter, to hold them from the Church, under such reasonable Fines and Rents as shall be set down by some conscientious Persons, whom I promise to choose with all Uprightness of Heart to direct me in this Particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my Vow, and to bless me in the Designs I have now in Hand, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CHARLES R.

¹ Fuller observes elsewhere that the clergy of his time could not put their exhortations to hospitality into practice.

The vow is also to be found in the later editions of Spelman's *History and Fate of Sacrilege*, where, among some minor differences, the "A. B." is omitted, the signature "Charles R." being also added at the end. The editors append the following note by Bishop Sheldon, dated Aug. 21, 1660: "This is a true copy of the King's Vow which was preserved thirteen years underground by me.—GILBERT SHELDON."¹

Many circumstances also point to a fixed determination on the King's part to restore to the Church all that the exigencies of the time had compelled him to give up. He had this intention with regard to the Bishops' lands,—a matter brought up at the Isle of Wight treaty. These he was unwilling to have sold, but would yet permit to have let out for 99 years. "Here," says Fuller, "some presumed to know His Majesty's intention, that he determined with himself in the interim to redeem them, by their own revenues, and to refund them to ecclesiastical uses, which is proportionable to his large heart² in matters of that nature."

Again Fuller's movements can only be traced by following Hopton. A few days after the delivery of his sermon, the defences at Reading were demolished (May 18). The King's horse then mustered about Wantage and Farringdon, and the foot about Abingdon. On Thursday, May 16, Hopton collected his forces near Newbury, where he had 5,000 foot and horse. Meanwhile the forces of the Parliament, under Essex and

¹ See Spelman, edit. 1853, page 231. There is a reference to this vow in Neale's *Hierologus*: "'With the exception of Spelman's glorious work *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*, with his son's still more interesting preface to his *History of Sacrilege*, King Charles's famous vow to restore to the Church the Abbey lands he held in case God should give him victory, Herbert Thorndyke's *Works*, and perhaps a few writings of the Nonjurors, I scarcely remember a protest against the guilt of the nation arising from the dissolution.'—CUTH. 'Unless you except Archbishop Sheldon's publication of that vow, which could only be meant as a hint to King Charles II. that he was bound to fulfil his father's promise.'" (Page 24.)

² "For he gave the Duke of Richmond the entire revenues of the Archbishoprick of Glasgough [Glasgow] in Scotland, to hold them until he should furnish him with lands of the same value, expressing then his resolution to restore them to the Church." (*Church-History*, Bk. xi. p.

236.) Bishop Juxon in a sermon (preached March 12, 1648-9), *The Subject's Sorrows, or Lamentations upon the Death of Britain's Josiah, King Charles, &c.*, though he does not refer to the vow, says this: "He [*i.e.* the King] knew that Church maintenance was the best nurse of religion, and therefore no weight of difficulties could so press upon him to alien God's portion, the patrimony of the Church; to preserve which from the sacrilegious invasion of the great movers of these troubles . . . he tendered the sale of so much Crown land as would amount unto the value of the Church land." (Page 185.) Again: "He [the King] encouraged by giving the portion of God and our pious ancestors to them; to recover which out of the hands of sacrilegious persons he used many pious endeavours, and propounded compensations which would only have entrenched upon his own profit." (Page 190.) Marah's *Memoirs of Archbishop Juxon and his Times* (1869), pp. 165—201.

Waller, were mustering at Farnham, 10,000 strong. Essex reached Reading by the 23rd May; and on the 25th Lord Roberts, with a detachment, proceeded to Abingdon, which was abandoned by the King's troops after taking their munitions to Oxford. But part of them, under Lord Hopton, having passed by that city towards Islip (about six miles N.E. of Oxford) in the way of Worcester, Captain Temple, with a party of horse, was sent forth by Sir Samuel Luke (Hudibras), governor of Newport Pagnell, to watch the detachment, but not to engage it. But Temple, eager for action, fell upon three bodies of troops quartered at Islip, and took about fifty of their horses, a captain, seventeen other prisoners, and some booty; yet though he had such luck, he was questioned by a committee of war for not obeying orders, but in respect of his services he got off. So far Rushworth.

Shortly after this brush with Captain Temple, Hopton was again sent by the King to Bristol, "to provide better for the security of that important city, where he knew Waller had many friends."¹ Thither, then, we suppose, Fuller went also. With Lyme in view, Essex also went into the West; but Waller, remaining near the King's army, underwent a defeat at Cropredy Bridge.² "The war was then at its zenith," says Fuller's biographer, "hotter and more dilated, raging everywhere both in this and the two neighbouring kingdoms, so that there was no shelter or retirement which it had not invaded and intruded into by unruly garrisons, while the country became a devastated solitude, so that the Doctor's design [compilation of *Worthies*] could proceed nowhere."³ We have now, therefore, arrived at the most active period of our chaplain's military life.

According to Clarendon, the King was ill at ease, apprehending the fright that the Queen, then at Exeter, would be in at the approach of the Earl of Essex towards that city, and at his own pursuit by Waller. His Majesty accordingly determined to proceed by rapid journeys towards Exeter, and on his way to unite his forces with those of Prince Maurice in North Devon. Orders were then sent to Hopton, by the same messenger who took the news to the Queen, to get into Bristol what men he could out of Monmouthshire and South Wales, and to join the King with as many as could be spared out of that garrison. The King reached Bath July 15, where he received the news of Marston Moor; and "having in truth little else to do," he

¹ Clarendon, viii. 484.

² Shortly before this engagement the King stayed at Culworth, lodging at *Sir Samuel Danvers'* house, near Thorpe

Mandeville, Northamptonshire. This knight was a near relation of Sir John D'Anvers.

³ Page 32.

marched towards the Earl of Essex, then nearing Exeter. His Majesty proceeded with impatience till he heard of the Queen's flight from the city; and then more slowly, in order to increase his army from Bristol and elsewhere. Near Yeovil a junction was made with Hopton's forces. Meanwhile Essex, urged by Roberts, determined to proceed to the relief of Plymouth; and the Royal army followed by way of Exeter, at which city it arrived July 26.

It was probably on this occasion that Fuller made Exeter his temporary home; for his biographer says that he "took refuge" there "betimes," *i.e.* before the Royal army had been driven into Cornwall at the end of February, 1646; adding that he "took his *congé* and dismissal of his beloved Lord."¹

In this period of his military life, then at an end, it remains to notice that he engaged in his duties with much piety and regularity, having in all the countenance of his general. His biographer asserts that "during the *campania* and while the army continued in the field, he performed the duty of his holy function with as much solemn piety and devotion as he used before in places consecrated to God's worship, and according to the form used and appointed by the Church of England: in all emergencies and present enterprises using no other prayers than what the care of the Fathers of the Church had in those miserable exigencies newly directed."² Reference is here made to the ROYALIST LITURGIES, which rapidly came into use. They were of very unequal merit. Many were composed under the influence of the passing times; but others have all the fervour and spirit and rhythm of the Liturgy. The first Royalist Form of Prayer was that compiled for the monthly Friday Fast, and printed at Oxford. A further *Collection of Prayers and Thanksgivings* was printed in the same year at Oxford (also at York in the following year). These were to be "used in His Majesty's Chapel and in his Armies." They were composed "upon Occasion of the late Victories against the Rebels, and for the Future Success of the Forces. Published by His Majesty's Command, to be duly read in all other Churches and Chapels within his Kingdom and Dominion of Wales." This collection contained a thanksgiving for the victory over the rebels at Edgehill; and others for victories over the rebels in the North and in the West. There was also a thanksgiving for the Queen's safe return, and a prayer to be said during "these times of trouble." The above forms of prayer were ridiculed in *The Cavaliers' New Common Prayer Booke unclaspt.* Reprinted at

¹ Page 32.

² Page 25.

London, with some *Brief Observations to refute the Lies and Scandals that are contained in it.* 1644.¹

To these prayers our chaplain added constant preaching on the Lord's day. In his addresses to the soldiers, he especially animated them "to fight courageously, and to demean themselves worthy of that glorious cause with which God had honoured them."² It was such exhortations as these that inspired the garrison of Basing House. Yet he neglected not to remind the troops that he had found that there was no better armour against the darts of Death than to be busied in God's service: "no malice of man can antedate my end a minute whilst my Maker hath any work for me to do."³ It was also his custom in his daily services to read David's Psalms.⁴ In a collection of Prayers, printed in 1648, certain psalms are given as proper to be said upon such occasions as the setting the guards, upon marching forth, &c.: with suitable prayers to accompany them.

Amidst the many leisure hours which Fuller now found, his love of antiquarian pursuits came back upon him. He had in view two great works which from this time onward fostered his studies. A curious account of his proceedings is given by his biographer:—

"With the progress of the war he marched from place to place; and wherever there happened (for the better accommodation of the army) any reasonable stay, he allotted it with great satisfaction to his beloved studies. Those cessations and intermissions begot in him the most intentness and solicitous industry of mind; which as he never used to much recreation or diversion in times of peace, which might loose and relasch [relax] a well-disciplined spirit; so neither did the horror and rigidness of the war stiffen him in such a stupidity (which generally possessed all learned men) or else distract him, but that in such lucid intervals he would seriously and fixedly come to himself and his designed business.

"Indeed his business and study then was a kind of Errantry, having proposed to himself [in addition to his Ecclesiastical History] a more exact collection of the *Worthies General of England*, in which others had waded before, but he resolved to go through. In what places soever therefore he came, of remark especially, he spent frequently most of his time in views and researches of their antiquities and church-monuments; insinuating himself into the acquaintance (which frequently

¹ The two Forms of Prayer are in the Lee Library, Owens College. See also *Notes and Qu.* 1st Ser. viii. 356, ix. 405.

² *Life*, p. 25.

³ *Good Thoughts: Scrip. Obs.* x. p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.* ix. p. 29.

ended in a lasting friendship) of the learnedest and gravest persons residing within the place, thereby to inform himself fully of those things he thought worthy the commendation of his labours. It is an incredible thing to think what a numerous correspondence the Doctor maintained and enjoyed by this means.

“Nor did the good Doctor ever refuse to light his candle, in investigating Truth from the meanest persons’ discovery. He would endure contentedly an hour’s or more impertinence from any aged church-officer, or other superannuated people, for the gleaning of two lines to his purpose. And though his spirit was quick and nimble, and all the faculties of his mind ready and answerable to that activity of dispatch; yet in these inquests he would stay and attend those *circular* rambles till they came to a *point*; so resolute was he bent to the sifting out of abstruse antiquity. Nor did he ever dismiss any such feeble adjutators or helpers (as he pleased to style them) without giving them money and cheerful thanks besides.”¹

This was a strange sort of life for a Royalist chaplain! But there are other instances on record of the manifestation of this antiquarian spirit under the same circumstances. Cæsar displays it in his Commentaries. In the civil war, one Captain Richard Symonds, who belonged to a troop of horse commanded by a son of the Duke of Lennox, “never in his leisure moments lost sight of his ruling passion—the love of topography, with its handmaids—genealogy and heraldry;” but who noted so many particulars of this nature that he met with during the marches of his regiments, that his Diary forms one of the most interesting of the issues of the Camden Society, by whom it was first printed.²

In a subsequent chapter Fuller himself will enumerate the various quarters in which he sought or acquired the information necessary for his historical works. The biographer’s statement in regard to his extensive correspondence applies rather to a later period of his life than the present. We may, meanwhile, notice here that Fuller’s writings show that in particular he attentively examined the Registers in the churches which came in his way: these he found useful in some “nativities.” Here, with him, we cannot but bemoan the “*μέγα χάσμα*, that ‘great gulph,’ or broad blank, left in our registers during our civil wars, after the laying aside of Bishops, and before the restitution of his most sacred Majesty; yea, hereafter this sad *vacuum* is like to prove so thick, like the Ægyptian

¹ *Life*, pp. 26—29.

² *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, &c. Edited by Edward Long, M.A.

darkness, that it will be sensible in our English histories. I dare maintain that the wars betwixt York and Lancaster, lasting by intermission some *sixty* years, were not so destructive to Church records as our modern wars in *six* years: for during the former their differences agreed in the same religion, impressing them with reverence of all Sacred muniments; whilst our civil wars, founded in faction, and variety of pretended religions, exposed all naked church records a prey to their armed violence.”¹

It is a matter of surprise that antiquarian research should have been followed under circumstances so unfavourable for such pursuits. And it is still more wonderful to find the results embodied in works of lasting importance. The idleness often associated with a soldier's life was in this way averted in the case of our chaplain. The constant mental activity which his military life exhibits did not, as one of his admirers has said, go unrewarded. “More than anything else, perhaps—besides the approval of his own conscience—did it tend to what appears so remarkable in studying his works—that unobtrusive acquiescence in the decrees of Providence, even when they were the most averse to his own earnest hopes and most cherished desires,—a feature in his character not enough noticed by his biographers, but which is very strikingly apparent when his works are read with a recollection of the times and the circumstances in which they were severally written. And that there is no assumed resignation here, every reader of them will feel assured; for never was the character of an author more impressed on his writings than that of Fuller on his. That they are perfectly natural, it is as impossible to doubt as to doubt their perfect honesty.”²

Often therefore, at this time of his life and subsequently, Fuller took delight in “travelling into former times.” His skill in pedigrees and descents, which is particularly evinced in his *Worthies*, was acquired by these pursuits. In his character of *The Good Herald*, which, we doubt not, acquired for him the favourable regard and afterwards the friendship of the great heralds of that antiquarian age, he said: “To be able only to blazon a coat doth no more make an Herald than the reading the titles of Gallipots makes a physician. Bring our Herald to a monument, *ubi jacet Epitaphium*, and where the arms on the tomb are not only crest-fallen, but their colours scarce to be discerned, and he will tell whose they be, if any certainty therein can be rescued from the teeth of time.” In the com-

¹ *Worthies*, chap. xxiii. p. 65.

² Knight's *Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, vii. 74.

panion-character of *The True Church Antiquary*, the bent of the mind of the shrewd and pious delineator is equally apparent: Fuller illustrated the maxim of *baiting* at middle antiquity, but *lodging* not till he came at that which is ancient indeed. "Some scour off the rust of old inscriptions into their own souls, cankering themselves with superstition, having read so often *Orate pro animâ*, that at last they fall a-praying for the departed; and they more lament the ruin of monasteries than the decay and ruin of monks' 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 again to our religion.¹ A nobleman who had heard of the extreme age of one dwelling not far off, made a journey to visit him, and finding an aged person sitting in a chimney corner, addressed himself unto him with admiration of his age, till his mistake was rectified; for 'Oh, Sir,' said the young-old man, 'I am not he whom you seek for, but his son; my father is farther off in the field.'² The same error is daily committed by the Romish Church, adoring the reverend brow and grey hairs of some ancient ceremonies, perchance but of some seven or eight hundred years' standing in the Church, and mistake these for their fathers, of far greater age in the primitive times."³

¹ *Holy State*, page 62. "Who will be hardy enough to assert" (asks Mr. Nichols, *Holy State*, p. 64) "that Alexander Pope had never perused this passage? Especially when he recollects these celebrated lines in the *Essay on Criticism* :—

'A little learning is a dangerous thing :
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring.
There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
And drinking largely sobers us again.'

Fuller's remark suggested to a friend its actual original in Bacon: "It is true that a little Philosophy inclineth man's mind to Atheism; but depth in Philosophy bringeth men's minds about to Religion." (Bacon, *Essays*, xvi.)

² This old anecdote, in an almost incredible form, has lately been repeated with circumstantial detail.

³ *Holy State*, pp. 132 and 63.





CHAPTER XII.

THE SIEGE OF EXETER. "GOOD THOUGHTS IN BAD TIMES." (1644—May, 1646.)

EXETER DURING THE WAR.—ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN AND THE BIRTH OF A PRINCESS.—THE CHILD'S SPONSORS: SIR JOHN BERKELEY; LADY POULETT; LADY DALKEITH.—VISITS OF THE KING TO EXETER.—FULLER RESORTS THITHER.—APPOINTED CHAPLAIN TO THE PRINCESS.—THE KING OFFERS HIM THE LIVING OF DORCHESTER: HIS MOTIVE.—THE REV. JOHN WHITE.—FULLER'S LIFE AT EXETER.—HIS FRIENDS: DR. R. VILVAIN; THE EARL OF BRISTOL.—HIS "GOOD THOUGHTS IN BAD TIMES."—HIS MEDITATIVE MIND.—HOPTON'S MILITARY MOVEMENTS.—THE CITY INVESTED BY FAIRFAX.—LARK POTTAGE.—DEFEAT OF HOPTON.—FULLER APPOINTED BODLEIAN LECTURER.—PREACHES "THE FEAR OF LOSING THE OLD LIGHT."—SURRENDER OF THE CITY ON ARTICLES.—FUTURE LIFE OF THE PRINCESS.—FULLER IS DISMISSED FROM HIS LECTURESHIP.

"Long was this land wasted with civil war betwixt the two houses of York and Lancaster, till the *red rose* became white with the blood it had lost, and the *white rose* red with the blood it had shed."—*Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Hist. Applications*, v. p. 138 (orig. ed.). (See also *The Profane State*, p. 364; *Church-History*, iv. 188; *Worthies*, xviii. p. 50.)

EXETER, a city "beautiful for situation," was described by our author in the year 1660 as one of the sweetest and neatest cities in England. But at the time of his sojourn there in the year 1644, a different state of things existed. Dr. Kellett, one of the canons of the cathedral, said in his *Tricænum* (1641) that "whereas the city of Exeter by its natural situation is one of the sweetest cities in England, yet by the ill use of many is one of the nastiest and noysomest cities of the land; but for my love to that city I do forbear to say more." "Mr. Fuller's" *Observations of the Shires* declares that though Exeter had a dozen churches, it had never a churchyard but the cathedral. Hence Bishop Hall asserted that the accumulation of corpses buried within the walls was so great that they threatened to bury the cathedral! The frequency of epidemics among the inhabitants at that time testifies to the truth of these statements.

Owing to its advantageous position, and the commercial industry of the inhabitants, Exeter was then the metropolis of the West, and a place of great importance. It was a compact

city, walled round. "The houses stand sideways backward into their yards, and only endways with their gables towards the street. The city, therefore, is greater in content than appearance, being bigger than it presenteth itself to passengers through the same."¹ Fuller further describes it in his *Church-History* (*temp.* Edw. VI.) as a "round city on a rising hill, most capable of fortification both for the site and form thereof. Her walls, though of the old edition, were competently strong and well repaired."²

When the civil war broke out, the city, on account of the strength of its bulwarks, was eagerly coveted by both parties, and during the struggle its four gates were frequently shut on the foe. It was first besieged by the forces of the Parliament, under the Earl of Stamford, who succeeded in establishing a garrison (Oct. 1642), which materially furthered their successes in the following year. They had not, however, a firm hold upon it; for the citizens were, as their motto testifies, ever loyal to the King, who had many adherents in the district, but no organised force. To make the most of this feeling, Sir John Berkeley, whom Fuller mentions as "one of the first four Tetrarchs, or joint-managers-in-chief of martial matters in Cornwall,"³ was sent into Devonshire to raise forces, and to concert measures for the blockade of its capital city. After the capture of Bristol, Prince Maurice was sent to the West as commander-in-chief, and, with the assistance of Berkeley's troops, Exeter was invested. Stamford being defeated, the city, after a close siege of about eight months, came into the Prince's possession, and the garrison marched out without the honours of war (Sept. 3-5, 1643). By this surrender the power of the Parliament in the West was greatly diminished. Sir John Berkeley, who was instrumental in reducing it, and who was popular with the citizens, was "deservedly appointed" Governor; and from this time and throughout the war, Exeter was the principal garrison and chief hope of the Royalists. The siege which had then ended was the ninth which it had sustained in its history.

When the Parliamentary leaders had thoughts of besieging Oxford, Queen Henrietta (then near her confinement) became apprehensive of her safety, and could not be induced to remain there. The King would have had her stay; but the "perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improved by her indisposition of health, that all civility and reason obliged everybody to submit."⁴ It was therefore deter-

¹ *Worthies*, § Exeter, p. 273.

² Book vii. 393.

³ *Worthies*, § Cornwall, p. 213.

⁴ Clarendon, bk. viii. 481.

mined to send her to Exeter, the Governor of that city being a man in whom confidence might be placed. It was, besides, the safest and strongest of the few garrisons then in possession of the Royalists. It was, moreover, conveniently situated in case there was a necessity for her Majesty to retreat to France. The latter was a contingency which could not be overlooked, since the Queen lay at this time under a charge of high treason, which had been brought against her (May, 1643) for conveying money and arms into England. She left Oxford for her refuge on 17th April, 1644, being escorted on the first day's journey by her husband, who never again saw her. On her way she rested at Bath, but only, it would appear, for one day. In consequence of the previous summer's campaign, she was then suffering from a rheumatic fever, which greatly added to her sufferings. Meanwhile the Earl of Essex was marching towards the West; and the Queen, by direction of her husband, hurried on, arriving at Exeter on 1st May,¹ in great suffering, and in daily fear of her death. Preparations for her arrival had been made at Bedford House—a mansion large, secluded, and quiet, occupied as the residence of the Governor.²

On the day following the Queen's arrival, the Mayor and Corporation voted her the sum of £200 "as a testimonie of the respect of the cittie unto her Ma^{tie} nowe in this cittie."³ This gift was without doubt gratefully accepted, as the Queen is said to have been in want of many necessities. The city was meanwhile threatened by an attack and blockade. The prospect troubled the Queen not a little: she "could not endure to think of being besieged." The inhabitants, however, seem to have convinced her of the strength of the place; and the Governor, her personal friend, fairly represented the spirit of the inhabitants. The Queen held her court at Bedford House, and soon recovered her spirits, as Clarendon says, to a reasonable convalescence. Her blunt physician, Sir Theodore Mayerne, sent by the King, arrived at the end of May; and Sir John Hinton also attended her. On Sunday, the 16th June, 1644, she gave birth to a princess, her fourth child.⁴

¹ Oliver's *Hist. of Exeter*. The dates connected with these events are very carelessly given in the accounts by Mrs. Green (*Lives of the Princesses*, vol. vi.) and Miss Strickland.

² This edifice was situated on the south-east side of the city (N.E. of the cathedral): it was an old building, and had been used as a Dominican convent. On the breaking up of those establishments it was bestowed upon John Russell, af-

terwards Earl of Bedford, who turned it into a dwelling-house. Upon the removal of this family elsewhere, the house was pulled down to make way for others, now known as Bedford Circus, or Crescent, part of the site being also occupied by a theatre.

³ *Act-Book of the Chamber of Exeter*.

⁴ *Worthies*, § Exeter, p. 274. On the 14th, Lord Jermyn writes from Exeter to Prince Rupert announcing the approach

Of this circumstance the Exeter people were ever afterwards proud, since it was the only royal birth which had taken place in their city. The ancient guildhall still contains Sir Peter Lely's portrait of the Princess when Duchess of Orleans, it having been presented to the Corporation by Charles II. in 1672, in token of the connection of his sister with Exeter.

Meanwhile the troops of the Earl of Essex were arranging to beleaguer the city, one of the reasons for their doing so being the fact (as is stated) that it harboured a popish queen. She begged the Earl's permission to retire to Bath or Bristol until her recovery; but the stern Parliamentary general gave her to understand that he would more readily wait upon her *to London*. She afterwards made another request with the like result. Necessity, and the spirit which she inherited from her father, overcame her weakness; and she resolved, "little more than a fortnight" after the birth of her child, to flee from the city. At this time the position of the King's affairs prevented his bringing an army to her relief.

The royal offspring, thus early "born to trouble," was by her mother committed to the care of Lady Dalkeith, with the charge that if the siege should take place she should at once remove the child elsewhere. The Queen also gave strict directions to Berkeley not to overlook the necessities of the Princess, to whatever extremities he might be reduced. She then left the city.¹

The Parliamentary army arrived before the city on 26th June; but the Queen having fled, Essex passed on without attempting to reduce it. The news of the birth of the Princess reached the King at Buckingham.² Mrs. Green adds that he, fearing lest the religious zeal of the Queen should induce her to prescribe a private Romanist baptism for the child, sent

of Essex; adding that the city was strong enough if provisions lasted, and that the Queen was not yet brought to bed, at which she was ill at ease. Whitelocke records the birth of the child under both 1643 and 1644.

¹ The Queen was accompanied in her flight by an attendant, her confessor, and her physician, Sir John Hinton, who is said to have written an interesting account of the escape. (Qy. his *Memoires*, Lond. 1679 and 1814.) For two days they lay concealed in a miserable hut three miles from the city, where the Queen was in great danger of being captured. By the 1st of July they had reached Okehampton, whence they made their way towards Plymouth; and at a cabin on the way thither, friends resorted to the Queen from

Exeter. Her next refuge was Pendennis Castle, near Falmouth, whence she entered into a Dutch vessel, which the Prince of Orange sent to attend her. She was pursued by some ships and passed through other perils; but she pleasantly reminded her friends that Queens of England never died at sea. She reached France in safety. Hinton was sent back to wait on the Princess. The sea voyage was described (and, let us hope, exaggerated) in *True Relation of the Queens departure from Falmouth into Brest . . . after whom our Lord Admirall sent all his ships to overtake her who made above a hundred shot at the ship, &c.* 4to. 1644.

² *Lives of the Princesses*, p. 401. It is added that the news reached Charles on the 26th August—a palpable error.

off an immediate despatch ordering that she should be baptised in the cathedral of Exeter, according to the forms of the Church of England. Be this as it may, the rite took place on Sunday, 21st July, in that magnificent edifice. The ceremony was performed by Dr. Lawrence Burnell, Chancellor and Canon-Residentary, who suffered severely when the city was in the hands of the Parliament. From *The Antiquities of the City of Exeter*, by Richard Isaake, one of the Chamberlains of the city, it is said that on the celebration of this event, a font, under a rich canopy of state, was purposely erected in the body of the church. These and all other preparations had to be made in haste, as the enemy was already massing troops for the attack. The child was called Henrietta Anne (not *Henrietta Maria*,¹ as is invariably said), after her famous grandfather and her aunt. The register of her baptism in the cathedral is as follows: "Henrietta, daughter of our Sovereign Lord King Charles, and our gracious Queene Mary, was baptized the 21st July, 1644."

The sponsors of the child—Sir John Berkeley, the Lady Poulett of Hinton St. George, and the Lady Dalkeith—were personal friends of Fuller, who was often in their company. BERKELEY, who heartily enjoyed the society of our author, was a son of Sir Maurice Berkeley, who was likewise devoted to the King. This family was a younger branch of the Berkeleys of Berkeley Castle, the head of which was George Lord Berkeley, who became our author's most munificent patron. Sir John remained in charge of the city till its surrender; and is commended as having peculiar gifts for his position: "(1) In watchfulness, both in looking to his own charge, and in taking advantages of his enemies. (2) In an obliging address; going as far sometimes with fair language and good words, as others did with money. (3) In encouraging the soldiers' labours with his own; managing his command over them the better by making himself equal with them. . . . (4) By observing as well as commanding them. . . . (5) By sharing with his soldiers in their wants. . . . (6) By understanding well the defects and failings of the garrison."² Herrick has a poem inscribed to Berkeley as governor of the city, "The Hector over aged Exeter." The phraseology seems to show that the poet was present.

In addition to LADY POULETT, other members of her family, with whom Fuller had been intimate³ since 1639, were present

¹ Mrs. Green's *Lives of the Princesses*, &c. Heylyn corrected one of his contemporaries for so calling her. She was, he says, "Henrietta only." See his *Ex-*

amen Historicum, ii. 150. Fuller, too, calls her *Henrietta* alone.

² Lloyd's *Memoires*, p. 101.

³ See pp. 165, 166.

in the city. Sir John Poulett and his eldest son had been assisting Prince Maurice before Lyme, but acquired no glory. They were associated with the movements of the Marquess of Hertford in the West. It was afterwards debated in Parliament whether Lord Poulett should be admitted to his composition; and Fairfax interceded in his behalf.

LADY ANNE DALKEITH had beforehand been designed as the personal guardian of the child. She was one of the "numerous and beautiful female kindred" of the Buckingham stock, being daughter to Sir Edward Villiers, Knight, Governor of Munster. Her husband was Robert Lord Dalkeith, who upon the death of his father (Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, who had in the war placed his ample means at the disposal of the King), became ninth Earl of Morton, 1648. The lady, with her other kinswomen, was, to use Fuller's figure, matched with "little more portion than her uncle's smiles, the forerunner of some good office or honour to follow on their husbands." Lady Dalkeith had had the Queen entirely under her care at Exeter; and for many years she devotedly watched over her little charge. It was she who "planted" Fuller in the royal household. Besides being celebrated in Waller's verse, this lady received the poetic adulation of Herrick, who has a poem addressed to "Lady Mary Villars," as the guardian of the Princess:—

"For my sake, who ever did prefer
You above all those sweets of Westminster;
Permit my book to have a free access
To kisse your hand, most dainty governess."

The husband of this celebrated beauty died in 1649. Her brother William died at Oxford in 1644, having been wounded at Bristol in the year before.¹

A few days after the baptismal ceremony, viz. on Friday, 26th July, the King, in pursuit of the Earl of Essex, came to Exeter from Honiton, accompanied by Prince Charles. On his way he had news that his Queen had already left the city. He was met outside the town by Prince Maurice, the Earl of Bristol, Lord Poulett, Sir John Berkeley, and others; and at the city gates by the Mayor and Aldermen, and a great concourse of the inhabitants. He was conducted to Bedford House, where he lodged.² This circumstance invalidates the assertion made by Jesse (and others), that the Princess never even saw her unfortunate father. The child was at this time very delicate, and about six weeks old.

¹ Clarendon, viii. 495; *Worthies*, § Leicestershire, p. 130. Besides the lady's two Christian names above-mentioned,

she is also called Agnes, and Elizabeth (by Burke).

² Sir E. Walker's *Hist. Discourses*, p. 47.

The loyal corporation, mindful of the King's "many gracious favours to the city," had decreed that he ought with all duty and respect to be attended upon by the citizens; and it was further agreed and ordered that there should be £500 presented to him, and £100 more to Prince Charles "as a testimony of the cittie's service and the joy of his Ma^{tie's} presence here.¹" This £500 was presented on the following day. Money was at the same time voted to the servants of the Prince (£20), and of the Queen (£12);² and £200 was bestowed for shoes for the troops. A local rate was levied about the same time to repair the city walls.

After holding a council of war, and reviewing Prince Maurice's troops, the King left the city on the 27th July. With the forces under Lord Hopton and Maurice, he followed in pursuit of Essex. When the latter was hard pressed in Cornwall, the King sent him a letter, by the hands of Lord Beauchamp, Essex's nephew, calling upon him to give peace to his country. The general told his nephew that he would write no answer, and by the same messenger he advised the King to return to his Parliament. The greater part of the Earl's army had to surrender on the 1st September.³ Just before this event, the Lord Digby, general of the horse, was arrested by the King's order. Lord Percy, who had been the general of the ordnance, was also removed, and Fuller's patron, Lord Hopton, was put into his place—a promotion "universally approved, the one having no friend, and the other being universally beloved."⁴ The King returned to Exeter on the 17th, bringing with him the captured guns, &c., which he left there. He lodged at Bedford House as before; and on this occasion made the arrangements for the establishment of his daughter's household.

¹ *Act-Book*, 27 July, 1644: "Whereas the King's Ma^{tie} is this day to make his access to this city, ordered," &c. Mr. Stuart Moore, who has calendared the Exeter Records for the Corporation, is reported to have stated in an address to members of the British Association in 1869, that there was a letter in the archives, dated 1643, from Charles I., "which proffered a pardon to the city for any default, on condition of the payment of £500. This £500 is represented in history as a free grant to the King with £200 [*sic*] presented at the same time to the Prince." (*Western Times*, Sept. 2, 1869.)

² *Act-Book*.

³ The Earl died Oct. 1646. His wife, who was related to the Pawlets (being daughter of Sir Wm. Pawlet, of Edington, Wilts.), was "disaffected to the Parliament." On the death of the Earl, his sister, the Marchioness of Hertford, to whom Fuller owed the preservation of part of his sequestered library, seems to have taken possession in Essex House of certain moneys and writings belonging to the Earl; but the Parliament ordered them to be restored to the executors, (Whitelocke, 223 and 225.) Could it have been upon this occasion that the lady interfered to redeem Fuller's captive books? (See page 300.)

⁴ Clarendon, bk. viii. 496.

It was most likely either on the coming of the royal army in July, or on its return, that Fuller reached the city and took his leave of his patron, Lord Hopton, with a view of settling there for a time. No reasons are given for his taking this step. He may have become weary of war with its attendants, "battle, murder, and sudden death;" but it seems more than probable that the alteration in his prospects was brought about at the request of the King, who was again manifesting an interest in him, and who undoubtedly held him in respect. Accordingly, to requite his loyalty and worth, he received from the King "during his stay at Exeter," the complimentary appointment of tutor or chaplain¹ to the infant Princess,—an appointment in which (as we gather from Fuller's words) Lady Dalkeith was also concerned as befriending Fuller. There was, undoubtedly, some policy on the King's part in selecting our hero for this merely nominal office. Fuller had been brought up at the feet of eminent divines, and was known for his staunch fidelity to the principles of his faith; for devotion to the Church, and for ability to give an answer to those that demanded a reason of the hope that was in him; and the connection of such a divine with the household of the Princess would be one testimony to the King's intention of educating the child in the faith of the Church of England. The appointment would also tend to disprove the rumours of the King's attachment to the Roman Catholic faith—rumours which were then, as heretofore, injuring his prospects. The words of Fuller's biographer are: "Her royal father's intention being, as he had educated the rest of his princely issue, to have her brought up in the Protestant religion."² There are other testimonies to the King's carefulness in this respect. Thus Père Cyprien of Gamache, afterwards the tutor and spiritual adviser of the Princess, says that his Majesty would have the child kept "continually in the Protestant religion, to counteract the ideas which several of his subjects entertained that he had himself a leaning towards popery, and in the firm belief which he held, that salvation was not excluded either from the Protestant or from the Catholic religion, and that one may be saved in either."³

Two or three years after this time, Fuller, in opposition to

¹ *The Rev. Wm. Greenhill*, incumbent of Stepney, was also appointed chaplain to Henrietta-Anne and the King's other children. He was of the Assembly of Divines, and is known as a commentator on Ezekiel. While at Exeter, Prince Charles had for Chaplain *Dr. Clare*,

Fuller's "worthy friend," on whose authority Fuller relates, in *Misc Contemp. in Better Times* (No. 1.), an anecdote in reference to the Prince.

² Page 33.

³ *Birch's Court and Times of Chas. I.* vol. ii. 400.

the popular opinion, vouched for the King's Protestantism in these terms: "His gracious Majesty hath been suspected to be popishly inclined. A suspicion like those mushrooms which Pliny recounts amongst the miracles in nature, because growing without a root. Well, he hath passed his purgation—a bitter morning's draught hath he taken down for many years together. See the operation thereof: his constancy in the Protestant religion hath not only been assured to such who unjustly were jealous of him, but also, by God's blessing, he daily grows greater in men's hearts, pregnant with the love and affection of his subjects."¹

This new chaplaincy, taken in connection with the other royal favours, was highly gratifying to the recipient of them. There were, of course, only a few duties appertaining to the appointment. "It pointed only at his *merit*," says the *Life*, "which indeed was as much as the iniquity of those times would afford to any the most deserving personages."² The King, further "to signify his approbation of the Doctor's excellent worth," offered Fuller a more substantial honour. He pressed upon him "a patent for his presentation to the town of Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, a living valued to be worth £400 *per annum*."³

There is no mention of this presentation in the lists of letters patent in 1643 to 1645, granted by Charles I., among Dugdale's MSS. at the Bodleian; nor is there, indeed, any appointment to Dorchester. The nature of the proposed gift however, furnishes a date to the circumstance: it occurred where here placed, viz. just after the King's victorious return from his success against Essex,⁴ when he saw the district (as its poet foresaw it)—

¹ *Good Thoughts in Worse Times: On the Times*, xii. Nalson (i. 373) records a prophetic vindication of the King, by Laud, from the aspersion of Popish inclinations.

² *Life*, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ About the same time also the King knighted HUGH CROCKER, the Mayor of Exeter, 1643-4, whose commendations are found in Prince: "There have been several other very eminent persons of this name and family, one, whom for his great loyalty to his prince I may not pass over in silence, Sir Hugh Crocker, Knight, who, being a younger brother, was bred a merchant in the city of Exeter. God was pleased to bless him with great success a long while in that

employment; insomuch, he was possessed, at one time, with no less than ten ships, entirely his own. He lived also in good reputation in the city, and was chosen mayor thereof, A.D. 1643, at what time King Charles I., of precious memory, came thither in pursuit of the Earl of Essex; whom, having overthrown, his Majesty returned to Exeter again, where he was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon this gentleman, at that time Mayor thereof: a title which, how well soever he deserved, he was not very ambitious of. For he was a person of great humility, as well as of great integrity, and eminent loyalty, always expressed to that best of princes, in the worst of times; for which, when the rebellion became predominant, he suf-

“ Which hitherto has stood
 As one in long-lamented widowhood,
 Looks like a bride now, or a bed of flowers,
 Newly refresh't both by the sun and showers. . . .
 Ride on with all white omens, so that where
 Your standard's up, we fix a conquest there.”¹

The living here mentioned was in all probability that of Holy Trinity, which was constantly held in connection with St. Peter's: to it moreover, the parish of Frome-Whitfield had been annexed, an. 7 Jac. I. Since the year 1605 or 1606 it had been in the hands of the REV. JOHN WHITE, M.A., who was called “The Patriarch of Dorchester.” He was well known in the county, and Fuller, when beneficed at Broadwindsor, is sure to have been familiar with him. White was the grandfather of John and Charles Wesley. To him Fuller has devoted a page in the *Worthies*, stating that he was minister at Dorchester “well-nigh forty years,”—a date which points to Fuller's proposed presentation to the living in 1644. Fuller describes him as “a grave man, yet without moroseness, as who would willingly contribute his shot of facetiousness on any just occasion. A constant preacher, so that in the course of his ministry he expounded the scripture all over, and half over again; having an excellent faculty in the clear and solid interpreting thereof. A good governour, by whose wisdom the town of Dorchester (notwithstanding a casual merciless fire) was much enriched; knowledge causing piety, piety breeding industry, and industry procuring plenty unto it.” After alluding to White's influence in New England, he adds: “Towards the end of his days factions and fond [foolish]² opinions crept in his flock; a new generation arose which either ‘did not know,’ or would not acknowledge this good man; disloyal persons, which would not pay the due respect to the crown of his old age, whereof he was sadly and silently sensible.”³ He was of the Assembly of Divines, being, with Dr. Cornelius Burges, whose sister he married, Assessor to the Prolocutor. Upon the ejection of Dr. Featly from Lambeth Rectory, White received it (1645), together with a grant of Featly's library,—his own library being

ferred much, both in purse and person. His composition at Goldsmiths' Hall cost him no less than £288, as it did, at the same time, his brother-in-law, Sir John Col[a]ton, of Exeter, Knight (whose sister he had married), £244 10s.” (Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, p. 170.) This account is confirmed by the composition papers, which further informs us, that the worthy mayor's delinquency consisted in his being a captain of trained bands in the city,

and in arms at the time of its surrender. (See *The Retrospective Review*, vol. xii. p. 197.)

¹ Herrick's *Hesperides*, p. 33.

² Fuller once uses these words as if they were not exactly equivalent: “If a godfather at the font give a *foolish and fond* name to a child, the Bishop at confirmation hath power to alter it.” (*Worst of Evils*, p. 5.)

³ *Worthies*, § Oxfordshire, p. 340.

then in possession of the Royalist troops at Dorchester. White "died quietly" at Dorchester in 1648.

The town of Dorchester had, on August 5, 1643, been surrendered to the Earl of Carnarvon, who seems to have been followed thither two days afterwards by Prince *Maurice*, whose soldiers took "advantage of the famous malignity" of this place and of Weymouth, to use "great license."¹ It is also stated that "when Prince *Rupert* was in these parts, a party of horse plundered Mr. White's house, and carried away his library; on which he retired to London, and was made minister of the Savoy;" and that "when the war was over, he returned to Dorchester."² There is perhaps no evidence of Prince Rupert's having been at Dorchester; but it was scarcely a mistake to call his brother's troops *his*, as being probably under his superior command.

This "royal and bounteous favour" our hero saw fit modestly to decline. He rather chose to continue his attendance in the household of the Princess, at Exeter. It seems probable that Fuller, still a lonely widower, was dwelling with some of his kin in the city, for he alludes to his child in a way which leads one to suppose that they were together.³ He had, moreover, the ultimate intention of proceeding to the metropolis with a view to the completion of his literary works: London, says his biographer, "was in his eye." But it may not at all be an unreasonable conjecture that unwillingness to appear as the supplanter of so good a man, and one whom he so greatly respected, as John White, may have strengthened Fuller's disposition to refuse the living, into which, moreover, the King's influence in these parts soon became too feeble to instal him. Dorchester was not garrisoned, and the Parliament was strong in the neighbourhood.⁴

Upon the King's final departure from Exeter, on or about the 23rd Sept., after nearly a week's stay, he left an order upon the Excise revenues for the support of his daughter's household. In it Fuller had now a place; and during the two years that the Princess remained in the city, he continued in personal

¹ Clarendon, vii. 424.

² Hutchins' *Dorset*, 3rd ed. ii. 376, apparently on the authority of *Athen. Oxon.* ii. 114, 115.

³ *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Pers. Med.* xii.

⁴ For many of these local particulars I am indebted to the Rev. C. W. Bingham, M.A., Bingham's-Melcombe, Dorchester, who also informs me that the actual occupant of the living, *vice* White,

was Stanley Gower, a member of the Westminster Assembly; but it seems probable that he was not appointed till after White's death in 1648. An Order of the Mayor, June 26, 1657, is countersigned by Gower, as "Minister of Trinity and Peters, in Dorchester," which states that the two churches have, time out of mind, been held together. Since those days, no Rector of any note has held the living of Trinity.

attendance upon his charge. His own words imply that he ate the King's bread for a very much longer period than this. He had been especially "designed to attend on her, to instil into her tender mind (if God had pleased to continue her with safety within the limits of this kingdom) the principles and belief of the English Catholic Church." As we shall see, Lady Dalkeith also discharged her trust with great fidelity.

The King wished to relieve Donnington Castle and Basing on his way to Oxford, and this he accomplished after an engagement with Waller at Andover. He then proceeded to Banbury. Meanwhile, Waller and Essex having united their forces, advanced against the King, and the second battle of Newbury was the result. This battle was as long and as fierce as the former had been, the victory being more clearly on the Parliament's side. "The Cornish," says Fuller, of his old associates, "though behaving themselves valiantly, were conceived not to do so well, because expected to have done better." They returned, he cautiously adds, "in a pace slower than a flight, and faster than a retreat." Donnington Castle and Basing House were relieved, and the King reached Oxford on the 23rd November.

For nearly a year comparative quiet reigned in Exeter. This rest Fuller found favourable for the exercise of his profession and for his studies. He preached regularly to "the truly loyal citizens" on the Lord's-day;¹ and by this means he had acquired the good-will of the Mayor, Mr. John Cooper (who at Michaelmas eve, 1645, succeeded Mr. Spicer), and the members of the Corporation. One fault only they found with the preacher—that he too often appealed to them as though it were his last opportunity. He seems to have been mindful of his daily fear lest he should be "made a history." It probably devolved upon him to lead the devotions of the inhabitants on the anniversaries of the defeat of the rebels there in the reign of Edward VI., this occurring every 6th of August, the day being termed "Observance Day." "It is an high festival," says Fuller, "in the almanac of Exeter, good cheer and (thereby I justly guess) their great gratitude being annually observed with a public sermon to perpetuate the memory of God's mercy unto them."² In Fuller's absence from the house of God he is found "in the spirit on the Lord's day," thus pouring out his prayer:—

"Though I cannot go to Church, there to sit down at table with the rest of Thy guests, be pleased, Lord, to send me a dish of their meat hither, and feed my soul with holy thoughts. Eldad and Medad, Numb. xi. 26, though staying still in the camp (no doubt on just cause), yet prophesied as well as the other elders. Though they went not out to the Spirit, the Spirit came

¹ *Life*, p. 32.

² *Church-Hist.* bk. vii. p. 397.

home to them. Thus, never any dutiful child lost his legacy for being absent at the making of his father's will, if at the same time he were employed about his father's business. I fear too many at Church have their bodies there, and minds at home. Behold in exchange my body here and heart there. Though I cannot pray with them I pray for them. Yea, this comforts me : I am with Thy congregation because I would be with it." ¹

Amidst the exercise of his ministry he still found time to attend to his literary works, to which a more settled leisure encouraged him. At this time he was particularly engaged with his *Worthies*, "not minding the cloud impending over the city." Now also he was compiling his richly-devotional manual, with its cheerful-sad title, *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*, in which, laying bare his inmost thoughts, he has recorded so many passages to illustrate his biography. The book also affords us many glimpses into the beleaguered city. The incidents he mentions are quaintly moralised, and many of them are connected with a soldier's life.

Fuller's society was eagerly sought after by many of the titled Royalists, among whom he now reckoned as his friends the Earl of Carlisle and George Lord Berkeley.² His most intimate associate was Dr. ROBERT VILVAIN, an Exeter worthy, the son of one of the former chamberlains, and noted as a physician (M.D. 1611). He also wrote some theological works. He it was who afterwards redeemed from demolition All Hallows Church, and in other ways benefited his native city. We must let Oldys speak of Vilvain's intercourse with Fuller, whose wit and cheerfulness made him a general favourite. "Old Doctor Vilvain of that city was pleasantly rallied by the Governor of Exeter for inviting him [Fuller] so often, or detaining him so long from the society of others; as a cornholder that hoardeth up the grain to enhance the market and make a dearth in the neighbourhood." "But it seems," adds our narrator, "that Doctor had some uncommon manuscripts in his library, with a museum of natural curiosities besides; ³ and being of a generous disposition, as his benefactions in that city may testify, notwithstanding his sufferings in those destructive times, as also of courteous comportment and communicative conversation, they were mutually agreeable to each other."⁴

¹ *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Pers. Med.* x.

² Russell's *Memorials of Fuller*, p. 154.

³ Fuller speaks of having seen, among Vilvain's curiosities, one skull (no bigger than a bean) of the three hundred and sixty-five children "which Margaret, Countess of Henneberg, brought forth at a birth in Holland"—a tale "derived,"

as he says, "for some hundred of years by succession through authentick Physicians, to Dr. Vilvain of Excester, present owner thereof, and avouched by the skillfull in Anatomie, the true head of an Infant once born into the World." (*Hist. Univ. Camb.* § ii. p. 28, and see *Pepys' Diary*, 19 May, 1660.)

⁴ *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2056. The authority

Dr. Vilvain, who died in 1663, aged 87, gave his literary treasures to the cathedral.

There was also another physician (Dr. Turberville) present in Exeter during its siege, who with a comrade ran in debt £100 each, which was chalked behind the landlord's door. One day, according to Turberville's relation of the matter to Dr. Pope, the landlord came into their chamber, leading his daughter by the hand, and proffering to cancel the debts of either of them who should marry her! The Doctor resisted the temptation, but the other accepted the terms, "and had his wife's portion presently paid him, viz. his scores wiped out with a wet dish-clout."¹

Christopher Milton, of Reading, the brother of the poet, likewise resided at Exeter during the last seven months of the siege. At Oxford he had been a royal Commissioner of Sequestration for three counties. He petitioned for his composition shortly after Fuller, and found the business very troublesome.²

JOHN DIGBY, Earl of Bristol, was also at Exeter at this time. It had been he who had, skilled in Ambassador-craft, managed with Spain that "matchless match" on which James I. had set his heart. His contest with Buckingham is well known; and, notwithstanding that the Earl lost the favour of King Charles, Fuller avers that he was popular with the nation. When times of trouble came, Charles was glad of Digby's friendship, "as one best able to give him the safest counsel in those dangerous times." The Earl was engaged with the armies in the West. He was one of those who were afterwards excepted by Parliament from any pardon; but as to how that arose Fuller neither knew nor dared inquire. During his residence at Exeter, as also probably before, Fuller was very intimate with the Earl; he speaks of having perused the patent which James I. gave him (Digby). And again, alluding to the charge that the Earl was a Papist, Fuller says: "The worst I wish such who causelessly suspect him of Popish inclinations, is, that I may hear from them but half so many strong arguments for the Protestant religion as I have heard from him, who was, to his commendation, a cordial champion for the Church of England."³ Digby, with many others, on the ruin of the royal cause by the surrender of Exeter, went over to France, "where he met with due respect in foreign, which he missed in his native country." He was not allowed to compound for his estate.

is a letter of Sir John Berkeley to Dr. Vilvain, among the remains of Henry, Earl of Clarendon's MS. collections, some time after the death of the late Earl at Somerset House.

¹ *Life of Seth Ward*, chap. xvi.

² Hamilton's *Milton Papers* (Camden Society), pp. 62—64, 128.

³ *Worthies*, § Warwickshire, p. 124.

Upon his subsequent withdrawal from England, he entreated Fuller to accompany him. Fuller thus alludes to the Earl's kindness: "May the reader be pleased to know, that, living in Exeter, I had many hours' private converse with the Right Honourable John Digby, Earl of Bristol, who favoured me so far, (much above my desert,) that, at his last going over into France, (where [January 1653] he died,) he was earnest with me to go with him, promising me, to use his own expression, 'that I should have half a loaf with him, so long as he had a whole one to himself.' This I mention to insinuate the probability that I may be as knowing in the mysteries of the Spanish Match as the Animadvertor [Heylyn]." ¹

This offer Fuller thankfully declined, for "he loved liberty," as Oldys put it, "before the whole loaf." There was, besides, a patriotic motive connected with the refusal. We often find that in regard to those who had cause to forsake their native land, Fuller urged them to remain; and he would censure the conduct of those who (as he put it) "defrauded their country, their creditor." In one of his "good thoughts in worse times," he asks: "Do any intend willingly (without special cause) to leave this land so to avoid that misery which their sins, with others', have drawn upon it? Might I advise them, better mourn in, than move out of, sad Zion." ² Added to this, Fuller, a true Englishman, loved the country too well to leave it, notwithstanding its unhappy condition.

Fuller's connection with Exeter is once more referred to in his *Appeal*, where he excuses a blunder in the *Church-History* on the ground of the great distance of Exeter, "where I lived," from Oxford. ³

Some time during the year 1645, our author found an opportunity to publish the first of a series of reflections, admirably adapted for those disturbed years, under the title of *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*. The work is interesting not only by reason of its contents and authorship, but as being the first book printed in the city, Fuller terming it "the first-fruits of Exeter press." ⁴ It was printed for Thomas Hunt of that city,

¹ *Appeal*, pt. ii. p. 551. His pass to go beyond sea was granted 11th July, 1646. Both he and Lord Poulett had leave to stay in Exeter to make their peace with the Parliament.

² *Meditations on the Times*, No. xv. Of the Eremites he says: "This running into the wilderness was but a bankrupt trick to defraud the Church and Commonwealth their creditors, to both of which they stood bound." (*Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 286.)

³ *Appeal*, ii. 544.

⁴ By an unaccountable oversight, neither Fuller's book nor its publisher are mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Devoniensis* of Davidson. The earliest printed Exeter book that Cotton had seen (*Typ. Gaz.* p. 132) was of the year 1668. Power (*Handy-book*) has a date twenty years earlier. This matter is still further complicated by the writer of Murray's *Hand-book to Devonshire* (§ Exeter, ed. 1856),

and evidently furnished employment for a press rendered inactive through the war. The *Thoughts* contained about 250 pages, but was small enough for its implied purpose of being intended as a pocket-volume. It was the first book which Fuller put forth after a long interval in the life of a literary man,—a pause which gives colour to a remark in the book itself to the effect that he was “once in the mind never to write more, for fear lest my writings at the last day prove records against me.”¹

The spirit of this little book is well summed up in a favourite motto attached to it: “Commune with your hearts in your chamber, and be still.” (Ps. iv. 4.) We are here admitted to the writer’s “Personal Meditations” in the form of moralisings upon what he thought, or felt, or did,—passages that furnish us with many an autobiographic detail in his chequered career. The next section is devoted to “Scripture Observations,” being comments on passages from Holy Writ, often accompanied with most happy elucidations. Then follow his “Historical Applications,” and his “Mixt Contemplations.” There are twenty-five meditations in each of the divisions. All these thoughts are expressed in short paragraphs (about one per two pages), many of them assuming the form of direct prayer. All are duly applied, in Fuller’s peculiar manner, either to self-edification, or to the circumstances of the time. We conjecture that they formed the illustrations which the preacher used in his sermons. He has introduced a great variety of topics. Mr. Russell, who edited for Mr. Pickering this series of Fuller’s writings, justly remarks that they are amongst the most characteristic of Fuller’s numerous productions. “In them we have a living portrait of their author, both as a politician and as a divine.”

The plan of these *Good Thoughts* was not altogether new in Fuller’s time. Donne had composed his *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions; digested into Meditations upon our human Condition, &c.*, 1624. But Fuller’s book was partly composed, as Oldys has pointed out, upon the plan of a learned and ingenious prelate’s (viz. Hall’s) *Occasional Meditations*. Oldys also quotes similar works written since Fuller’s time: Theophilus Wodenote’s (a sequestered divine, sometime of King’s College, Cambridge)

who asserts that the city had one of the *earliest* presses, instancing a translation of Tasso as first printed and published there. This seems to be in reference to Carew’s translation, the first edition of which had the imprint, “London, by John Windet, for Thomas Man,” but has no date; and the second or 1594 edition (substantially the same as the former) has “London, by John Windet,

for Christopher Hunt, of Exceter.” (Lowndes, 2575.) The writer of the *Handbook* has evidently confounded the *publisher* with the *printer*. Fuller’s publisher may have been a descendant of this Christopher Hunt.

¹ *Mixt Contemp.* xxv. p. 249 (original edition). For the loan of this rare edition, I have to thank Mr. Thomas Kerslake, of Bristol.

Hermes Theologus, or New Descants upon Old Records, 12mo., 1649; Dr. William Spurstow's (Minister of Hackney) *Spiritual Chymist, or Six Decades of Divine Meditations*, 12mo., 1649; and Boyle's *Occasional Meditations on Several Subjects*, 8vo., 1665, satirised by Swift's *Meditations on a Broomstick*. In the manner of treatment, however, Fuller's work is very different from these its predecessors and successors. It bears the unmistakable mint-mark of his genius; and with good reason Fuller himself appealed to the "novelty" of the book.

Fuller, one of the most courteous of men, gratefully dedicated his devout manual to his kind patroness, Lady Dalkeith, "Lady Governess to her Highness the Princess Henrietta." He addressed her thus: "It is unsafe in these dangerous days for any to go abroad without a convoy, or, at the least, a pass: my book hath both in being dedicated to your Honour. The Apostle saith, 'Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof?' (1 Cor. ix. 7). I am one of your Honour's planting, and could heartily wish, that the fruit I bring forth were worthy to be tasted by your judicious palate. However, accept these grapes, if not for their goodness, for their novelty: though not sweetest relished, they are soonest ripe, being the first fruits of Exeter press, presented unto you. And if ever my ingratitude should forget my obligations to your Honour, these *black* lines will turn *red*, and blush his unworthiness that wrote them. In this pamphlet your ladyship shall praise whatsoever you are pleased but to pardon. But I am tedious, for your Honour can spare no more minutes from looking on a better book—her infant Highness, committed to your charge. Was ever more hope of worth in a less volume? But O! how excellently will the same, in due time, be set forth, seeing the paper is so pure, and your ladyship the overseer to correct the press!"¹

As might be expected in a book which is so full of thoughts connected with passing events, we have many references to the "bad times" in which the writer's lot was cast. His first Meditation is expressive of thankfulness for his deliverance from one of the frequent dangers to which his late campaign had exposed him: "Lord,—How near was I to danger, yet escaped! I was upon the Brink of the brink of it, yet fell not in: they are well kept who are kept by Thee. Excellent Archer! Thou didst hit Thy mark in missing it as meaning to fright not hurt me." Other military incidents are, here and

¹ "The man who in 'bad times' could throw a charm into the expression of a 'good thought,' and render delicate homage to a worthy lady, by introducing such

thoughts to the world, was likely to be courted as an accomplished and agreeable companion." (Rev. S. W. Christopher's *Homes of Old English Writers*, p. 163.)

there, brought up. In the second Meditation he thus refers to his freedom from sickness: "Lord,—When thou shalt visit me with a sharp disease, I fear I shall be impatient; for I am choleric by my nature and tender by my temper, and have not been acquainted with sickness all my lifetime."

In the fourth he mentions a frequent occurrence in the war: "Since these woeful wars began, one, formerly mine intimate acquaintance, is now turned a stranger, yea an enemy. . . . Must the new foe quite jumble out the old friend?" Again: "Unruly soldiers command poor people to open them their doors, otherwise threatening to break in. But if those in the house knew their own strength, it were easy to keep them out, seeing the doors are threatening proof, and it is not the breath of their oaths can blow the locks open."¹

Fuller was still one of the "beautiful bringers of the gospel of peace," and he ceased not his prayers for a pacification, but even became more earnest for it. In one Meditation he contrasts the times with the peaceful days of his youth:—

"Lord,—When young, I have almost quarrelled with that petition in our [*ours* though prescribed] Liturgy, 'Give peace in our time, O Lord:' needless to wish for light at noonday; for then peace was so plentiful, no fear of famine, but suspicion of a surfeit thereof. And yet how many good comments was this prayer then capable of! 'Give peace,' that is, continue and preserve it; 'give peace,' that is, give us hearts worthy of it, and thankful for it. 'In our time,' that is, all our time: for there is more besides a fair morning required to make a fair day. Now [1645] I see the mother had more wisdom than her son. The church knew better than I how to pray. Now I am better informed of the necessity of that petition. Yea, with the daughters of the horseleech (Prov. xxx. 15), I have need to cry, 'Give, give peace in our time, O Lord.'²

With respect to his absent-mindedness, which, by reason of his scholarly habits, was becoming more confirmed, we have the following:—

"Lord,—When I am to travel, I never use to provide myself till the very time; partly out of laziness, loth to be troubled till needs I must; partly out of pride, as presuming all necessities for my journey will wait upon me at the instant. (Some say this is scholars' fashion, and it seems by following it I hope to approve myself to be one.) However, it often comes to pass that my journey is finally stopped through the narrowness of the time to provide for it. Grant, Lord, that my confessed improvidence in temporal may make me suspect my providence in spiritual matters. Solomon saith, 'Man goeth to his long home.' Short preparation will not fit so long a journey. Oh, let me not put it off to the last, to have my oil to buy, when I am to burn it. But let me so dispose of myself that when I am to die I may have nothing to do but to die."³

While in this work we find our author, an attentive eyewitness, occasionally censuring the common sins of the armies,

¹ No. xv.

² No. xiv.

³ No. xvi.

he in after times felt constrained to add his testimony to the steadiness of the soldiers of the Parliament. His words illustrate the common saying of the virtuous Royalists, that the King had the better cause, but the Parliament the better men. In a paragraph headed *Sad Transposition*, he thus spoke :—

"It seemeth marvellous to me that many mechanics (few able to read, and fewer to write their names,) turning soldiers and captains in our wars, should be so soon and so much improved. They seem to me to have commenced *per saltum* in their understandings. I profess without flouting or flattering, I have much admired with what facility and fluentness, how pertinently and properly they have expressed themselves, in language which they were never born nor bred to, but have industriously acquired by conversing with their betters."

Here he exclaims against those of genteel extraction, if they should by vicious courses relapse into ignorance when they see soldiers, who were bred tailors, &c., "arrived at such an improvement."

"Not that I write this (God knoweth my heart) in disgrace of them, because they were bred in so mean callings, which are both honest in themselves and useful in the commonwealth; yea, I am so far from thinking ill of them for being bred in so poor trades, that *I should think better of them for returning unto them again.*"¹

Most of his "Historical Applications" bring into notice the unsettled condition of the kingdom. In many of the lessons which he draws from his illustrations there undoubtedly lurks a political purpose. Thus of those mountains in Wales, from the summits of which shepherds might converse though parted from each other by deep valleys, he says: "Our Sovereign and the members of his Parliament to London seem very near agreed in their general and public professions: both are for the Protestant religion; can they draw nearer? Both are for the privileges of Parliament; can they come closer? Both are for the liberty of the subject; can they meet evener? And yet, alas! there is a great gulf and vast distance betwixt them which our sins have made, and God grant that our sorrow may seasonably make it up again."² Speaking of Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, he breaks out with a parenthetical wish—"God grant I may once again see it, with the saint who belongs to it, our sovereign, there in a well-conditioned peace!"³ Of almshouses: "We are likely," he says, "neither in bye-ways or highways to have any works of mercy till the whole kingdom be speedily turned into one great hospital, and God's charity only able to relieve us."⁴ Again: "Now he who formerly would sue his neighbour for *pedibus ambulando*, can behold his

¹ *Mixt Contemplations* (1660), xvii.

² *Hist. Applic.* iii. p. 135.

³ *Mixt Contemp.* vi. p. 205.

⁴ *Ibid.* x. p. 216.

whole field lying waste, and must be content. We see our goods taken from us and dare say nothing, not so much as seeking any legal redress, because certain not to find it." And of the havoc made of houses of prayer he exclaims: "How many churches and chapels have been laid waste in England by this woful war! And which is more (and more to be lamented), how many living temples of the Holy Ghost, Christian people, have therein been causelessly and cruelly destroyed!"¹ In other Meditations he justifies the ways of God towards his country, and urges his readers to trust in Omnipotence, who alone could restore the country to order.

Successive editions of this little manual bear witness to its great popularity. Another edition was issued in London in the same year; a third in 1647. All these impressions were in 32mo. The manual proved a comfort to the thoughtful minds of those into whose hands it fell; and the purpose which it thus served encouraged its pious author to prepare further works of the same class. It is a somewhat curious circumstance that a *meditative* book should have been compiled, printed, and bought during a time the least favourable for such compositions. Yet it had for fellows Browne's *Religio Medici*, published two years previously, and similar thoughtful works. Such books brought to many that inward peace which was in vain looked for abroad. They proved indeed as oil on troubled waters; or, as Fuller said, like the minstrel the prophet called for, 2 Kings iii. 15, to pacify his mind discomposed with passion.

In connection with these *Good Thoughts*, Oldys relates the following:—"We have seen an account or description of a collection of moral and divine contemplations written seemingly in a woman's hand, by either the said Princess Henrietta Maria [Anne], as it was said, or for her use (among the MS. collections of the late Mr. T. Coxeter), having on its blue Turkey leather cover the two first letters of her name in a cypher, surrounded with palm branches, and crowned with a coronet in which there are several of the curious thoughts in this book."²

Upon this passage, apparently, as her authority Miss Strickland has founded the following remarks, which betray the novelist or gossip rather than the historian:—"The baby-Princess had the honour of frequently giving audience to her loving and faithful chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Fuller, who wrote during his attendance on her several of his beautiful little tracts, full of quaint stories, for her use. He had them printed in loyal but suffering Exeter. The first of these is

¹ *Hist. Ap.* vii. p. 145.

² *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2059.

supposed to be *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*. . . . One day there was a little festival among the sad circle of loyal ladies in the besieged city, when the little Princess gave audience in the arms of her governess and godmother, Lady Dalkeith, and received a copy of the work, for her use and early training in the reformed Catholic Church of England, from the venerable hands of its best historian, as the 'first fruits of Exeter press.'"¹

It will not fail to be noticed that a habit of meditation had become a decided characteristic in our author. Aubrey's anecdote of Fuller's love of it illustrates the saying that the child is father of the man. All Fuller's writings, indeed, show that his mind was both thoughtful and observant; and it is partly by the force of these qualities that he became famous. The advantages of this mental habit of meditation are too apparent to be insisted upon. The elder D'Israeli has observed that the faculties, in whatever degree they exist, are unquestionably enlarged by it. Fuller, falling on times which severed friendships and broke up homes, was one who, to use his own words, often turned "Solitariness into society." A Christian's eyes, he would say, "ought to be turned inward and chiefly reflected on himself. Yet how many are there whose home is to be always abroad! It is a tale of the Wandering Jew; but it is too much truth of many wandering Christians whose thoughts are never resident on their own souls, but ever searching and examining of others. These say not with the soldiers, 'And what shall *we* do?' but are questioning always, as St. Peter is of John, 'And what shall *this man* do?'"² The volume of *Thoughts* just noticed was composed under a sense of loneliness which fed and encouraged meditation. Upon the verse Matt. iv. 11, he comments that there is "no purgatory-condition between hell and heaven; but instantly when *out* devil, *in* angel. Such is the case of every solitary soul. It will make company for itself. . . . Grant, therefore, that my soul, which ever will have some, may never have bad company."³ He again quaintly said: "One may make himself *three*;—offender, accuser, judge; so that he should *never be less alone than when alone*, being always in the company of heavenly discourses in himself."⁴ So also in his essay *Of Books*, one of his maxims is "*Proportion an hour's meditation to an hour's reading of a staple author*. This makes a man master of his learning, and dis-

¹ *Lives of the Stuart Princesses*, p. 212.

² *Joseph's Parti-coloured Coat*, p. 78.

³ *Thoughts in Bad Times: Scrip. Obs.*, No. xiii. p. 97.

⁴ "Never less alone than when alone." (Rogers, *Human Life*.) "They are never alone that are accompanied with noble thoughts." (Sidney, *Arcadia*.)

spirits [infuses the spirit of] the book into the scholar.”¹ He again urged the importance of meditation in his sermon entitled *The Snare Broken*, where he said :—

“ Had people this art of entertaining a time to discourse with themselves, it would prevent much mischief. Thou mayest divide thy soul into several parts, and thou mayest discourse if thou wilt with every faculty,—with thy understanding, memory, fancy, and the several affections of thy soul.—Ask that question of thy *understanding* which Philip asked of the Eunuch, ‘Understandest thou what thou readest?’ Call your understanding to account whether you understand what you read or not. Ask thy *fancy* that question which Achish once propounded to King David, ‘Where hast thou been roving all this day?’ Bring thy fancy to account. Ask that of thy *memory* which the master did of the unjust steward, ‘Give an account of thy stewardship.’ Ask thy memory what good thou hast treasured up. When thou findest thyself transported with *mirth*, ask thy soul that question God did to Sarah, ‘Why laughest thou?’ When thou seest the passion of *anger* grow too violently upon thee, ask of it that question God did to the prophet Jonah, ‘Doeest thou well to be angry?’ ”²

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1645, Hopton was again at Bristol. It had been determined on many grounds to send Prince Charles thither from Oxford, and Hopton had been deputed to prepare a house for his reception as well as to put the city in a state of defence. The Prince parted from his father March 5, 1645, much about the time that Waller arrived in the West, and reached Bristol with the Marquess of Hertford and Archbishop Ussher in his company. Lord Hopton and the Duke of Richmond were put upon the household of the Prince, who was nominally generalissimo.

About the middle of March, the little court was constituted. It being thought probable that Waller intended to attack Bristol, many left; and Hopton put forth every exertion to strengthen the defences, a task in which he was encouraged by promises of help from the local gentry—which, however, were never redeemed. At this time the Prince’s affairs were so low that he was forced to “borrow from Lord Hopton’s store to buy bread.” On the appearance of the plague at Bristol the Prince removed his headquarters to Bridgewater, returning afterwards to Bristol. For the same cause, the Prince removed at the end of May to Barnstaple, which is described in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Prince Rupert as “a miraculously fortified town.”

At this time the greatest disorganisation was apparent among the generals on the Prince’s staff; and it was not amended by the contradictory orders which the King kept sending. It was Clarendon’s opinion that Hopton was unfit for a *chief*

¹ *Holy State*, p. 186.

² Pages 7–9.

command; and the King at this time seems to have been of the historian's mind, for Hopton was told to confine himself to his charge as general of the artillery. Hopton also received a royal order that the Prince should not remain in the army, but should keep his residence in a safe garrison, where he might employ himself in providing reserves and reinforcements. And yet another order was sent, by which Hopton was to command the forces under the Prince.

Meanwhile the battle of Naseby (June 14, 1645) had been fought. On the 27th August Prince Charles visited Exeter,¹ chiefly for the purpose of settling disputes. His head-quarters were fixed at the city until the 15th September. Shortly after his departure for the West, Fairfax and Waller suddenly advanced on the city. Lady Dalkeith hereupon attempted, but failed, to escape with the Princess, now about twelve months old; and they were in consequence compelled to remain in the city during the severity of the siege.

The organization of the Clubmen of Devonshire, which in September declared for the Parliament, further disconcerted the Royalists, upon whose cause more disasters fell. Towards the end of October Fairfax, hitherto everywhere victorious, prepared to invest Exeter. Hereupon Goring, whose licentious conduct brought his soldiers into great discredit, had to retreat to the town, Dr. Pearson being then with him. There is a reminiscence of Fuller's intercourse with such troops in one of his *Thoughts*: "This day casually I am fallen into a bad company, and know not how I came hither, or how to get hence. . . . I was not wandering in any base by-path, but walking in the highway of my vocation; wherefore, Lord, Thou that calledst me hither, keep me here. Stop their mouths that they speak no blasphemy, or stop my ears that I hear none; or open my mouth soberly to reprove what I hear."²

Fairfax began his investment by setting up garrisons on the east side, Mary Aintree [Heavitree] being head-quarters. The inclement season being disastrous to his men, his works made little progress. Towards the end of the year, the Prince began to muster forces about Oakhampton; and Fairfax left the siege of Exeter to march against him, but returned after taking Dartmouth. On the 27th of January, 1646, the General summoned the garrison (now almost surrounded) to surrender, but received a reply from Sir John Berkeley that they could not in honour do so whilst they were in no worse condition, and had less probable hopes of relief from the Prince. Fairfax then

¹ *Act-Book*, August 28th, 1645: £100 is ordered to be presented to Prince Charles, "who came to this City last night."

² *Pers. Med.* No. xxii. p. 58.

blocked up the west side, and by arranging his troops elsewhere he completely invested the city.

During the winter, accordingly, the inhabitants began to be in want of provisions; but they do not on this occasion seem to have reached such straits as in the siege by the Western rebels, when "they were fain to bake bran and meal moulded up in cloths, for otherwise it would not stick together."¹ It was during these months that the following strange circumstance, thus recorded and vouched for by Fuller, took place:—"When the City of Exeter was besieged by the Parliament's forces, so that only the south-side thereof towards the sea was open unto it, incredible numbers of larks were found in that open quarter, for multitude like quails in the wilderness, though (blessed be God!) unlike them both in cause and effect, as not desired with man's destruction, nor sent with God's anger; as appeared by their safe digestion into wholesome nourishment: hereof I was an *eye-and-mouth-witness*. I will save my credit in not conjecturing any number; knowing, that herein though I should stoop beneath the truth I should mount above belief. They were as fat as plentiful; so that, being sold for twopence a dozen, and under, the poor (who could have no cheaper, as the rich no better, meat) used to make pottage of them, boiling them down therein. Several natural causes were assigned hereof: (1) That these fowl, frightened with much shooting on the land, retreated to the sea-side for their refuge. (2) That it is familiar with them in cold winters (as that was) to shelter themselves in the most southern parts. (3) That some sorts of seed were lately sown in those parts, which invited them thither for their own repast. However, the cause of causes was Divine Providence, thereby providing a feast for many poor people, who otherwise had been pinched for provision."²

Leaving Sir Hardress Waller in command, Fairfax meanwhile left Exeter, February 10th, with the greater part of his forces, and proceeded to meet the Lord Hopton, then (in place of Goring) Commander-in-chief under the Prince. Hopton had accepted this command (15 January, 1646) to allay quarrels among the generals: he called it an "unhappy employment," and took it more from duty than inclination. This forlorn hope

¹ *Church-Hist.* vii. 396.

² *Worthies*, § Exeter, p. 274. Many incidents of this kind are found in Royalist literature. Thus, when Bramhall, Bishop of Londonderry, fled from Ireland, he was closely pursued in his little ship by two Parliament frigates,

many of which were on that coast; and "when they were come so near that all hopes of being saved were taken away . . . on a sudden the wind slackened into a perfect calm, and, as it were, flew into the sails of the little vessel, and carried her away in view."

of the West, after being much reduced in numbers, had recently been reinforced with new levies from Cornwall. They had marched in one day from Stratton to Torrington, with 7,000 troops, expecting to be joined at Barnstaple with 1,000 more men, and great store of cattle and other provisions, for the relief of Exeter. Fairfax, having the advantage in numbers, came to an engagement with Hopton at TORRINGTON about the 19th of February, and gained a victory. The "Stand of pikes," Fuller afterwards said, was "oft-times no stand, and the footmen so fitly called as making more use of their feet than their hands." Torrington Church, which contained a great quantity of powder, was blown up, and 200 Royalists, as well as some of their opponents, were thereby killed, Fairfax himself being in jeopardy. Among the trophies captured was Hopton's banner, on which was written, I WILL STRIVE TO SERVE MY SOVEREIGN KING. Fairfax confessed that his opponents fought with more resolution than ever he saw. The defeated army fled into Cornwall, and in a short time they mustered on the opposite side of the river Tamar with 6,000 troops, chiefly cavalry—an unruly body of men, described by Clarendon as "a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army, . . . whom only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at, being only terrible at plunder, and resolute in running away."

They were pursued and driven to Truro, where Fairfax (March 6th) sent them proposals for surrender, in which Hopton was thus alluded to:—"For yourself, you may be assured of such mediation to the Parliament on your behalf both from myself and others, as for one whom (for personal worth and many virtues, but especially for your care of and moderation towards the country) we honour and esteem above any other of your party, whose error (supposing you more swayed with principles of honour and conscience than others) we must pity, and whose happiness (so far as consistent with the public welfare) we should delight in more than in your least suffering."¹ In a few days, under the influence probably of intriguing documents, emanating from his own side and by the enemy discovered, Hopton was convinced that he could assist the King no longer. On March 14th, accordingly, honourable terms were agreed upon; and by the end of the month the whole army was disbanded, being accomplished with great civility on both sides. Thus, as Fuller said, "the King's cause verged more and more westward until it set in Cornwall."²

¹ Rushworth, vi. 105.

² Hopton's subsequent life was that of many other Cavalier soldiers. After meet-

ing the Prince at the Scilly Isles, they went successively to Jersey, Rouen, and the Hague. At the latter place Hopton

Fairfax then conducted the army to its former position before Exeter. The speedy fall of the city was long foreseen by Fuller, who still continued to preach to the besieged with "great satisfaction and content." Shortly before the surrender of the city he was destined to receive a token of the good feeling of the citizens towards him. For on 21st March, 1645-6, the Chamber bestowed upon him the BODLEIAN LECTURESHIP, an endowment which was in their gift. The Lectureship had been founded by Dr. Laurence Bodley, a former Canon of Exeter, and brother of the famous Sir Thomas, who gave Oxford its public library. Canon Bodley, in 1615, bequeathed £400 to the Mayor and Corporation to purchase lands to the amount of £20 per annum to provide a preacher to preach every Sunday in Exeter as the Mayor and Corporation might direct.¹ There are many notices of this lectureship in the local archives. The *Act-Book*, 1642, 23rd June, contains the following minutes: "Mr. Bodley's Lecture is ordered to be removed from St. Lawrence Parish, where it hath long continued, and be removed to St. Marie Arches during the pleasure of this house. Mr. Henry Painter, the present lecturer,² to have notice of it." St. Mary Arches, which is in the street of the same name, contains some old monuments. *Ibid.* 29 Nov., 1643: "Mr. Henry Painter, clerk, having neglected the lecture, is dismissed, and *Mr. William Fuller*³ appointed." *Ibid.* 21 March, 1645-6: "Whereas M^r William Ffuller Clark about two yeeres since was elected to preach the lecture heretofore founded by Dr. Bodlie who hath now lefte this cittie, it is this day approved by XIII affirmative voices that the grante made to hym shall cease, which is intimated by S^r John Berkley, Kt., our Governor, to be the desire of the said M^r Will^m Ffuller. Also this day M^r Thomas Ffuller, Bachelour of Divinitie, is by full consent elected to performe the said lecture, according to the

was one of the Prince's councillors. Clarendon, who relates this, records that there was only one man in all the Council "of whom nobody spoke ill, and that was Lord Hopton." His wife died in 1647, when a panegyric upon her was published. Hopton himself died at Bruges in honourable poverty 1652. His chaplain, Richard Watson ("accounted one of the prime sufferers of the English clergy beyond seas") remained with him up to this time. Hopton's barony was conferred upon Sir John Berkeley; as to whom, Fuller said that it was sufficiently known how he had shared in the King's sufferings.

¹ Prince (*Worthies of Devon*, p. 84) quotes Bodley's will, adding that the preacher "is now [1701] wont to officiate as that honourable body [the Corporation] is pleased to direct." The Lecture was continued for many years by the interest of the bequest; but afterwards the benefaction of a citizen increased it by the purchase of the School and Rectory of Hennock, with the Vicarage thereof. (Jenkins' *Hist. Exeter*.)

² He was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines, being B.D. He died, says Masson, before Nov. 2, 1644.

³ Dr. Oliver, in his *History of Exeter*, page 118, asks whether William Fuller

direccon of the foresaid Doctor Bodley, to have and exercise the same att the will and pleasure of the Maior and Comon Counsell of this Cittie and noe longer.”¹ Mr. John Cooper was mayor at the date of the last entry. All the meetings of the Chamber at which this and other public business was transacted were in Fuller’s time, and up to the year 1835, opened with the following prayer:—

“IN DEI NOMINE. AMEN. O Lord God, without Whom no counsel can stand, nor anything prosper, we beseech Thee to be merciful unto us and to be present amongst us at this our meeting; assisting us by Thy grace, that every one of us may use free liberty of speech without any private affection or partial respect, so that all our consultations may tend to Thy glory, the benefit of this common wealth, and the discharge of our several duties and consciences; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

Fuller was Bodley’s Lecturer as long as the Royalists held Exeter. One of the sermons preached in that character is extant, having been delivered shortly before the surrender of the city, or immediately afterwards. The preacher speaks of the discourse as having been attentively listened to by the Mayor and Corporation. The sermon was entitled *The Feare of Losing the Old Light*, being on the text Rev. ii. 5, and was printed the same year in London under the care of John Williams. Fuller inscribed it to his friends, “the Right Worshipful Mr. Cooper, Mayor of the City of Exeter, and to all the members of that ancient Corporation.” In this dedication he gratefully recognises their kindness to him during his residence in their city: “I must acknowledge my engagement unto you to be great. ‘Is not *Exeter* a little one? and my soul shall live,’ where I safely anchored in these tempestuous times: it is a high advancement in this troublesome Age for one with a quiet conscience to be Preferred to Life and Liberty: it fared better with me; for whilst her Infant Highness (on whose Soul and Body God crowd all blessings Spiritual and Temporal till there shall be no room to receive more), though unable to feed her self, fed me, and many more of her servants: other accommodations were bestowed upon me by your liberality.” He prays for his friends that God Himself would “stand watchman at the gates of your city, to forbid the entrance of anything that

above-mentioned was not the brother of Thomas Fuller. Fuller had no brother of that name; and it is difficult to say who he was, the identification of these Williams being almost as perplexing as the Thomases. It seems clear that this William was neither the Dean of Ely nor Wm. Fuller of Twickenham.

¹ The *Act-Books* of the Chamber of Exeter. For these citations I am indebted to Mr. Stuart Moore, who calendared the valuable City Records for the Town Council; as also to Wm. Cotton, Esq., F.S.A. The latter gentleman also searched the Chapter records, but did not meet with Fuller’s name.

may be prejudicial unto you, and give full and free admittance to whatsoever may tend to the advancement of your happiness here and hereafter."

This sermon is one of Fuller's most earnest discourses. Speaking of the Church of Ephesus referred to in his text, he avers that "no church in this world can be free from all faults. Even Ephesus, the best of the seven, had somewhat amiss in it. As long as there be spots in the moon, it is vain to expect anything spotless under it."¹

Discussing the conversion of the heathen, he deals with the results of the missionary enterprise of his days:—"We shall find small impression and improvement of the Gospel in these latter ages on paganism. I have not heard of many fish (understand me in a mystical sense) caught in New England; and yet I have not been deaf to listen, nor they I believe dumb to tell of their achievements in that kind. I speak not this (God knoweth my heart) to the disgrace of any 'labourers' there, being better taught than to condemn men's endeavours by the success; and am so sensible how poorly our ministry prevaileth here at home on professed Christians, that I have little cause and less comfort to censure their preaching for not taking effect upon Pagans. . . . The fault is not in the religion, but in the professors of it, that of late we have been more unhappy in killing of Christians than happy in converting of Pagans." And alluding to the "favourable inclination" of the Gospel to verge westward, he says: "This putteth us in some hopes of America, in God's due time: God knows what good effects to them our sad war may produce; some may be frighted therewith over into those parts (being more willing to endure American than English savages), or out of curiosity to see, necessity to live, frugality to gain, may carry religion over with them into this barbarous country."² Only God forbid we should make so bad a bargain as wholly to exchange our Gospel for their Gold, our Saviour for their Silver, fetch thence *lignum vitæ* and deprive ourselves of the Tree of life in lieu thereof. May not their planting be our subplanting, their founding in Christ our confusion; let them have of our light, not all our light; let their candle be kindled at ours, ours not removed to them."³

¹ Page 3.

² Fuller's frequent references to "our Western Plantations," *i.e.* the settlements in America, evince his interest in them. See more on the matter in his Essay *Of Plantations*, wherein Nichols

sees (what we may notice in the above passage) "reflections indicative of a benevolent heart and an enlightened understanding, worthy of a Christian philanthropist." (*Holy State*, pp. 184, 185.)

³ Pages 11-13.

As to the objection that there was no danger of the departure of the Light which was then daily increasing, preaching, like silver in the reign of Solomon, being so plentiful that it was nothing accounted of, he replies: "As all is not gold that glisters, so all is not light that shines, for glow-worms and rotten wood shine in the dark. Firebrands also do more harm with their smoke than good with their light; and such are many Incendiaries, which, without either authority of calling or ability of learning, invade the ministerial function. Whose sermons consist only of two good sentences, the first, as containing the text, and the last, which must be allowed good in this respect, because it puts an end to a tedious and impertinent discourse. Notwithstanding all pretended new lights and plenty of preaching, I persist in my former suspicion."¹

After reminding his auditors of the place where they would need no candle, where sermons should cease, and God alone should be the text, the hallelujahs of angels and saints the comment upon it, he concludes: "And now I am to take my final farewell of this famous city of Exeter. I have suffered from some for saying several times that I thought this or this would be my last sermon, when afterwards I have preached again. Yet I hope the guests are not hurt if I bring them in a course more than I promised, or they expect. Such would have foreborne their censures had they consulted with the Epistle to the Romans. In xv. 33, the Apostle seems to close and conclude his discourse, 'Now the God of peace be with you all, Amen.' And yet presently he beginneth afresh and continueth his epistle a whole chapter longer. Yea, in xvi. 20 S. Paul takes a second solemn *vale*, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen:' and notwithstanding still he spins out his matter three verses further, till that full and final period, verse 27, 'To God the only wise be glory throw Jesus Christ for ever, Amen.' Thus *loath to depart* is the tune of all loving friends: the same I plead for myself so often taking my farewell, wherein if any were deceived, none I am sure were injured."²

The garrison now began to see that they had held out as long as they could, being greatly straitened for food. On 31st March, 1646, a renewed summons was brought in from Fairfax, "believing that by this time you are satisfied of no relief." The Governor convoked the city Council, who, convinced that further resistance was unavailing, were anxious to save further effusion of blood. An answer was therefore returned that the garrison

¹ Pages 19, 20.

² Pages 24, 25.

would negotiate on fair and honourable terms. A treaty was accordingly begun on the 3rd April by six commissioners on each side; but it was not till the 9th that articles were mutually signed.¹ Fuller mentions with satisfaction that the loyalty of the inhabitants was unstained in this siege.

Nichols, the editor of Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*,² says in the preface to the Life of Andronicus therein contained, that "*Fuller's* services were of great importance in procuring favourable terms for the garrison and the inhabitants;" but I have never met with any confirmation of this statement. His name, indeed, is unmentioned in all the accounts of the siege, although there is little doubt that he was an important person in the city.

The Princess and her household (which included her chaplain, Fuller) are the first persons alluded to in the Articles. The 4th is as follows:—

"That the Princess Henrietta and her governess, with her household, shall have full liberty to pass with their plate, money, and goods, within twenty days after the conclusion of this treaty (when she shall desire), to any place within the continent of England or dominion of Wales at the election of the governess, and there to remain until his Majesty's pleasure be further known touching her settling; and that the governess shall have liberty to send to the King to know his pleasure herein, accordingly to dispose of her Highness within the aforesaid limitation of places; and that fit and convenient carriages be provided for their passage at reasonable rates."³

¹ Rushworth, vi. 364.

² Page 400.

³ The future history of the Princess is in accord with her early life. After the surrender of Exeter she was sent to reside at the palace of Oatlands, the dower house of the English Queens, where she arrived at the close of April. (Green.) In the following year Parliament proposed to transfer the child to the care of the Earl and Countess of Northumberland, at St. James's Palace, intending also to dismiss her household. A letter (dated June 8, 1646) is extant, in which Lady Dalkeith consents to be subordinate to the Lord of Northumberland. She says it was in her power to have had a clause for a certain allowance, had it been thought decent in respect of his Majesty or for the Parliament, it being supposed that where the Princess and her few attendants were to be, there they should be maintained. She requested "a favourable interpretation of my transportation of the Princess to his Majesty, according to the Articles of Exeter." (Cary's *Civil War*, i. 100.)

In the following month Lady Dalkeith escaped with her charge. Disguising herself ("becomes unhandsome, handsomely to 'scape") she dressed the child in rags, and walked with it to Dover, crossed the Straits in safety, and delivered her to her mother. "July 28, 1646: The two houses had notice that the young Princess Henrietta, who was taken at the surrender of Exeter, was privately conveyed away on the Friday before by the Countess of Dalkeith, from Oatlands, divers of her gentlewomen being left behind, and not knowing of her removal (so discreetly was it managed)." (*Rushworth*, vi. 318.) The reason she gave for her flight was the impossibility of obtaining justice for her Highness. Waller celebrated the exploit in a New-Year's ode (1650), the lady being then Countess of Morton:—

"To the fair Villiers we Dalkeith prefer,
And fairest Morton now as much as her."

The Countess continued for many years the Princess' governess. As regards her charge, she was, under the influence of her mother (then living in seclusion, but surrounded with the turmoil of another

Article V. provided for the preservation of the Cathedral and churches. Whitelocke says this article was "much insisted on." The next stipulated—

"That the governor, together with all lords, *clergymen*, gentlemen, captains, troopers and common soldiers, shall march out of the city on Monday next, the 13th April, with their horses, full arms, bag and baggage, and their goods, colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, bullets, full bandaliers, with sufficient convoys, unto Oxford, or unto Helston, in Cornwall."

ARTICLE XIII.: "That no lords, knights, gentlemen, *clergymen*, *chaplains* (excepting those who are by name exempted by Parliament from pardon and composition), officers, citizens and soldiers, and all other persons comprised within these Articles, shall be questioned or accountable for any act passed, by them done (or by any other by their procurement), relating unto the unhappy differences betwixt his Majesty and Parliament, they submitting themselves to reasonable and moderate composition for their estates."

By the next Article four months were named as the period for endeavouring their peace with the Government, or to go beyond seas. It was under these Articles, which Fuller characterised as very honourable and comprehensive for the consciences and estates of those interested, that on 13th April the city was taken possession of. The Governor and his troops marched out with the honours of war, and went their several ways.

There are many complaints recorded by Rushworth as to the violation of the Articles; and in some cases Fairfax was called upon to interfere. The cathedral is said to have suffered at the hands of the new owners. But Fuller speaks very favourably of the execution of the Articles, asserting, for instance, that the loyalty of the inhabitants of the city "was rewarded by their enemies with the best-made and best-kept articles."¹ When attributing his own enjoyment of a peaceful parsonage to these Articles, he also penned the following sentence: "I must not forget the *Articles of Exeter*, whereof I had the benefit, living and waiting there on the King's daughter, at the

civil war), brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. To Fuller, accordingly, there succeeded a far different tutor in the person of Père Cyrien, the Capuchin: "I then began the instruction of that royal Princess; I infused into her infant mind the elements of the Christian religion, and adapted my instructions to her capacity." She was a girl of sixteen when, at the Restoration, she visited London. Her former chaplain, who may again have met her, says that "after her long and sad night of affliction the day dawned with her in her brother's happy return." (§ Exeter, p. 271.) Exeter did

not forget the little Princess. On 22nd Nov. 1660, the Chamber voted £200 to buy her a piece of plate, and it was presented to her in the name of the city. The girl inherited her mother's love of intrigue. She was considered at the French Court the fairest Princess in Christendom, and one of the wittiest women in France. She married, 1661, Philip de Bourbon, Duke of Orleans, and brother of the French King; but after an unhappy life she died suddenly, and under circumstances of suspicion, at the age of twenty-six.

¹ *Worthies*, § Exeter.

rendition thereof: articles, which both as penned and performed, were the best in England;—thanks to their wisdom who so worthily made, and honesty who so well observed them!”¹

Fuller does not appear to have at once left the city, but to have remained a few weeks longer. His sermon on the *Fear of Losing the Old Light* perhaps belongs to the month of April or of May, the British Museum copy being dated “June 26th” in a contemporary hand. He certainly held his lectureship for about two months after the surrender; for the Chamber Act-Book, under date of 17th June, 1646, thus briefly notes:—“Mr. Thomas Fuller is dismissed.” But Fuller had forsaken Exeter at least three weeks before this date. No reason is assigned for the so-called dismissal, which it is possible was caused, as in the case of William Fuller, at his own request. A reason may, however, be found in the choice of Fuller’s successor. Under date of 25th June, 1646, “Mr. Ferdinando Nicholles, clerk, is appointed.”² He was Rector of St. Mary Arches, or de Arcubus, in 1634. He grew into favour with the Parliament, secured this lectureship, and took the Covenant. In 1655 he describes himself as “Minister at Mary Arches, Exon;” but he was turned adrift by the Bartholomew Act.³ Colonel Hammond was the new Governor of the city. Fuller records with satisfaction how in “the very worst of times” “a depressed party” in Exeter “were so true to their principles, that I meet with this epitaph in the chancel of St. Sidwell’s: *Hic jacet HUGO GROVE in comitatu Wilts, Armiger, in restituendo Ecclesiam, in asserendo Regem, in propugnando Legem ac Libertatem Anglicanam, captus et decollatus, 6 Maii, 1655.*” This gentleman was perhaps the “loving friend” who is mentioned in the will of Bishop Davenant.

¹ *Appeal*, pt. ii. 304.

² *Act-Book*. Wm. Cotton, Esq., informs me that the records of the Chamber from 4th Oct. 1647 to 1663 are missing. I learn with regret that the project of

a Repertory or Calendar of the Corporation records, which it was proposed to publish a short time ago, has been given up.

³ *Oliver’s Hist.*





CHAPTER XIII.

“GOOD THOUGHTS IN WORSE TIMES.”

(June, 1646—February, 1647.)

WORSE TIMES.—FULLER AND JOHN WILLIAMS.—JOHN BOND OF THE SAVOY.—CITY PREACHERS, THEIR CONGREGATIONS, AND DISCOURSES.—FULLER'S PETITION FOR COMPOSITION.—HIS PREACHING FORBIDDEN.—MINISTERS' FIFTHS AT "SIXES AND SEVENS."—PUBLICATION OF "ANDRONICUS;" ITS PURPOSE, ETC.—FULLER'S PREFACE.—RETIREMENT TO BOUGHTON HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—LORD MOUNTAGU AND HIS FAMILY.—FULLER'S GRATITUDE.—HOLMBY HOUSE.—THE COUNTESS OF RUTLAND AND BISHOP MORTON.—"THE CAUSE AND CURE OF A WOUNDED CONSCIENCE."—"GOOD THOUGHTS IN WORSE TIMES."—FULLER'S LITERARY ACTIVITY.—TRANSLATES USSHER'S "ANNALES."

"*Worse before better.* . . . England doth lie desperately sick of a violent disease in the bowels thereof. Many messengers we despatch (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?" (*Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Meditations on the Times*, xiv. 130, 131.)

THE moral condition of England, and particularly of London, at this time, is a subject upon which the historians are generally silent; but notices in contemporary literature reveal a grievous state of things. Much of it is to be attributed to the large numbers of disbanded soldiers. The sermons of the divines during the years at which we have arrived testify to the prevalence of unchecked sin. Manton, in a sermon of 1648, names many gross sins as "abounding everywhere; yea, more than formerly; the power of Godliness and the Word despised." Case, in a sermon of 1647, enumerates the same sins as having "broken in upon us like another deluge." Among other objects of frequent censure in the discourses of the divines was female attire. Palmer (1644) said that the unbecoming apparel in the house of prayer was an outfacing of God: "Those fashions that would have been counted abominations seven or ten years ago are now taken up without scruple." He adds: "What should I speak of oaths, cursings and blasphemies?" Fuller himself, as early as

1644, had given a catalogue of the reigning vices, saying that they formed an ill morning star to harbinger the better times that Saltmarsh forecast. "We have," said he, "taken the saint-ship from those in heaven, but have no more holiness in ourselves here on earth. What betwixt the sins which brought this war, and the sins which this war hath brought, they are sad presages of 'better times.' Never was God's name more taken in vain by oaths and imprecations. The Lord's day, formerly profaned with mirth, is now profaned with malice; and now as much broken with drums as formerly with taber and pipe. Superiors never so much slighted, so that what Nabal said sullenly, and (as he applied it) falsely, we may say sadly and truly, 'There be many servants now-a-days that break away every man from his master.'¹ Killing is now the only trade in fashion; and Adultery never more common, so that our nation (in my opinion) is not likely to confound the spiritual whore of Babylon whilst corporal whoredom is in her everywhere committed, nowhere punished. Theft so usual that they have stolen away the word of *stealing*, and hid it under the name of *plundering*. Lying both in word and print grown epidemical, so that it is questionable whether guns or printing (two inventions of the same country and standing) at the present do more mischief in this kingdom. It is past 'coveting of our neighbours' houses' when it is come to violent keeping them. He therefore that doth seriously consider the grievousness and generality of these sins, will rather conclude that some *darkness of desolation* than any 'great light' is likely to follow upon them."² And again, writing three years later: "Vice these late years hath kept open house in England."³

After leaving Exeter Fuller proceeded to London, under the protection of the lately-executed Articles. His journey lay through the district of his former pastoral charge; and he also passed near his old refuge, Basing House, then a heap of ruins. There were on the route numerous other records of the internecine war, the sight of which would naturally prove a source of grief to the dejected wayfarer. Other influences also tended to sadden him. The cause which he had espoused was at length utterly defeated; the King was practically a captive; and the use of the Liturgy of his "dear mother," the Church, had been forbidden in both public and private,—the same ordinance which abolished the Prayer-book having exalted the Presby-

¹ I Sam. xxv. 10. So also in *Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Pers. Med.* vi. 56; and *Worthies*, § Berks, p. 85, where he says he is neither for the tyranny of

masters nor rebellion of servants, but the mutual duty of both.

² *Truth Maintained*, pp. 65, 66.

³ *Meditations on the Times*, xix. 140.

terian discipline in its place (January, 1645). Not readily, therefore, did Fuller apprehend the force of the political changes that had been effected during his three years' sojourn among the Royalists. His own prospects gave him cause for anxiety, for he was now without a patron and without congenial friends. Grave anxieties disturbed him as he thought of the condition of his old parishioners at the Savoy: would they receive him? and could he without molestation renew his former intercourse with them? His reflections under these circumstances threw him into considerable mental depression: he himself relates that about this time he had to endeavour to hold up his spirits; and nearly all the literary work which is noticed in this chapter is pervaded by the gloom under which he lay. In one place he ejaculates, "May my soul only be kept from sinking in sorrow."¹

One proof of his temporary friendless position is found in the fact that the shelter to which he betook himself on his arrival in the city was the shop—*i.e.* the house—of his publisher, John Williams.² Fuller arrived there about the end of May. Williams may at this time have had a large balance in hand, as the proceeds of the two or three years' sale of the popular *Holy War* and *Holy State*. "No stationer," the author of these works afterwards averred, "had ever lost by me." Our hero's petition for his composition, still preserved in the Record Office, is not accompanied with the usual documents showing the condition of his estate at this time; but the details connected with his literary property would be of peculiar value. If, however, Williams had in hand at the time any funds belonging to his client, they were most likely expended in payment of debts; for the statements sent in by the Royalists when petitioning to make their compositions all but invariably mention large amounts as owing to creditors. Thus in "A True Particular of the Estate of Doctor William fuller," the petitioner "craves allowance of certayne debts amounting to the some of £150."³ Be this as it may, our Fuller was about this time in undoubted pecuniary straits.

It has been stated that the parishioners of the Savoy received their former lecturer gladly; but there is apparently no authority for the statement, which may only be in part true. The narrative of his friend states that "he came to his own, but they received him not." "The Doctor might have said of his parish what a learned historian said in another greater case, *Parochia in parochiâ querendâ erat*."⁴ Many of his former

¹ *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*:
Pers. Med. xvi. 39.

² See Fuller's Petition, p. 376.

³ Royalist Composition Papers, 2nd
Series, vol. xxvi. p. 623.

⁴ Page 37.

hearers had been dispersed in consequence of the troubles; and those who remained were, it is said, "overawed by an imperious Rabbi of both factions—Presbytery and Independency."¹

Fuller found that, by a strange coincidence, one was in possession of the Savoy pulpit, who before the siege of Exeter had been preaching in that city, with which he was connected. The two ministers may thus be said to have exchanged places. JOHN BOND was in the united offices of the ejected Balcanquhal and Fuller. Bond was a native of Dorchester. In October, 1643, he had been nominated to the Assembly of Divines, in place of Archbishop Ussher, and about the same time he was settled at the Savoy. A sermon entitled *Salvation in a Mystery*, which Bond, "now Preacher at the Savoy in London," preached before the House of Commons at the monthly fast, 27th March, 1644, is dated "from my study at the Savoy" on the 20th of the following month. He shortly afterwards became LL.D., and may be "the Doctor" to whom we have found Fuller slightly allude.² A Wood characteristically says that Bond's sermons contained "many strange positions, rebellious doctrines, religious cantings, and I know not what." He was afterwards employed under Cromwell's government. Bond was not meanwhile forgotten by the Corporation of Exeter, who seem to have promptly adapted themselves to their new masters; since on the Thanksgiving-day³ appointed for the anniversary of the late surrender "Mr. John Bond" preached the first sermon, for which he was voted a piece of plate of the value of £10, "as a testimony of their friendly acceptance and thankfulness too."⁴ He ultimately became Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. A Wood adds, in a sentence which implies more than is said, that he died 30th August, 1658, "the windiest day that had before happened for twenty years."

The following passage cannot be read without a suspicion that Fuller, when he penned it, had in his mind his own unhappy position as pastor. He is speaking of Josiah Shute, "the most precious jewel that was ever shown or seen in Lombard-street," he being the minister of St. Mary Woolnoth: "He was for many years, and that most justly, highly-esteemed of his parish; till, [in] the beginning of our late civil wars some began to neglect him, distasting wholesome meat well dressed by him, merely because their mouths were out of taste, by that general distemper which in his time [he died 1640] was but an *ague*, afterwards turned to a *fever*, and since is turned to a

¹ Page 36.

² See p. 291.

³ *Act-Book*. On the 6th April, 1647, Tuesday, 13th April, was appointed as a

day of thanksgiving "for the last rending of this city."

⁴ *Oliver's Hist. Exon.*

frenzy in our nation. I insist hereon the rather for the comfort of such godly ministers who now suffer in the same nature wherein Mr. Shute did before. Indeed, no servant of God can simply and directly comfort himself in the sufferings of others (as which hath something of envy therein); yet may he do it consequentially in this respect, because thereby he apprehends his own condition herein consistent with God's love and his own salvation, seeing other precious saints taste with him of the same affliction as many godly ministers do now-a-days, whose sickles are now hung up as useless and neglected, though before these civil wars they reaped the most in God's harvest."¹

We have elsewhere quoted Fuller's saying that it was truly observed that London audiences honoured their pastors, like John Baptist, *πρὸς ὄραν*, for an hour, or short time; but his true opinion of the City congregations was not in accord with the remark. For when alluding to the numerous and well-attended chapels of Lancashire, he thus discriminated: "Some clergymen who have consulted God's honour with their own credit and profit, could not better desire for themselves than to have a Lincolnshire church, as best built; a Lancashire parish as largest bounded; and a London audience as *consisting of most intelligent people*."²

Fuller as well now as throughout his life spoke in very unfavourable terms, and with the freedom of a Censor, of the relations between churches and pastors: "Protestants, in some kind," says he, "serve their living ministers as Papists their dead saints. For aged pastors, who have borné the heat of the day in our church, are justled out of respect by young preachers not having half their age nor a quarter of their learning and religion. Yet let not the former be disheartened, for thus it ever was and will be—English Athenians, all for novelties, new sects, new schisms, new doctrines, new disciplines, new prayers, new preachers."³

He often speaks with a mingled sorrow and contempt of those who, without regular training, had succeeded during the interregnum to the places of the ejected clergy. Thus, in regard to Bilney being much troubled in conscience for his contempt of Church-order, he exclaims: "How many now-a-days [1655] without any regret turn Pr^{aters}-^{eachers} without any commission from the Church! It is suspicious on the like occasion, some would scarce follow Bilney to the stake, who run so far before him

¹ *Worthies*, § Yorkshire, p. 211.

² *Worthies*, § Lancashire, p. 105.

³ *Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Occasional Meditations*, vi. p. 207.

into the pulpit.”¹ Our minister’s feelings with regard to this matter are fully and plainly stated in his *Triple Reconciler*, which, written under the Protectorate, discusses whether unordained persons might lawfully preach. He shows from Acts xiii. 15 that Paul and Barnabas had been solemnly separated for the ministry. He next comments upon their “grave demeanour and reverend behaviour in the synagogues.” “They behaved not themselves in God’s house, during the exercise of God’s ordinance, like some *spiritual clowns* now-a-days, whose unreverend deportment bewrays their ignorance; but so decently they demeaned themselves, that they struck the beholders into a reverent opinion of their persons, and conjecture at their professions to be Preachers of God’s Word.” He also endeavoured to raise the just reputation of the Word publicly read. “Some conceive that the Word *preached* is as much holier than the Word *read*, as the pulpit is higher than the desk. . . . But let such know, that he which doth not honour all, doth not honour any of God’s ordinances.”²

He concludes that “none are to preach but such who are lawfully called thereunto. The rulers of the synagogue gave a license to Paul and Barnabas, who intrude not without their leave and desire. How many now-a-days [1654] in despite of the Rulers of the synagogues, the undoubted Patron, the lawful Incumbent, the Guardians of the Church publicly chosen, storm the pulpit by their mere violence, without any other call or commission thereunto.”³ Again:—

“Should such a person appear, commencing *per saltum*, complete in all sciences and languages, so that all the tongues which departed from Babel in a confusion, should meet in his mouth in a method, it would give assurance to others that these his gifts came down from the father of lights, if willingly submitting himself to the examination and ordination of such to whom it properly doth belong. Otherwise, if amongst all other gifts, the essential grace of humility be wanting, it will render the rest suspected from what fountain they do proceed.

“But let us survey what gifts those are which generally are most boasted of by *opposers* in this point. God is my witness, I speak it without bitterness or any satirical reflection. Are they not for the most part such as may be reduced to boldness, confidence, memory, and volubility of tongue? Might they not truly say of many of their sermons what the sons of the Prophets said of their Axe, 2 Kings vi. 5, ‘Alas its borrowed,’ venting chiefly the notes and endeavours of others. But grant their gifts never so great, graces so good, parts so perfect, endowments so excellent, yet mere *gifting* without *calling* makes not a lawful preacher.”⁴

He shows that the Apostles left their meaner employments “so to retain the most noble and necessary function of preach-

¹ *Hist. Camb.* § vi. ¶ 32, p. 101.

² Pp. 67, 69.

³ Page 72.

⁴ Page 94.

ing, whence most glory redoundeth to God and profit to His people. How then can men now-a-days, of meaner parts and endowments, discharge that which the Apostles did decline—Preach the Word and serve a ship; preach the Word and serve a shop; preach the Word and serve the looms; preach the Word and serve the last; retaining either manual or military employment with the same?"

The chief charge brought by Fuller against the preachers of his day was a want of charity. In one of his Meditations he thus earnestly pleaded for its exercise:—

"In my father's time, there was a fellow of Trinity college, Camb. [Joseph Mede], a native of Carlton, in Leicestershire, where the people (thorow some occult cause) are troubled with a wharling¹ in their throats, so that they cannot plainly pronounce the letter R. This scholar, being conscious of his infirmity, made a Latin oration of the usual expected length without an R therein; and yet did he not only select words fit for his mouth, easy for pronunciation, but also as pure and expressive for signification, to show that men might speak without being beholding to the dog's letter. Our English pulpits, for these last eighteen years [1642-1660], have had in them too much caninal anger, vented by snapping and snarling spirits on both sides. But if you bite and devour one another (saith the apostle, Gal. v. 15), take heed ye be not devoured one of another.

"Think not that our sermons must be silent if not satirical, as if divinity did not afford smooth subjects enough to be seasonably insisted on in this juncture of time [1660]; let us try our skill whether we cannot preach without any dog-letter or biting word: the art is half learned by intending, and wholly by serious endeavouring it."

Such sermons, he declares, would be easier for the tongue of the preacher, less grating to the ears of pious people that hear them, and most edifying to both speaker and hearers of them.²

And again: "Our age [1647] may seem sufficiently to have provided against the growth of *idolatry* in England. Oh that some order were taken for the increase of *charity*! It were liberty enough if for the next seven years all sermons were bound to keep residence on this text: 'Brethren, love one another.'"³ Elsewhere he discusses what is meant by *Meroz* in Judges v. 23. If it were a city "new queries are engendered where it is to be placed. For the exact position whereof, we refer the reader to those of our learned divines⁴ which in these unhappy dissensions have made that text so often the subject of their sermons."⁵

¹ A Saxon word signifying a stuttering in pronouncing the letter R.

² *Mixt Contemplations*, xx. p. 14.

³ *Occasional Meditations*, vii. p. 210.

⁴ *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 114.

⁵ "There were more [ministers] who

from this verse presumed to inveigh against and in plain terms pronounce God's own curse against all those who came not, with their utmost power and strength, to destroy and root out all the malignants." (Clarendon, vi. 298.)

One of Fuller's first endeavours, after reaching London, was to effect his composition for his estates—a delicate business, which occupied him, we may suppose, during the few months of his stay in London. According to the arrangement, it was stipulated that Sir Thomas Fairfax should “really endeavour with the Parliament” that the composition should not exceed two years' value of any man's real estate; and for personal, according to the ordinary rule, not exceeding the proportion: “which composition being made, they shall have indemnity for their persons, and enjoy their estates and all other immunities without payment of any fifth.”¹ To arrive at this desired consummation, Fuller, towards the end of May, penned the following very characteristic petition, now printed for the first time, and lithographed in fac-simile:—

“TO Y^E HONORABLE COMITTEE
AT GOLDSMYTHES HALL.

“Your Petitioner Thomas Fuller late of y^e Sauoy in London, & since attendant in Exeter on y^e Princess Henrietta, beeing there present at y^e rendition of y^e Citty,

“Requesteeth that late coming to this Citty, & now lodging at y^e Crowne in Pauls Churchyeard, hee may haue y^e benifit of Exeter articles, to endeaouour his composition, according to same articles confirmed by ordinance of Parliament, vntil y^e expiration of y^e four Monethes, from y^e date of those Articles. & hee shall &c.

“THOMAS FULLER.”

“Rec^d pximo Junij 1646.”²

Fuller seems at first to have addressed the Committee at *Haberdashers'* Hall, where the fifth and twentieth parts of Royalists' estates were compounded for. The word is altered by Fuller or the clerk to “Goldsmyths.”

Apart from this correction, the document itself is not wanting in some Fullerian touches. “Honourable Committee” is not Fuller's epithet: this adjective is written by the clerk who

¹ Articles of Exeter, xii.

² *Royalists' Compositions*, Record Office, vol. xxv. 1st Series, 1,022. This valuable document was, with the ready consent of the Authorities, reproduced for this

work by Mr. F. C. Price, the skilful fac-similist. Besides the two corrections above noted, the clerk, by mistake, was beginning to write May 1st, but deletes the M and writes June 1st.

DR. FULLER'S PETITION FOR COMPOSITION.

To y^e Honorable
~~George Smith~~
at y^e ~~George Smith~~ ~~George Smith~~ hall.

Your Petitioner Thomas Fuller Late of y^e Savoy
in London, I find attendant in Exchequer on y^e
Petitioner ~~George Smith~~ being there present at y^e return
of y^e Bill of Exchequer to this Court, &

now lodged at y^e CHURCH in Pauls Church yards, 1600
may have by benefit of Exeter articles, to endeavour
his composition, according to said articles confirmed
by ordinance of Parliament, until y^e expiration of y^e four
Monethes, from y^e date of those Articles. E 1600
Shas S^r

Thomas Fuller

Rec^d per m^o Junij 1646

Handwritten text, possibly a name or title, located in the upper right corner.

Handwritten text, possibly a name or title, located in the upper middle section.

Handwritten text, possibly a name or title, located in the upper left section.

Handwritten text, possibly a name or title, located in the lower left section.

enters in the corner the date upon which he received the petition, Fuller's adjective, intended perhaps for "worship¹," being scored out. One may here wonder whether Fuller consoled himself with the line of "our comedian," "And Brutus is an honourable man." In the large letters—*πήλικους γράμμασι*, Gal. vi. 11)—of the word "Crown" Fuller manages, in a way quite his own, to attest his loyalty to the fallen monarchy, which, in the person of the King, had (only a few days before the receipt of the petition) ridden out of Oxford in disguise to join the Scotch army. The omission of Saint (before *Paul's*) was usual, as in *Paul's Walk*, &c. There is finally, a set purpose in the ungracious vagueness of the closing phrase, which does not even get to the usual "ever pray."

Altogether we may conclude that the writer was in a half-playful and half-savage humour when he drew up the paper. There should have been preserved with it two other documents at least: first, the attestation of Fairfax that Fuller was in Exeter at the time of the surrender, and that in consequence he was to have the benefit of the treaty;¹ and second, a detailed statement of the petitioner's present estate, real and personal.

Fuller duly made the composition. He was cautious enough to get the countenance of a few men of note on the Parliamentary side; and the negotiation, though entered upon by the witty parson with a bad grace, was rendered less unpleasant than it might otherwise have been.

We gather from the preface to our author's *Andronicus* that, faithful to his vows, he was making endeavours to be "restored to the exercise of my profession on terms consisting with my conscience." The place he was perhaps aiming at was (with the countenance of the parishioners) the Lectureship of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, which he actually did obtain in the following year. Presbyterianism, then dominant and busily organizing itself, looked very unfavourably upon one who had not taken what Heylyn called "that accursed Covenant," and who was now protected from its imposition by the Articles of Exeter.² The conditions offered to the clergyman were too strict. He could not, as he then felt, bring his mind to enter on the task of squaring his high calling with the restrictions with which it was proposed to fetter him. "A living," says the biographer, "was not the design of the good Doctor, who knew how incompatible the times and his doctrine must needs be."³ Fuller probably would not engage to give up the use of the liturgy. The penalties for using it had been fixed in August 1645, at £5 for the first

¹ Articles of Exeter, xviii.

² Art. xxi.

³ Page 37.

offence, £10 for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third.¹ Fuller was thus thrown upon other resources.

There were, perhaps, others besides his son who were then dependent upon the ejected minister; and for their sakes also he was very anxious to re-enter into the exercise of his profession. That his means at this time were insufficient for his livelihood may be gathered from passages in the works written in the years 1646-9. He refers to this subject in occasional passages in his *Thoughts in Worse Times*. "How shall God make my bed," he asks, "who have no bed of mine own to make? Thou fool, He can make thy not having a bed to be a bed unto thee," instancing Jacob sleeping on the ground.² Again: "Small are my means on earth. May I mount my soul the higher in heavenly meditations, relying on Divine Providence: He that fed many thousands with 'five loaves,' may feed me and mine with the FIFTH PART of that one loaf, that once was all mine."³

The latter passage is in reference to the order, made 1644, by which Sequestrators were empowered to set apart a portion (not to exceed a *fifth*) of the estates of sequestered delinquents for the use of their wives and children. This order was evaded in respect to clergymen, because they were not mentioned by name. Fuller animadverts upon their conduct in his fifth Meditation on the Times. In the *Church-History*, he also (says Professor Mayor) "touches upon the then delicate question with even more than his usual wit and wisdom," and quotes an ordinance of November, 1647, which was made to comprehend the clergy. The intent of this order was also violated: "Covetousness," said Fuller, "will wriggle itself out at a small hole." He mentions, for instance, that payment was denied a minister having a wife but no children, or children without a wife, or but one child; stating that if such cases were not in the *letter* they were in the *equity* of the order; one child being unable to live on nothing as if there were many more! After enumerating other subterfuges for disregarding the order, he asserts that the fifths were ever paid at *sixes* and *sevens*. Walker adds, that in cases where he found the fifths paid, it was for the most part after the rate of *tens* and *twelves*.⁴

While still under his publisher's roof, Fuller passed through the press his late sermon to his Exeter hearers, and another edition of his *Good Thoughts*. Neglecting not the gift that was in him, he thus industriously pursued his inclination for litera-

¹ Scobell, i. 97.

² *Script. Obs.* xii. p. 79.

³ *Occ. Med.* ii. 196.

⁴ *Church-History*, bk. xi. p. 230; Walker's *Sufferings*, i. 102.

ture ; and his host had no desire to discourage him from such a course. To this time of his life, accordingly, belongs the rapid issue of a few of his lesser and most delightful works. It is in the valuable autobiographical preface to one of these tracts of our ready writer, that he announces his intention, in consequence of the frustration of his desire to preach, to spend the remainder of his days in composing such stories as would have a beneficial effect upon his countrymen.

The first of the works now to be mentioned, which may in part have been written at Exeter, was a little book, generally taken to be a satire upon the times, entitled *Andronicus, or, The Unfortunate Politician. Shewing, Sin ; slowly punished. Right ; surely rescued.* (London, 1646.) It was published about the autumn of the year, being entered at Stationers' Hall on 24th August, the licence being granted by Mr. Langton.

This very singular work cannot be passed by without notice. It is the supposed life of the Grecian Emperor Andronicus Comnenus (who reigned A.D. 1163-1185), extended from the brief, but elegantly-written memoir, which Fuller wrote as an illustration of the character of *The Tyrant* in the *Profane State*. The latter is mainly founded upon the account of Nicetas Choniates. Fuller's new biography formed a convenient small-sized volume, under two hundred pages, divided into six books, and accompanied with a full index. It was thus well adapted for the popularity it obtained. As to Fuller's reasons in thus swelling a brief memoir into a grave but unauthentic biography, and in publishing it at this particular time, one of his editors has thus spoken : " During these four years of active service in the war [1643-46], he had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted, through friends and foes, with the views of both the belligerent parties ; and knew many clever men whose culpable cupidity was then excited, and who did not attempt to dissemble their eagerness to derive personal profit and aggrandisement from our national convulsions. He was induced, therefore, to enlarge this article, and, with all the appendages of a true historical narrative, to form it into a kind of *Menippean Satire* on the ambition, avarice, cruelty, and other destructive vices, which had then sufficiently developed themselves in the leading characters of the republican movement. . . . It has been regarded by moderate men of every party as a salutary and seasonable warning to all those who were engaged in ambitious, unpatriotic projects during that distressing season of domestic warfare. In reference to many curious events which subsequently occurred, Fuller's broad intimations proved to be eminently prophetic ; but in none of his anticipatory delineations

tions was he afterwards accounted to have been more felicitous, than in the speech of Andronicus on the eve of his being elected to be joint-emperor with the youthful Alexius Comnenus, which might have been purposely indited as a pattern for that of Cromwell when he reluctantly declined the faintly-proffered sovereignty of these realms, and with much apparent coyness accepted the Protectorate. Other then-uncontemplated coincidences will be obvious to everyone who is acquainted with the historical records of those times of civil discord."¹ We have only to remark in regard to the latter part of this citation, that in comparing Fuller's observations in the satire under notice with the actual events of our own history to which they are supposed to refer, it is necessary to guard against the tendency to seek a closer parallel than the author meant. It is questionable, for instance, whether the breach between the Parliament and Army was at this time sufficiently foreshadowed for Fuller to have had these two parties in his mind as joint-potentates and rivals.

Of Andronicus himself there is a brief notice in our author's *Holy War*, where he records that the usurper succeeded his cousin Alexius, whom he strangled. "A diligent reader and a great lover of St. Paul's Epistles,² but a bad practiser of them: who (rather observing the devil's rule, That it is the best way for those who have been bad to be still worse), fencing his former villanies by committing new ones, held by tyranny what he had gotten by usurpation; till having lived in the blood of others, he died in his own, tortured to death by the headless multitude, from whom he received all the cruelties which might be expected from servile natures when they command."³ The full detail into which Fuller entered in the re-written life gives it all the apparent historical fact that is noticeable in such works as Defoe's *History of the Plague*. These details were, however, taken (as is the famous speech of the tyrant) "from the black copy of his wicked actions."⁴

In reading this work one is tempted to regret that Fuller afterwards, by finding employment as a preacher, abandoned his intention of writing these felicitous and entertaining stories, to which he had determined to devote himself. There is an appreciative notice of the book under notice in *The Retrospective Review* (2nd Series, vol. i.), where the writer makes the following just observations upon Fuller's extraordinary treatment of

¹ Nichols' *Holy State*, p. 400.

² Nicetas Choniates, in *fine Vitae Andronici*.—F.

³ Bk. iii. chap. iii.

⁴ Bk. ii. § 6.

history: "He is not essentially precise in his choice of authorities, or exact in his detail of events—he is content with a name and a fortune, that he may comment upon their mutability; with a character, that he may balance and weigh all its properties. Acts suggest conceits, speeches puns, and his descriptions are crowded with similes and metaphors, so apt in their circumstances that they excite the attention, so unlike in their nature that they provoke laughter. Thus in his historical attempts, Fuller is rather a moralist or a rhetorician than an historian."¹

The perusal of a few of his sketches will at once explain the sudden popularity of the book:—

ALEXIUS COMNENUS: "A child he was in age and judgment: of wit too short to measure an honourable sport, but lost himself in low delights. He hated a book more than a monster did a looking-glass; and when his tutor endeavoured to play him into scholarship by presenting pleasant authors unto him, he returned that learning was beneath the greatness of a prince, who if wanting it might borrow it from his subjects, being better stored. 'For,' saith he, 'if they will not lend me their *brains*, I'll take away their *heads*.' Yea, he allowed no other library than a full-stored cellar, resembling the butts to folios; barrels, to quartos; smaller runlets, to lesser volumes; and studied away his time with base company, in such debauchedness."²

OF THE COURT JESTER, who escaped the fury of his master, we read: "Of this fellow, his body downwards was a fool, his head a knave, who did carefully note, and cunningly vent, by the privileges of his coat, many State-passages, uttering them in a wary twilight betwixt sport and earnest."³

A BISHOP, engaged as an "engineer" to get up petitions, is described as being one who "professed heaven and practised earth. . . . Only herein he had the character of a good churchman,—that 'by his preaching and living he set forth his office accordingly.'"⁴

In his notice of Anna, the Empress, there is a notice of a "FAIR AND HAPPY MILKMAID:"—

"Daughter she was to the King of France, being married a child (having little list to love, and less to aspire,) to the young emperor Alexius, whilst both their years put together could not spell thirty. After this, she had time too much to bemoan, but none at all to amend her condition; being slighted and neglected by her husband. Oft-times being alone, (as sorrow loves no witness,) having room and leisure to bewail herself, she would relate the chronicle of her unhappiness to the walls, as hoping to find pity from stones, when men proved unkind unto her. Much did she envy the felicity of those milkmaids, which each morning pass over the virgin dew and pearled grass, sweetly singing by day, and soundly sleeping at night, who had the privilege

¹ Pages 396-406.

² Bk. i. § 1.

³ Bk. iii. § 6.

⁴ Bk. ii. § 8.

freely to bestow their affections, and wed them which were high in love, though low in condition : whereas royal birth had denied her that happiness, having neither liberty to choose, nor leave to refuse ; being compelled to love, and sacrificed to the politic ends of her potent parents.”¹

In place of Andronicus it is at one time determined to set up Isaacius Angelus, and an odd reason, pre-eminently Fullerian, is given for selecting him : “ Seeing we have thus long been unhappy under the extremities,—the childhood of Alexius and old years of Andronicus,—let us try our fortunes under the middle age of Isaacius ; and no doubt we shall light on the blessed mean and happy temper of moderation.”²

It remains to mention a few of the passages in which the author is glancing at his own times. In his picture of the prosperity of Constantinople, “ enjoying happiness so long that now she pleaded prescription for prosperity,” London is especially in view :

“ Because living in peace time out of mind, she conceived it rather a wrong to have constant quiet denied, than a favour from heaven to have it continued unto her. Indeed, she was grown sick of a surfeit of health, and afterwards was broken with having too much riches. For, instead of honest industry and painful thrift, which first caused the greatness of the city ; now, flowing with wealth, there was nothing therein but the swelling of pride, the boiling of lust, the fretting of envy, and the squeezing of oppression. So that should their dead auncestors arise, they would be puzzled to see Constantinople for itself, except they were directed thereunto by the ruins of St. Sophie’s temple. True, it was some years since, upon a great famine, some hopes were given of a general amendment ; during which time riot began to grow thrifty, pride to go plain, gluttons to fast, and wantons were starved into temperance. But forced reformation will last no longer than the violent cause thereof doth continue. For soon after, when plenty was again restored, they relapsed to their former badness ; yea, afterwards became fouler for the purge, and more wanton for the rod, when it was removed.”³

“ Neuters ” are described as “ of that lukewarm temper which heaven and hell doth hate. . . . They hoped, though the vessel of the State was wracked, in the private fly-boat of neutrality to waft their own adventure safe to the shore.” Whoever saw, asks Fuller, dancers on ropes so equally to poise themselves but at last they fell down and break their necks ?

There are other passages suggested by the times. Thus he speaks contemptuously of the “ indiscreet discretion of the people,” who are “ wild justicers.” To such “ apt scholars ” the teaching to be tyrannical was “ needless.” Elsewhere he observes on their resistible tyranny of a tumult : “ therefore it may be all good men’s prayers, That the people may either never understand their own power, or always use it aright.”

¹ Bk. v. § 9.

² Bk. iii. § 30.

³ Bk. i. § 4.

Fuller makes out that a petition was drawn up in the name of all people by the "engineers" of Andronicus, praying him to take a share in the throne "for the good of the State."

"This was subscribed by the principal men in every place; and then herds of silly souls did the like. They never consulted with the contents of the paper, whether it was bond, bill, libel, or petition; but thought it a sin not to score their marks where, they were told, their betters had gone before them. At first they wanted names for their parchment, but afterwards parchment for their names. Here it would be tedious to recount what sleights and forgeries were used herein. If any delayed to subscribe they were presently urged with great men's precedents;—that it was superstition to be more holy than the bishops; rigour, to be more just than the judges; malapertness, to pretend to more wisdom than so many statesmen who had already signed it. And thus many fearful souls were compelled to consent by the tyranny of others' examples. Indeed, some few there were which durst be honest, whose souls did stand on a basis of their own judgments, without leaning with implicit faith on others. These disavowed this State-bigamy, protesting against the co-empireship of Andronicus, and boldly affirming that crowns take a *master* if they accept a *mate*. But then all their names were returned unto Andronicus, who registered them in his black Kalender, who, for the present, did remember, and for the future would requite them."¹

Of this curious work a second edition appeared in the same year, and a third, copies of which are now rare, in 1649. *Andronicus* was embodied in the 1648 edition of the *Profane State*, where, without the preface and index, it has continued ever since.

This little tract is perhaps the only book by Fuller which has been translated into a European language. In the British Museum² there is a *Dutch* edition, dated Amsterdam, 1659, the translator being one Johannes Crosse, a notary public of that city. Some of the refugee Cavaliers in Holland were perhaps concerned in its publication. Its appearance might even be an indication of the presence there of Fuller himself in the year in question. The immediate cause of the translation was, there can be little doubt, the then recent death of the Protector; and Fuller's title was accordingly altered thus: *Andronicus, or Unfortunate Subtilty; containing a true account of the Short but cruel and tyrannical government, sudden downfall and fearful death of Andronicus Comnenus, Emperour of Constantinople. Lately written in English by the reverend, learned and ingenious Dr. Thomas Fuller, Court preacher to Charles I., King of Great Britain, H.L.M. And now first translated into Dutch by Johannes Crosse, Notary public at Amsterdam, 1659.*³

¹ Bk. ii. § 8.

² 12,580, a. 1. See the title in the Bibliography.

³ For some reason Crosse has turned

"Politician" into "Policy," and has taken the latter in its worst sense of craft or cunning; a use of the word, by the way, very common with Fuller.

Crosse dedicated his translation to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, stating that, the English edition having fallen into his hands, he had "thought it well, in consideration of its value, though small in size—*melius est magnum in parvo quam parvum in magno*—to translate it into our Dutch tongue. . . . There being in my opinion no more profitable study for politicians and rulers than useful histories, I have thought it right (being bound thereto by my *bene esse*, enjoying the wings of your protection) to dedicate it to your Excellencies as an acknowledgment of my obligations," &c.¹

Fuller's preface to the original work, as follows, is of great personal interest, and we quote it at length:—

"We read of King Ahasuerosh,² that, having his head troubled with much business, and finding himself so indisposed that he could not sleep, he caused the Records to be called for, and read unto him; hoping thereby to deceive the tediousness of the time (an honest fraud), and that the pleasant passages in the Chronicles would either invite slumber unto him, or enable him to endure waking with less molestation.

"We live in a troublesome and tumultuous age; and he needs to have a very soft bed who can sleep soundly now-a-days, amidst so much loud noise, and many impetuous rumours. Wherefore it seemeth to me both a safe and cheap receipt, to procure quiet and repose to the mind which complains for want of rest, to prescribe unto it the reading of History. Great is the pleasure and profit thereof. . . . Wherefore, until such time as I shall, by God's providence, and the Authority of my superiors, be restored to the open exercise of my profession, on terms consisting with my conscience, (which welcome minute I do heartily wish, and humbly wait for; and will greedily listen to the least whisper sounding thereunto,) it is my intent, God willing, to spend the remnant of my days in reading and writing such stories as my weak judgment shall commend unto me for most beneficial.

"Our English writers tell us of David, King of the Scots, that whilst he was prisoner in a cave in Nottingham Castle, he with his nails (shall I say *carved*? or) scratched out the whole history of our Saviour's passion, in the wall. And although the figures be rough and rude, yet in one respect they are to be compared unto, yea preferred before, the choicest pieces, and most exact platforms of all engravers,—being done at such disadvantages; cut out of a main rock, without any light

¹ For the translation of this passage, and other portions, from the Dutch, I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. G. Alger.

² Hest. vi. i.

to direct him, or instruments to help him, besides his bare hands.

"The application of the Story serves me for manifold uses. First: here I learn, if that princes, then meaner persons, are bound to find themselves some honest employment. Secondly: that in a sad and solitary condition a Calling is a comfortable companion. Thirdly: where men want necessaries, fit tools and materials, the work that they do (if it be any degree passable), deserves, if not to be praised, to be pardoned. Which encourageth me to expect of the charitable reader, favour for the faults in this tract committed, when he considers the author, in effect banished and bookless, and wanting several accommodations requisite to the completing an history.

"Noah, to make an essay whether 'the waters were abated from the face of the earth,' before he would adventure to expose the whole fraught of his ark to danger, dispatched a dove to make discovery, and report unto him the condition of the world, intending to order himself accordingly. A deep deluge hath lately overflowed the whole kingdom, to the drowning of many, and endangering of all. I send forth this small treatise to try whether the swelling surges and boiling billows in men's breasts, (flowing from the distance in their judgments, and difference in their affection,) begin now to assuage, and whether there be a dry place for this my innocent dove safely to settle herself. If she find any tolerable entertainment, or indifferent approbation abroad, it will give me encouragement to adventure a volume of a more useful subject and greater concernment in the view of the world. Thine in all Christian offices, THOMAS FULLER." The work here alluded to was not his *Pisgah-Sight*, as Mr. Nichols stated,¹ but either his already promised Ecclesiastical History, or his translation of the *Annales* of Ussher.

There is nothing in our author's writings to indicate how long he remained in the metropolis after making his composition and attempting to find employment in pastoral duty. It is certain, however, that after a few months he removed from London, where, besides being harassed by attendance upon the committees, he was subject to other annoyances; one, in particular, being the compulsory registration of the names and addresses of those who had come from the royal garrisons.² Again: "Upon extraordinary confluence of delinquents and papists to London," an ordinance passed both Houses (Dec. 11th) to put them out of the city, for two months.³ There was, therefore, a degree of unpleasantness connected with Fuller's

¹ *Holy State*, p. 402.

² See Rushworth, vi. 305.

³ Whitelocke, p. 230.

abode in London ; and it is no wonder that, in the next authentic reference to him, he is found to be at a considerable distance from the city, viz. in Northamptonshire, January 1646-7. Circumstances brought him into contact with his former patron and college-associate, Edward Mountagu, who being in the confidence of the Parliament, was in a position of influence. From him the homeless and distressed clergyman met with the kindest reception : it was at his instance that he, with his son, then six years old (who was regarded by the widowed father as the sole hope of his old age), took up his abode at the family mansion. The house was near our author's birth-place ; and it had not, in the political changes that had occurred, lost its ancient reputation for hospitality. There, then, Fuller spent his Christmas,—a season which was not to him a very merry one ; for though he was then safe from molestation, and was encouraged by powerful friends with the prospect of recovering his position, his spirits seem to have been affected by his accumulated misfortunes.

Two deaths had recently occurred in the family which befriended Fuller. The first was that of Fuller's literary associate, Christopher Mountagu, who deceased 1641, "that he might not be entangled in the evils to come," as said the old Lord his father, who keenly felt the loss. Both he and his brother William had written verses along with Fuller's in the 1633 University collection entitled *Rex Redux*, already noticed. Their father fell under the displeasure of the Parliament in 1642. Clarendon relates that he ("a person of great reverence, being above fourscore years of age, and of unblemished reputation,") was taken prisoner at his house at Boughton, "for declaring himself unsatisfied with their disobedient and undutiful proceedings against the King, and more expressly against their ordinance for the militia ; and notwithstanding that he had a brother of the House of Peers, the Lord Privy Seal, and a nephew, the Lord Kimbolton, who had as full a power in that council as any man, and a son in the House of Commons, very unlike his father, his lordship was committed to the Tower a close prisoner ; and though he was afterwards remitted to more air, he continued a prisoner to his death."¹ Sir Philip Warwick further adds that the captors of the nobleman complimented his former course of life as an eminent patriot, though now disaffected ; and that they intended to detain him a prisoner in the house of his daughter, the Countess of Rutland, "which he utterly refused and said, If he deserved to be

¹ *Rebellion*, vi. 297.

a prisoner, he deserved to be sent to prison; and in conclusion would not be sent to her house (for she was busy in the Parliament cause, and so her house was irksome to him) until the warrant named her house his prison, which the lady was much disgruntled-at [offended-at]." The old man seems ultimately to have been imprisoned in the Savoy, where he died June 15th, 1644.¹ Fuller thus alludes to his death: "To have 'no bands in their death,' (Ps. lxxiii. 4,) is an outward favour many wicked have, many godly men want; amongst whom this good lord, who died in restraint in the Savoy, on the account of his loyalty to his Sovereign. Let none grudge him the enjoying of his judgment, a purchase he so dearly bought and truly paid for."² By his will he directed his body to be buried next to his "second sweet faithful companion," Frances, in Weekley Church, near his county mansion, and that a monument should be erected.

At the time of the old baron's death, his eldest son Edward,³ Fuller's patron (henceforward spoken of as Lord Mountagu), and his nephew, the second Earl of Manchester, were in the service of the Parliament, the latter being the successful general. Other members of the family took the same side. The old Lord's estates came to the possession of Lord Mountagu, whose name occasionally occurs in connection with public affairs at the time. The latter, like his father, was inclined to Puritanism, but never heartily engaged himself with his party. He had married the daughter of Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State, and author of the *State Memorials*. Her Puritanism caused her to disparage the liturgy, which was daily read in her father-in-law's home. "Daughter," said the old Lord, "if you come to visit me, I will never ask you why you come not to prayers; but if you come to cohabit with me, pray with me, or live not with me."

The ready kindness thus seasonably shown by Lord Mountagu towards Fuller, was not forgotten by the latter. Four years afterwards he alluded to it in terms which, while indicating the misery and poverty of his former position, show a very grateful appreciation of the hospitality which was so generously extended to him. Fuller's acknowledgment was made in a dedication to the son of his patron, on the plan of

¹ Collins, i. 331.

² *Worthies*, § Northamptonsh. p. 293.

³ He has verses along with Fuller's in the 1631 University collection of Poems called *Genethliacum*, &c. They follow the Vice-Chancellor's (Butts') opening

address. The collection of the following year, *Anthologia in Regis Exanthemata*, also contains a poem from the same hand, and another by his brother William. Pearson, Crashaw, and King are also contributors.

Jerusalem here annexed in fac-simile. This plate is curious not only on account of this autobiographical item, but also because the plan (as already-mentioned, page 2) has traces of Fuller's handiwork in the humorous signature in the south-west corner. The inscription is as follows:—

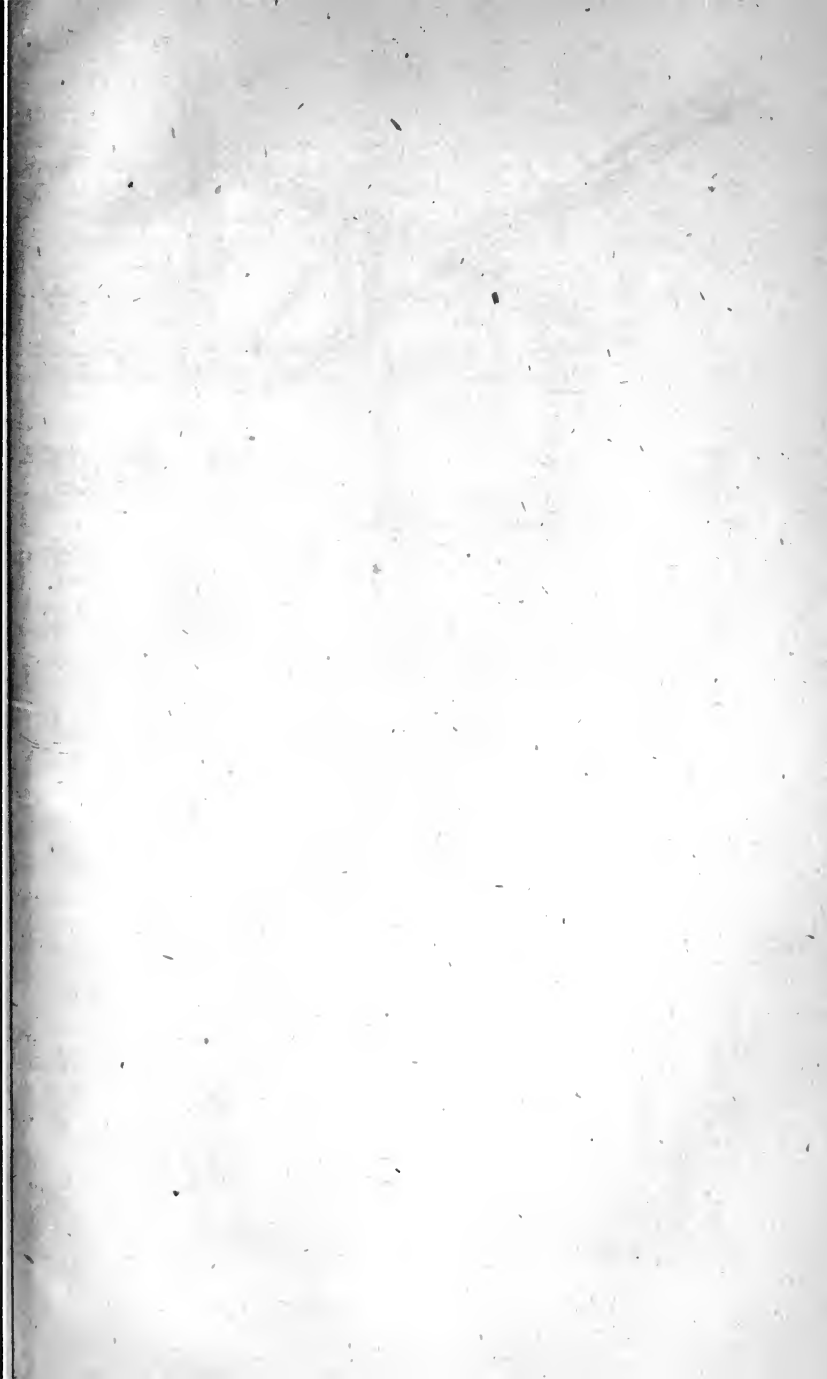
“To Edward Montagu, Esq., the most noble among our lettered youth, the most lettered among our noble¹ (as though disregarding the lustre of his birth he had made scholarship his only choice), son of the right honourable Edward, Baron Montagu, who when I was feeble, an exile, a nobody (*i.e.* undone, or good for nothing), was the first to take care of me, to receive me under his roof, to restore me by his munificence to my former self, and (as the sum of all) to provide generously for the education of my darling boy, the solitary hope of my old age.”²

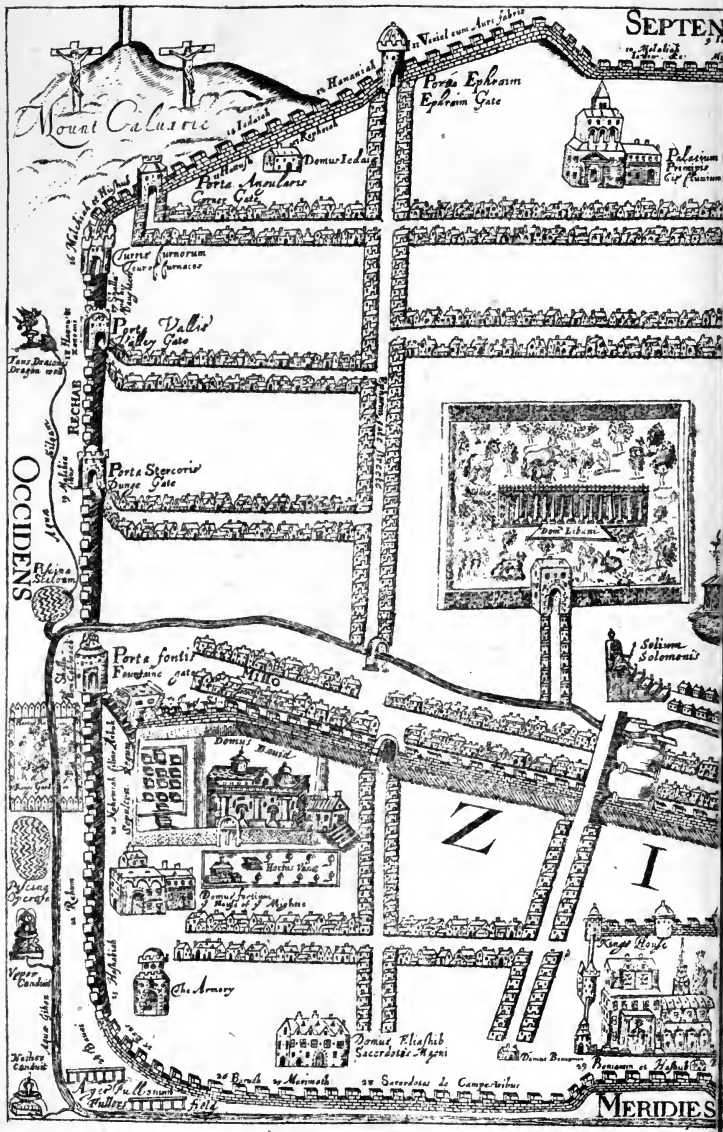
BOUGHTON HOUSE, the temporary retreat of the “bookless” and jaded scholar, is situated about three miles to the north of the town of Kettering, on the road towards Stamford, and near to the village of Geddington. The mansion, which now belongs to the Duke of Buccleuch (the lineal descendant of the first Lord Mountagu), and which proves most attractive to visitors on account of two of Raphael's cartoons being there, stands in an ample park. The estate is remarkable for the extent of ground which is covered with avenues of trees. The present artificial arrangement of the grounds is in part due to the continental methods of gardening introduced by Fuller's patron, Ralph Mountagu, and his successor. The district was quite as thickly wooded in the time of the former lords: woods, streams, and undulating meadows on all sides made the mansion a happy refuge to one in need of repose. Fuller naturally appreciated a spot which, besides being in his native air, restored him to his “former self.” He had, we may be sure, gone thither with the Hebrew prophet's ardent longing for rest, and with the thought of our Christian poet:—

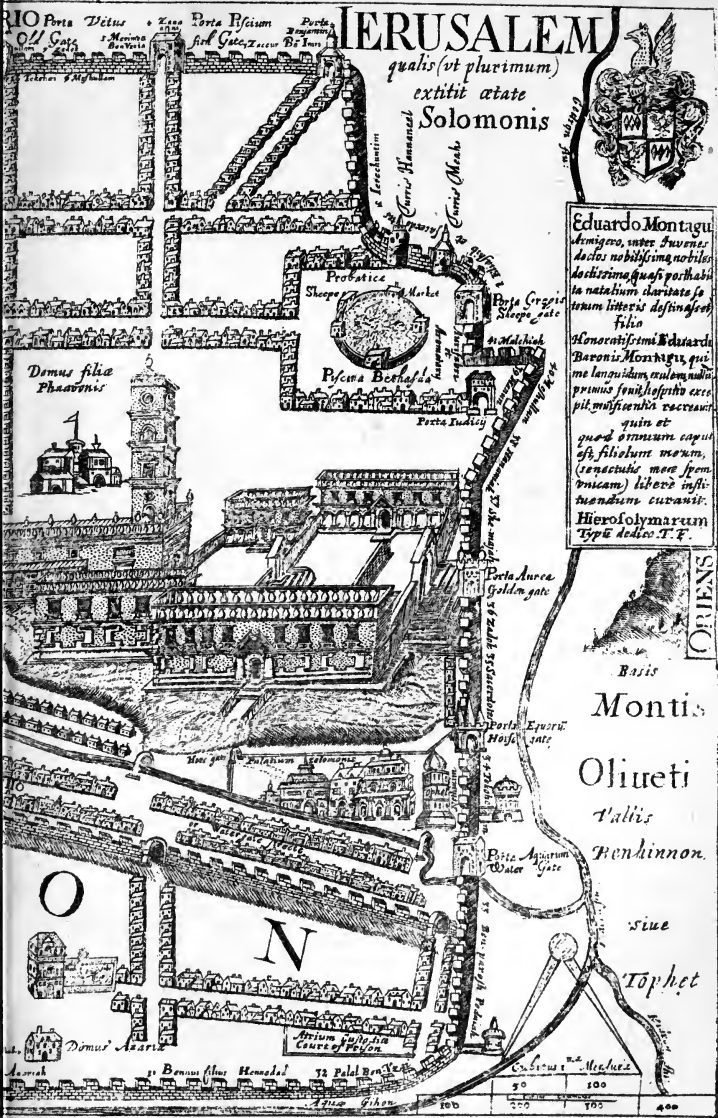
¹ “Inter Juvenes doctos nobilissimo, nobiles doctissimo.” “Reader, a word, by the way, of the word *nobilis*, which soundeth high in English ears, where barons' youngest children are the lowest step of nobility; while *nobilis* from the pen of a foreigner generally importeth no more than an ordinary-gentleman. It is not long since my weakness was employed to draw up in Latin a testimonial for a high German, who indeed was of honourable extraction; and according to direction I was advised to style him *Generosiss-*

simum ac nobilissimum. For *generosus* (which runneth so low in England), in Saxony doth carry it clear as the more honourable epithet. Thus words, like counters, stand for more or less according to custom.” (*Worthies* [1661], § Warwickshire, p. 129.)

² Qui me languidum, exulem, nullum, primus fouit, hospitio excepit, munificentia recreauit, quin et quod omnium caput est, filiolum meum (senectutis meae spem vnicam) liberè instituendum curauit.” (*Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, bk. ii. 311.)







IERUSALEM

qualis (ut plurimum)
extitit aetate
Solomonis



Eduardo Montagu
*idemque, inter Juvenas
 doctos nobilissimam nobilissimam
 doctissimam quasi portuabit
 la natalium claritate so
 ritum litteris destinatus*
 filio
 Honoratissimi Eduarda
 Baronis Montagu, qui
 me languidus exalga nulli
 primus sensu, hostis exte
 pit, multitudine recreavit
 quiri et
 quod omnium caput
 est, filium usum,
 (restituere non spon
 ducam) libere insti
 tuendum curavit.
 Hierosolymarum
 Typo dedito T. F.

ORIENS
 Basis
 Montis
 Oliveti
 Vallis
 Benhinnon.
 sive
 Tophet

RIO Porta Vitae
 Porta Sion
 Porta Augusta

Porta Pisanorum
 Porta Sion
 Porta Augusta

Porta Sion
 Porta Augusta

Domus filia
 Pharaonis



Probatice
 Sheep
 Market

Rivus Bethsaida

Porta Sion
 Porta Augusta

Porta Sion
 Porta Augusta

Porta Aurea
 Golden Gate

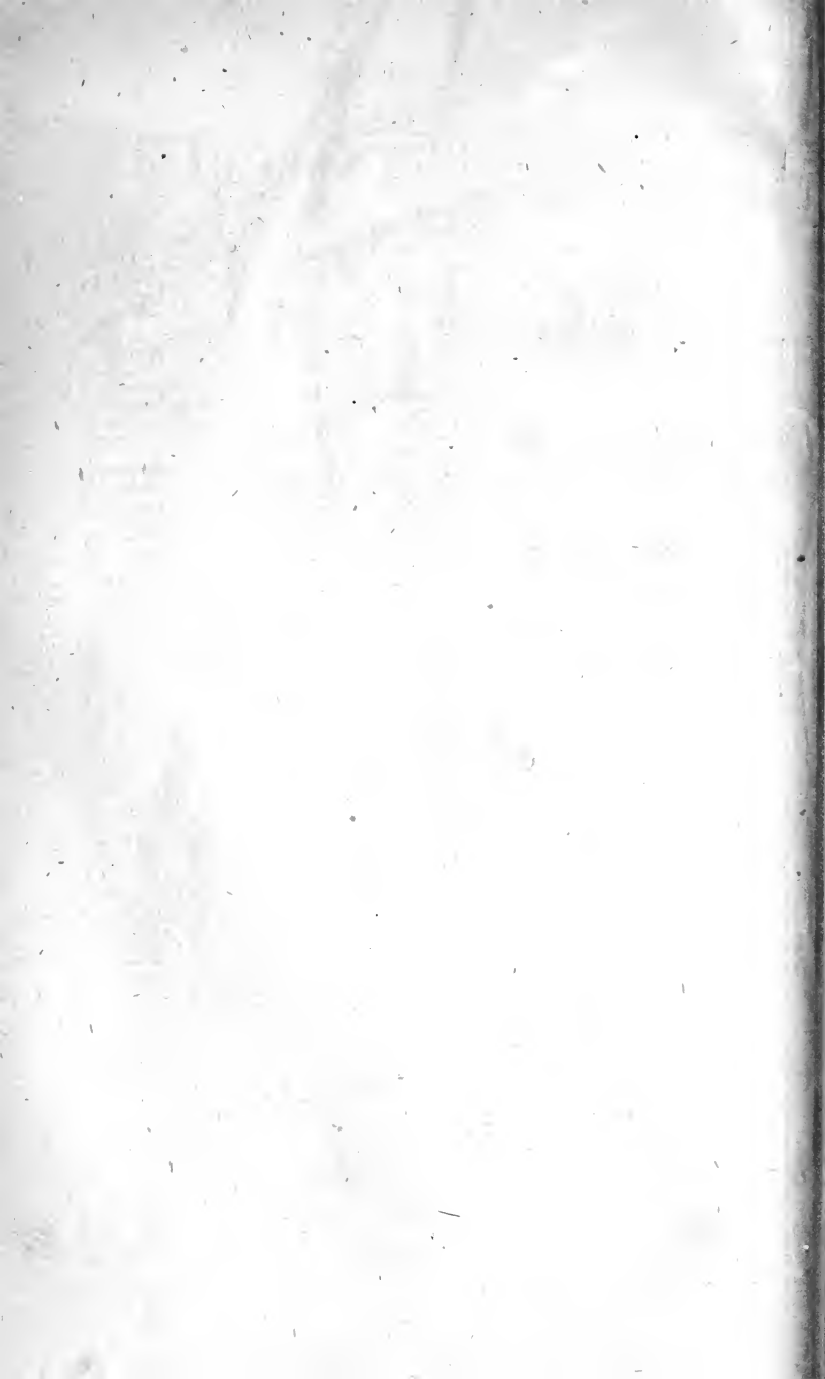
Porta Sion
 Porta Augusta

Porta Sion
 Porta Augusta

Domus Astarte

Atrium Sacerdotum
 Court of Priests

Porta Sion
 Porta Augusta



“Far from the world, O Lord, I flee,
 From strife and tumult far;
 From scenes where Satan wages still
 His most successful war.
 The calm retreat, the silent shade,
 With prayer and praise agree,
 And seem by Thy sweet bounty made
 For those who follow Thee.”

The old home of the Mountagus was much smaller than the present mansion, which is arranged in the French manner. The ancient portion of the edifice is, however, readily distinguished. The house contains many portraits of the Mountagus who were Fuller's contemporaries; and over two of the fireplaces in the older part of the building the original inscriptions remain: “Mille Dovlevrs pour ung plesure;” “Ne sis Argus foris et domi talpa.”

Boughton Park now extends up to the village of Weekley, which is about a mile distant from the house. The position of the village is partly indicated by its name, meaning the village in the meadows. Weekley has reason to be grateful to the Mountagus: they gave it a comfortable hospital-house, which was endowed with an orchard, a garden, &c., now worth about £150 per annum, for the support of a master and six or seven brethren. “Hither may those who have been tossed upon the ocean of life, flee as unto a harbour of peace, and while they quietly contemplate the days that are passed, await with grateful resignation the summons of their God.”¹ The old almshouse is still standing, and contains, with the Mountagu arms, the following inscriptions: “Tempora labuntur tacitisq. senescimus annis;” “What . thou . doest . do . yt . in . fayth.” There are other houses in the village of the same ancient appearance, externally. The church, which is situated between the village and the park, is an ancient edifice, with a broach-spire, and is dedicated to St. Mary. The parish register contains the baptisms, marriages, and deaths of many of the Mountagus. Here also are numerous tombs of the same family, which are well cared for by its present head, who, moreover, has done much to restore to the churches on his estate the real beauty of holiness. The Lord Chief Justice, who found at his hospital-hall at Boughton that contentment which Westminster Hall did not afford him, lies among his descendants under a stately tomb, on which he is represented in his judicial robes. The elaborate memorial of the first baron mentions all his family,

¹ Heath's Sermon, 1814, on the Anniversary Account Day of Latham's Hospital at Oundle.

and contains one of the mottoes of the house, *Æquitas actionum regula*.

The list of incumbents of Weekley, in Brydges' *Northamptonshire*, extends no further than 1572; but he speaks of a Mr. Joseph Bentham as ejected in the commotions, but afterwards restored. One John Lyon signs the parish register as "Minister" in 1646; and John Ekins in 1652. Fuller, complying as far as possible with the law, may occasionally have preached in the little church. These ministers were, of course, under the protection of Lord Mountagu, lord of the manor.

Fuller's acquaintance with the minister of the adjoining parish of Warkton may now have been made. He makes mention of a "*Mr. Nicholas Estwich*, Parson of Warkton, in Northamptonshire," as still (1655) alive. He was, says Fuller, one of the "Worthies" of Christ's College, Cambridge; "a solid divine and a great advancer of my *Church-History*: by me," adds Fuller, he "must not be forgotten." He is elsewhere mentioned as always cheerful without the least levity, and grave without any moroseness. After preaching at Warkton for forty years, "less than a Deacon in his humility, and more than an Archbishop in his own contentment," he died suddenly in 1657, and was buried in the chancel of his church.¹ Warkton Church also contains monuments commemorating the Mountagu family. The living was in their gift, the parish forming part of their patrimony.

During the time of Fuller's visit, Lord Mountagu was probably not continually resident at his mansion, for early in the year he had been nominated, with the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, a commissioner on the part of the Lords to receive the King's person from the Scotch, and for that purpose they set out from London (13th January) with the cart-loads of silver which had been voted as due. The commissioners brought the King to Holmby (or Holdenby) House, in Northamptonshire,² arriving there with a cavalcade of country gentry on the 16th February.³ On this occasion thousands of persons thronged the roads and made acclaims to the King. It was perhaps the frequent occur-

¹ *Camb. Hist.* § vi. ¶ 9, p. 93; *Worthies*, § Northamptonshire, p. 291. The Earl of Rutland gave him preferment to Botsforth.

² Of the Puritan Mr. Dodd, who died 1647, Fuller says: "Being at Holdenbie, and invited by an honourable person to see that stately house built by Sir Christopher Hatton (the masterpiece of English architecture in that age), he desired to be

excused, and to sit still looking on a flower which he had in his hand. 'In this flower' (saith he) 'I can see more of God than in all the beautiful buildings in the world.' And at this day [1655], as his flower is long since withered, that magnificent pile (that fair flower of art) is altogether blasted and destroyed." (*Ch.-Hist.* xi. 220.)

³ Rushworth, vi. 396—398.

rence of such scenes as this that caused Fuller to write of the King, about that time, that he daily "grew greater in men's hearts, pregnant with the love and affection of his subjects."¹ Many persons resorted to Holmby to be touched for the King's evil. During the monarch's four months' stay at the mansion he passed his time in study, hawking, &c., with occasional visits to Lord Spencer's house at Althorp, for games at bowls. Our Fuller was thus again in the neighbourhood of his Sovereign; but there is no record of his ever having resorted to Holmby. His patron, Lord Mountagu, was however in close attendance on the King, whom he, with his fellow-commissioners, treated with respect. They chose the King's household with deference to his wishes, and the commissioners themselves were not personally obnoxious. Upon the King's arrival he made a request (which had before been refused) for the attendance of two or more of his chaplains "for the exercise of his conscience and the assistance of his judgment in deciding upon the present differences respecting religion." In the list of names which the King furnished was Dr. Sheldon and "Doctor Fuller;" but the royal wishes in this respect were not acceded to. This Dr. Fuller was the Dean of Ely, the charges against whom at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, having made him very obnoxious to the Parliament.² Dean Fuller was then in London, armed with Fairfax's pass, and busy with his composition. On June 4th, Cornet Joyce relieved the commissioners of their royal charge at Holmby. Lord Mountagu is the author of an entertaining narrative of the circumstance.

But although Lord Mountagu was thus absent from Boughton House, his three children, Edward, Ralph, and Anne, were perhaps there. The first was about the age of Fuller's motherless child, the second being younger. All three became patrons of Fuller's works. Their mother was, perhaps, then dead; but Lord Mountagu's sister, Frances Countess of Rutland, was making the house her residence. Her old home was then a safer retreat than Belvoir Castle, the home of her husband the Earl; the latter having been early garrisoned for the Parliament, by whose order it was demolished at the close of the war. The Earl had only recently been by the Parliament appointed Chief Justice in Eyre of all his Majesty's forests and chases beyond

¹ *Good Thoughts: Med. on the Times*, xii. 63.

² *The Petition and Articles Exhibited in Parliament against him, and his curate, Hutton, 1641* (in my possession), describes him as "a Popish Innovator, broaching many pernicious and dangerous

Doctrines; employeth to officiate for him men scandalous in life; and by a selected vestry fit for his turne, doth grievously oppress the said Parishioners." One of the articles against him concerned his publishing "the new canons with the oath."

Trent. We are told that he had "the good conduct, in the course of our unhappy civil wars, to disengage himself from the extravagancies of those times, though he sat in the House of Peers at Westminster."¹ He excuses himself, for instance, in November 1643, from being made one of the Keepers of the Great Seal, "alleging himself not so well read in law as might qualify him for such a task."²

From the remark made by Lilly the astrologer (quoted at page 272) we gather that Fuller was well known to the Countess during the abode of each of them in London: their intercourse, indeed, did not end for many years. The lady possessed much of her father's disposition, for during the troubles she befriended other Royalist clergymen besides Fuller. The most noteworthy case is that of Dr. THOMAS MORTON, the venerable Bishop of Durham, who, as being also an intimate friend of Fuller himself, claims notice here. Our author records that "in the late Long Parliament the displeasure of the House of Commons fell heavy upon him, partly for subscribing the Bishops' Protestation for their votes in Parliament, partly for refusing to resign the seal of his bishopric, and baptizing a daughter of John Earl of Rutland with the sign of the cross; two faults which, compounded together, in the judgment of honest and wise men, amounted to a *high innocence*." The infant alluded to was one of the numerous daughters of Frances Mountagu. Morton was imprisoned for six months. Returning to Durham House, he there remained till he was ejected by the soldiers who came to garrison it just before the death of the King. Being now "importuned by his honourable friends, the Earl and Countess of Rutland, he became part of their care and family at Exeter House for some short time." Fuller continues: "He solemnly proffered unto me (pardon me reader, if I desire politicly to twist my own with his memory, that they may both survive together) in these sad times to maintain me to live with him; which courteous offer, as I could not conveniently accept, I did thankfully refuse. Many of the nobility deservedly honoured him, though none more than John Earl of Rutland, to whose kinsman, Roger Earl of Rutland, he formerly had been chaplain."³ Morton, whom Fuller further describes as a great lover of learned men, dead or alive, had befriended the learned Casaubon, upon whose death he erected the tomb in Westminster Abbey. The aged Bishop died in 1659, at Easton Maudit, in Northamptonshire, at the house of his patron, Sir H. Yel-

¹ Collins, i. 471.

² Rushworth, iv. 342.

³ *Worthies*, § York, 229; Lloyd's *Memoires*.

verton; and he lies buried within the altar rails of the village church,—a more unpretending grave than that in his own cathedral, the "English Zion." It is said that Morton refused many offers to take up his abode in other noble families, preferring, like many clergymen, to obtain his living by teaching; and he was acting as tutor to Sir Christopher Yelverton when he died. This gentleman, who was M.P. for Bossiney, was once travelling towards London, when he overtook Morton, whom he knew not, but fell into discourse with him. After a while he asked Morton who he was. The Bishop knew his interlocutor, and replied, "I am that old man, the Bishop of Durham, notwithstanding all your votes." "Whereupon Sir Christopher asked him where he was going. 'To London,' replied the good old Bishop, 'to live a little while and then die.' On this Sir Christopher entered into further discourse with him, and took him home to his house at Easton Maudit."

There are some passages in Fuller's *Church-History* and *Worthies*, which are given on the authority of Morton. He is also alluded to in the *Appeal*, where Fuller says: "If my omission of his book [in defence of rites, &c., in the Church] hath offended Bishop Morton, my *asking* will be *having* the pardon of so vivacious a piety, who, being past the age of a man, now [1659] leads the life of an angel."¹ His liberality is acknowledged by Izaak Walton. The Long Parliament voted the Bishop £800 per annum in 1646, but the source whence this money was to be obtained not being stated, it was never paid. "However, this good bishop got a thousand pounds out of Goldsmiths'-Hall."

In his Northamptonshire retreat Fuller's industrious pen was employed in investigating the cause and the cure of his mental depression. Instead of giving way to the gloomy feelings which were engendered by his "broken spirit," he made an analysis of them with a view to their remedy. This occupation kept his faculties from passively brooding over the subjects that distressed him, and the process (as in the case of Robert Burton and his famous book) brought about an amelioration in his condition. The result of his thoughts was published in another little work, which was issued a few months later in London, alliteratively entitled *The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience*, 1647, and it forms the second or third volume of the series which he had projected with a beneficial aim. One of Fuller's critics, in reference to the pleasing scenery around Boughton and to this work, observes: "Some of

¹ Pt. i. 333.

his most touching and beautiful utterances seem to owe much of their charming power to his own happy sense of harmony between the beauty of nature and the loveliness of grace. . . . Surrounded by the quiet joys of an unfolding creation, he looks as if he could feel nothing but love for his bitterest foes; and now he murmurs forth his devout thoughts, the very thoughts which he bequeaths to us for the 'cure of the wounded conscience.'"¹

The work is thus gracefully dedicated to the Countess of Rutland: "Madam, By the judicial law of the Jews; if a servant had children by a wife which was given him by his master, though he himself went forth free in the seventh year, yet his children did remain with his master, as the proper goods of his possession. I ever have been, and shall be a servant to that Noble Family whence your Honour is extracted. And of late in that house I have been wedded to the pleasant embraces of a private life, the fittest Wife and meekest helper that can be provided for a student in troublesome times: and the same hath been bestowed upon me by the bounty of your noble brother Edward Lord Montague: wherefore, what issue soever shall result from my mind, by his means most happily married to a retired life, must of due redound to his honour as the sole proprietary of my pains during my present condition. Now this book is my eldest offspring, which had it been a son, (I mean, had it been a work of masculine beauty and bigness,) it should have waited as a Page in dedication to his Honour. But finding it to be of the weaker sex, little in strength and low in stature, may it be admitted (Madam) to attend on your ladyship, his honour's sister. I need not [re-]mind your ladyship how God hath measured outward happiness unto you by the cubit of the sanctuary—of the largest size, so that one would be posed to wish more than what your ladyship doth enjoy. My prayer to God shall be, that shining as a pearl of grace here, you may shine as a star in glory hereafter."

This epistle is dated from Boughton, January 25th, 1646-7. In the following month (18th) Williams entered the book at Stationers' Hall, it having been perused and licensed by Herle. It was published soon after the end of March. On account of the utility of this little work, and the tender skill with which the author deals with the subject, it has always been one of Fuller's most popular books; and it has accordingly been frequently reprinted since his time.

In Fuller's address to the Christian reader of his treatise,

¹ *Homes of Old English Writers*, p. 158.

he says that as it was unsuitable to wear gaudy clothes at a funeral, he had "in this sad subject" endeavoured "to decline all light and luxurious expressions." A sustained grave tone accordingly characterises his discussion of the subject, which seems to have been in entire harmony with his then feelings. In the fourth dialogue, "The great Torment of a Wounded Conscience proved by Reasons and Examples," there is an allusion to the absence of mirth in such as were thus afflicted. Timotheus remarks that "merry company should do much to refresh the wounded spirit;" to whom Philologus (Fuller) answers: "Alas! a man shall no longer be welcome in merry company than he is able to sing his part in their jovial consort. . . . When a knot of bad good-fellows perceive one of their society dogged with God's terrors at his heels, they will be shut of him as soon as they can, preferring his room and declining his company lest his sadness prove infectious to others."¹

There are twenty-one separate dialogues, admirably constructed and connected together. They contain many beautiful and striking passages, as in the well-known concluding paragraph. In the dialogue already quoted, he thus examples Adam as having a wounded conscience: "When Adam had eaten the forbidden fruit, he tarried a time in Paradise, but took no contentment therein. The sun did shine as bright, the rivers ran as clear as ever before, birds sang as sweetly, beasts played as pleasantly, flowers smelt as fragrant, herbs grew as fresh, fruits flourisht as fair, no punttilio of pleasure was either altered or abated. The objects were the same, but Adam's eyes were otherwise; his nakedness stood in his light; a thorn of guiltiness grew in his heart before any thistles sprang out of the ground; which made him not to seek for the fairest fruits to fill his hunger, but the biggest leaves to cover his nakedness. Thus a wounded conscience is able to unparadise Paradise itself."²

Again: in the dialogue on Signs of Sincerity in Repentance,

¹ The nearest approach to one of his "merry tales" is the following, alluding to the oaths of "our roaring boys:" "I read in Theodores of the ancient Donatists that they were so ambitious of martyrdom (as they accounted it), that many of them, meeting with a young gentleman, requested of him that he would be pleased to kill them. He, to confute their folly, condescended to their desire on condition that first they would be contented to be all fast bound; which being

done, accordingly he took order that they were all soundly whipt, but saved their lives. In application: when I hear such riotous youths wish that God would damn or confound them, I hope God will be more merciful than to take them at their words and to grant them their wish; only I heartily desire that He would be pleased sharply to scourge them and soundly to lash them with the frights and terrors of a wounded conscience." (Page 32.) ² Page 27.

he says: "As I will not bow to flatter any, so I will fall down, as far as truth will give me leave, to reach comfort to the humble to whom it is due. Know to thy further consolation that where some of these signs truly are, there are more, yea, all of them, though not so visible and conspicuous, but in a dimmer and darker degree. When we behold violets and primroses fairly to flourish, we conclude the dead of the winter is past, though as yet no roses or July flowers appear, which, long after, lie hid in their leaves, or lurk in their roots, but in due time will discover themselves. If some of these signs be above ground in thy sight, others are underground in thy heart; and though the former started first, the other will follow in order; it being plain that thou art passed from death unto life by this hopeful and happy spring of some signs in thy heart."¹

Fuller enters into the discussion of his subject with all the tenderness and persuasive admonition of another *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως* (Acts iv. 36). He urges the wounded in conscience, seeking comfort, to follow these directions: "(1) Constantly pray to God that in His due time He would speak peace unto thee. (2) Be diligent in reading the Word of God. (3) Avoid solitariness, and associate thyself with pious and godly company. (4) Be industrious in thy calling." Fuller's sympathy² in the sufferings of those whom he thus endeavoured to comfort, calls to mind what he has said of Perkins, viz. that he was "an excellent chirurgeon at jointing of a broken soul, and at stating of a doubting conscience."³

At the close of the little book is "The conclusion of the Author to the Reader:" "And now God knows how soon it may be said unto me, 'Physician, heal thyself,' and how quickly I shall stand in need of these counsels which I have prescribed to others. Herein I say with Eli to Samuel, 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good;' with David to Zadock, 'Behold here I am, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him;' with the disciples to Paul, 'The will of the Lord be done.' But oh! how easy it is for the mouth to pronounce, or

¹ Pages 71, 72.

² "Such who conceive it no great pain for another to be vexed but one whole year with a wounded conscience, would count six months of that sorrow too much for themselves, if they soundly felt it." Fuller's *Life of Junius* (§ 14): *Abel Redivivus*.

³ *Holy State*, p. 82. Fuller adds: "And sure in Case-divinity Protestants are defective. For, save that a Smith or two of late have built them forges and set up

shop, we go down to our enemies to sharpen all our instruments, and are beholden to them for offensive and defensive weapons in cases of conscience." A similar passage will be found in Jeremy Taylor's great work *Ductor Dubitantium*, written (as he says) because his countrymen were so almost wholly unprovided with casuistical treatises that they were "forced to go down to the forges of the Philistines to sharpen every man his share and his coulter, his axe and his mattock."

the hand to subscribe these words! But how hard, yea, without God's grace, how impossible, for the heart to submit thereunto! Only hereof I am confident—that the making of this treatise shall no ways cause or hasten a wounded conscience in me, but rather on the contrary (especially if as it is written *by* me, it were written *in* me) either prevent it that it come not at all, or defer it that it come not so soon, or lighten it that it fall not so heavy, or shorten it that it last not so long. And if God shall be pleased hereafter to write ‘bitter things against me,’ who have here written the sweetest comforts I could for others, let none insult on my sorrows; but whilst my wounded conscience shall lie like the cripple, at the porch of the temple, may such as pass by be pleased to pity me, and permit this book to beg in my behalf the charitable prayers of well-disposed people, till divine providence shall send some Peter, some pious minister, perfectly to restore my maimed soul to her former soundness. Amen.”

Our fugitive clergyman could not altogether separate his private griefs from the more important civil troubles. Hence we find him busy compiling for his usual stationer¹ a second of his devotional manuals. This work, entitled *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, was published in 1647, for the benefit of those who most keenly suffered from the distractions of the time. Like his work on the conscience, it is remarkable for its sedateness; and it is also tinged with the melancholy of the writer. There is indeed nothing in it to show that the writer was one who loved mirth, or who could excite it in others. The manual is not inscribed to any patron: “Dedications,” the author observes, “begin now-a-days to grow out of fashion.” He had, however, a few pages for “the Christian Reader,” in which he laments over the “worse times” which form his gloomy subject. “How many thousands know as little why the sword was drawn, as when it will be sheathed. Indeed (thanks be to God) we have no more *house*-burnings, but many *heart*-burnings; and though *outward* bleeding be stanchèd, it is to be feared that the broken vein bleeds *inwards*, which is more dangerous.” Under such a state of things he perceived that controversial writing (sounding somewhat of drums and trumpets), did but make the wound the wider. “Meditations are like the minstrel the prophet called for (2 Kings iii. 15), to pacify his mind discomposed with passion.” On this account he “adventures on this treatise” as the most innocent and inoffensive manner of writing.

Here again he brings up his long-promised *Church-History*,

¹ This book is not registered at Stationers' Hall.

which his admirers often put him in mind of: "I confess a volume of another subject, and larger size, is expected from me." He craves time for the fulfilment of his project, desiring that such small treatises as he might meanwhile publish might be accepted as "interest or consideration money" until, God willing, he should be enabled to "discharge the whole debt."

The "Thoughts," treated exactly as in the former manual, consists of Personal Meditations, Scriptural Observations, Meditations on the Times, and on all kinds of Prayers, and Occasional Meditations. There being twenty of each, the work forms a "century."

As before, one's interest centres in the author's "Personal Meditations," which now and then reveal his inmost thoughts, and afford further proof of the mental depression under which he lay. "These last five years," he says, "have been a wet and woeful seeds-time to me and many of my afflicted brethren. Little hope have we, as yet, to come again to our own homes; and in a literal sense, now to 'bring our sheaves' which we see others daily carry away on their shoulders."¹ Again: "I have indeavoured in these distemperate times to hold up my spirits and to steer them steadily. A happy peace here was the port whereat I desired to arrive. Now, alas! the storm grows too sturdy for the pilot. Hereafter, all the skill I will use, is no skill at all, but even let my ship sail whither the winds send it. . . . This comforts me, that the most weather-beaten vessel cannot properly be seized on for a wrack which hath any quick cattle remaining therein. My spirits are not as yet forfeited to despair, having one lively spark of hope in my heart, because God is even where He was before."²

Alluding to his efforts to "seek peace and ensue it," he speaks of David, who fasted and prayed for his sick son, that his life might be prolonged; and who on the death of the child comforted himself with the consideration: "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me." And he adds: "Peace did long lie languishing in this land. No small contentment that to my poor power, I have *prayed* and *preached* for the preservation thereof. Seeing since it is departed this supports my soul, I having little hope that peace here should return to me, I have some assurance that I shall go to peace hereafter."³ He forgets not to offer a prayer that God in His due time would send "such a peace in this land as Prince and people may share therein;" and he does not shrink from the bold avowal: "May I die in

¹ viii. p. 19 (orig. ed.).

² xvi. p. 38.

³ xviii. p. 43.

that government, under which I was born, where a Monarch doth command." ¹

As an example of his "Scripture Observations," we may quote a passage entitled *Prayer may Preach*; in which, after instancing our Saviour, who at the grave of Lazarus inserted a passage in His prayer for the sake of those standing round, he adds:—

"When before Sermon I pray for my Sovereign and Master, KING of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith, in all causes and over all persons, &c., some (who omit it themselves) may censure it in me for superfluous. But never more need to teach men the King's title, and their own duty, that the simple may be informed, the forgetful remembered thereof, and that the affectedly ignorant, who will not take advice, may have all excuse taken from them. Wherefore in pouring forth my prayers to God, well may I therein sprinkle some by-drops for the instruction of the people." ²

In the "Meditations on the Times" he freely expresses his views on the course of events, the issue of which he could not foresee. "There was, not long since, a devout, but ignorant Papist dwelling in Spain. He perceived a necessity of his own private prayers to God, besides the Pater-nosters, Ave-Maries, &c., used of course in the Romish Church. But so simple was he, that how to pray he knew not. Only every morning, humbly bending his knees and lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he would deliberately repeat the alphabet. 'And now,' said he, 'O good God, put these letters together to spell syllables, to spell words, to make such sense as may be most to Thy glory and my good.' In these distracted times I know what *generals* to pray for: God's glory, truth and peace, his Majesty's honour, privileges of Parliament, liberty of subjects, &c. But when I descend to *particulars*, when, how, by whom I should desire these things to be effected, I may fall to that poor pious man's A, B, C, D, E, &c." ³

Evidence of the unsettled condition of the country is afforded upon almost every page of the book: "We live in a land and age of dissention. Counties, cities, towns, villages, families, all divided in opinions, in affections." ⁴

Fuller's "Observations on all Kind of Prayers" are very characteristic, and reveal his innate piety and charity. Of *Groans* which never as yet knew their own meaning, he says that God knows the meaning; and that He understood the sense of those *Sighs* which never understood themselves. *Ejaculations* "are short prayers darted up to God on emergent occasions." Their principal use "is against the fiery darts of the devil." "In *Extemporary Prayer*, what men most admire, God least

¹ Page 28.

² i. p. 51.

³ xi. p. 124.

⁴ i. p. 98.

regardeth, namely, the volubility of the tongue." He gives such prayers their full due, and frees them from "a causeless scandal." Elsewhere we give his opinion on *Set Prayers*. He exalts the *Lord's Prayer*, which "in this age we begin to think meanly of." He concludes: "Oh, let us not set several kinds of prayers at variance betwixt themselves, which of them should be most useful, most honourable. All are most excellent at several times. . . . No ordinance so abused as prayer. Prayer hath been set up against preaching, against catechising, against itself. . . . See how St. Paul determines the controversy, *πάση προσευχῇ*, 'with all manner of prayer' (so the Geneva translation) 'and supplication in the spirit.'" ¹

Although in all his literary activity Fuller was incommoded by the want of his books and MSS., he was not neglecting his great work, the *Church-History*, which contains contributions gathered in Northamptonshire at the time, mayhap, of the author's retreat to that county. He may then, for instance, have copied the historical memorandum relating to Lord Chief Justice Mountagu, in the possession of his host. The document which Fuller obtained from one of the Treshams of Geddington (see page 61) was then also obtained.

To the period comprised within this chapter and part of the next (during which Fuller was debarred from preaching), there thus belongs the publication of some of his lesser works, as well as active preparation for his forthcoming greater volumes. He forms another instance of those who in that unsettled age issued thoughtful and profound works, which were as rapidly published as eagerly read. In addition to the literary labours of Fuller already noticed, mention has yet to be made of another huge enterprise. This was the preparation of an English translation of Archbishop Ussher's important *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti, à prima Mundi origine deducti, una cum rerum Asiaticarum et Ægypticarum Chronico à temporis historici principio*, forming a chronological digest of universal ancient history. The first or Latin edition of this learned and long-expected work, Fuller's connection with which has not hitherto been suspected, was not yet actually published, the Old Testament part being issued in 1650, in July of which year the preface is dated, the New Testament portion coming out four years later; but it is without doubt the work which Fuller was busy translating. The evidence is supplied by one of the entries at Stationers' Hall, where under date of 21st August, 1647, the following interesting item stands on record:—

¹ Pages 133—180.

"Mr. Stafford [the publisher]. Entered for his Copie vnder the hands of Mr. Downham [Licenser of Divinity publications] and Mr. Latham war: [-den] The Chronicle of the Bible in 7 Severall Bookes written by James Vshor, Primate &c. Translated out of the Latin by Tho: Ffuller B in D. vi^d [the fee]."

In Fuller's writings there is trace of an intimate connection with Ussher, of whose special studies Fuller was no contemptible disciple. Ussher's correspondence shows that he had been the friend of Dr. Ward. After having been voted out of the Assembly of divines, Ussher had repaired to Oxford, whence, on the decline of the King's cause, he betook himself to Cardiff, finding shelter in the house of the Royalist governor, Sir Timothy Tyrrel, who had married his only daughter. There he prosecuted his labours for six months, one of the works he was engaged with being the *Annales*,—the celebrated work which fixed the chronology as now followed in our Bibles. He here first fixed the dates of the three great epochs of the Deluge, the Exodus of the Israelites, and their return from captivity in the first year of Cyrus. He continued the preparation of the *Annales* when under the roof of the Lady Dowager Stradling, at St. Donate, Glamorganshire. It was in passing to the latter shelter that his valuable collection of books and MSS., the only property saved from the Irish rebellion, were ransacked by the mountaineers, who took from him, as he told his daughter, "all that I have been gathering together above these twenty years . . . for the advancement of learning, and the good of the Church." The neighbouring clergy interested themselves to recover the missing papers, &c., and in two or three months he received back nearly the whole of them (see page 298). After a serious illness Ussher was invited to the house of his kind patroness, the Countess of Peterborough, in London, where he arrived in June, 1646; and early in the following year he was chosen Preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn. It was in London that the most eminent divines were wont to resort to him as to a Father. It was there, too, that our author, his partner in misfortune, again met with the prelate, who gave him valuable assistance in the compilation of the *Church-History*. In the early portion of that work (viz. at the end of the eleventh century) Fuller refers to his "engagement" with Ussher as to the religion of the ancient British, saying, that from him he had "borrowed many a note." Fuller also acknowledges that his "wares" were from the "storehouse of that reverend prelate—the Cape merchant of all learning." He says further: "Clean through this work, in point of chronology, I have with implicit faith followed his computation, setting my *watch* by his *dial*,

knowing his dial to be set by the *sun*. . . . Long may he live for the glory of God and good of His Church. For whereas many learned men, though they be deep abysses of knowledge, yet (like the Caspian Sea, receiving all, and having no outlet) are loth to impart aught to others, this bright sun is as bountiful to deal abroad his beams, as such dark dales as myself are glad and delighted to receive them.”¹ The industrious Archbishop projected a third part of his “Chronicle,” but death interfered with the design.

Fuller seems to have made his translation from the prelate’s manuscript, the original text of the work not having been published until 1650, at least four years after the announcement of Fuller’s translation. The latter, for some reason, was never published under Fuller’s name. It was certainly prepared by our industrious author, for Downam’s imprimatur implies that he had read the translation in MS., as indeed he was bound both by his office and his desire to conciliate a trenchant letter-writer (see p. 389). Some explanation as to the suppression of Fuller’s name, if not of the translation itself, may be due to his change of “Stationer,” a change which seems to have been in every respect unsatisfactory, since it brought our accomplished author in connection with some works (as *Abel Redevivus*, *Triana*, and *Antheologia*), from which his literary reputation and his character alike suffered.² The actual and authorised English edition came out, under Ussher’s name *only*, in 1658, a few years after the primate’s death, being entitled: *The Annals of the World. Deduced from the Origin of Time, and continued to . . . the Destruction of the Temple. . . . Containing the Historie of the Old and New Testament, with that of the Machabees. London, Printed by E. Tyler, for J. Crook, at the sign of the Ship, in S. Pauls Churchyard, and for G. Bedell, at the Middle-Temple-gate, in Fleet-street, 1658.*³

¹ Bk. ii. 150. Parr’s *Life of Ussher*, pp. 57—64.

² Upon the Registers of Stationers’ Hall there are, from this date (1647), many more works, &c. connected with Fuller, entered by Stafford than by Williams, who only enters from the same date *The Pisgah*, *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, *Ch.-History* (1654), and *Appeal*. Of the eight works, &c. entered by Stafford, two (*Triana* and *Antheologia*) are doubtful, if not spurious; the *Church-History*, though entered by him so early as 1652, was re-entered by *Williams* in the year before it was published. Stafford also enters, in 1654, the sermon on the recovery of

D’Anvers, which, however, was actually published the next year by his rival Williams. The portrait of Fuller is entered by Stafford. The only two satisfactory works published by Stafford, entered by him in 1656, are two small volumes of our author’s sermons.

³ The engraved title-page is briefer: *The Annals of the Old and New Testament, with the Synchronismus of Heathen Story to the Destruction of Hierusalem by the Romanes*. Parr mentions the English translation in the list of the Primate’s works, but does not name the translator; nor is the information found in the modern notices of the prelate.

Upon its first publication the *Annales* became suddenly very popular, being received with great approbation throughout Europe. It is not surprising that an English edition should have been ventured in an age and country where everything that subserved the study of the Holy Scripture commanded public attention. The Latin edition was several times reprinted on the Continent. The writer possesses the Parisian edition of 1673, and has also seen Genevese editions.

Fuller's name is nowhere mentioned as connected with the translation; and in so large a work, in which, as an examination shows, many hands were employed, it is difficult to decide with certainty which portion is his. The difficulty is increased by a certain change of style which necessarily belongs to a translated work. The book contains (especially in the middle and last portion) many racy renderings into the vernacular, reminding one of the translations of old Philemon Holland. The high estimation in which Fuller held Ussher's chronological works explains his own correctness in dates, &c.





CHAPTER XIV.

WANDERING DIVINE. (1647-49.)

WANDERING SCHOLARS, ETC., AND THEIR BENEFACTORS.—FULLER'S RELATIONS WITH THE D'ANVERS FAMILY.—LECTURER AT ST. CLEMENT'S, EASTCHEAP, ETC.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH A MEMORY-MOUNTEBANK.—THE "METHOD" OF HIS MEMORY.—PROHIBITED FROM PREACHING.—RE-APPEARANCE OF THE CLERGY IN LONDON: DEAN FULLER, ETC.—FULLER'S LITERARY OCCUPATION.—PUBLISHES THREE SERMONS: (1) "SERMON OF ASSURANCE."—HIS RELATION TO THE GOVERNMENT.—(2) "SERMON OF CONTENTMENT."—HIS PULPIT WITTICISMS.—THE KING'S EXECUTION AND BURIAL.—FULLER'S GRIEF: PREACHES (3) "THE JUST MAN'S FUNERAL" AT CHELSEA.—HIS PERSECUTION. DEATH OF DR. HOLDSWORTH: HIS "VALLEY OF VISION" AND FULLER.

"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, 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 jostled out to make room for men's sermons, which are but parcel-gilt at the best." (*Mixt Contemplations*, 1660, No. xxxiv. pt. i.)

TO this juncture in the history of our hero belongs the wandering life which he has himself commemorated. After leaving Boughton, if not before that time, Fuller lived upon the hospitality of the numerous patrons of the ejected clergy, now largely devoting himself, it may be, to "preaching from house to house," and now seeking for employment outside his profession. It was of his own condition at this time that he wrote: "How do many, exiles in their own country, subsist now-a-days of nothing; and wandering in a wilderness of want (except they have manna miraculously from heaven), they have no meat on earth from their own means! At what ordinary, or rather extraordinary, do they diet, that for all this have cheerful faces, light hearts, and merry countenances? Surely some secret comfort supports their souls. Such never desire but to make one meal all the days of their lives on the 'continual feast' of a good conscience

(Prov. xv. 15)."¹ Our author has another reminiscence of these grievous times, when, alluding to a statute, A.D. 1388, against wandering scholars, he said: "Indeed, I have ever beheld begging scholars as the most improper objects of charity; who must be vicious, or else cannot be necessitous to a mendicant condition. *But since*, I have revoked my opinion, the calamities of this age falling so heavily on scholars that I am converted into a charitable conceit of such who beg the charity of others."²

There is no record as to whose guest Fuller was when he wandered from place to place; but it seems certain that he shared in the liberal bounty of the benefactors of the distressed clergy, many of whom he mentions with gratitude. Lord Mountagu, as Fuller has already recorded, was the *first* to relieve his necessities. Many others followed.

Mr. THOMAS RICH, of Sunning, Berks, is thus addressed by Fuller in 1655: "You are, sir, the Entertainer-general of all good men. Many a poor minister will never be wholly sequestered, whilst you are living, whose charity is like to the wind which cannot be seen, but may be felt."³ Fuller's patron, an exceedingly corpulent man like himself, was the son of an Alderman of Gloucester who had made a large fortune in the Turkey trade. He was the intimate friend of Bishop Brounrig, and one of his executors. Besides contributing liberally to the poor clergy, he furnished Prince Charles with funds: and he was made a baronet at the Restoration.

In the dedication of *Ruth* to Lady ANNE ARCHER in 1654, Fuller quotes the verse "none communicated with me concerning giving and receiving, but ye only" (Phil. iv. 15), and adds: "Should I apply the same in relation of myself to your Ladyship, I should be injurious to the bounty of many of my worthy benefactors. However, (not exclusively of others, but) eminently I must acknowledge you a grand encourager of my studies."

Fuller commemorates another Mécænas in Mr. THOMAS ADAMS, who in 1632 had founded the Arabic Professorship at Cambridge, and assisted Whelock, its first Professor, to bring out an edition of Bede in Saxon types. To his munificence Fuller alludes in the dedication inscribed to him.⁴ Adams was Lord Mayor of London in 1646. He had, as Fuller says of

¹ *Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Meditations on the Times*, viii. p. 117.

² *Hist. Camb.* § iii. ¶ 54, p. 56.

³ *Ch.-Hist.* iv. 177. The Dedication, which is quite after the writer's manner, is thus prefixed: "Great is the praise S. Paul gives to Gaius, styling him his 'host, and of the whole Church.' Surely the

Church then was very little, or Gaius his house very large. Now hosts commonly are corpulent persons; but Gaius not so; it being then more than suspicious that he was afflicted with a faint and feeble body, as may be collected from the words of S. John (3. 2)."

⁴ Bk. ii. 93.

another, "great length in his extraction, breadth in his estate, and depth in his liberality." Fuller mentions his patron elsewhere as "deservedly commended for his Christian constancy in all conditions;" and as one who had drunk of the bitter waters of Meribah without making a bad face thereat. King Charles borrowed from him no less a sum than £10,000; and Fuller adds that he "was dubbed by King Charles II. at the Hague when sent thither a commissioner for the city of London."¹ His funeral sermon was preached in 1668 by Dr. N. Hardy.

Among others who systematically assisted the clergy was *Dr. H. Hammond*, the commentator ("well versed in all modern pamphlets touching Church discipline"), whom Fuller describes as "the tutelar angel to keep many a poor Royalist from famishing; it being verily believed that he yearly gave away more than £200." Hammond's biographer records that the catalogue of this very benevolent clergyman "had an especial place for sequestered divines, their wives and orphans, for young students in the universities, and also those divines that were abroad in banishment."²—With him, *Dr. Jeremy Taylor* was associated in dispensing to the clergy very much of the charity which was privately collected; both divines being thus perfectly trusted.—Fuller has also left it on record that in *Thomas Palmer*, (the sequestered minister of St. Bride's, Fleet Street,) he had found more charity than in many who enjoyed other men's sequestrations.³—Another patron of the ejected clergy was Fuller's friend *Dr. Scarborough*, who, after leaving Oxford in 1646, practised in London, where his liberal table was "always accessible to all learned men, but more particularly to the distressed Royalists, and yet more particularly to the scholars ejected out of either of the universities."⁴—Of *Dr. John Warner*, Bishop of Rochester, Fuller says: "This is he, of whose bounty many distressed souls have since tasted, whose reward no doubt is laid up for him in another world."⁵ It was to Warner's charity and nobleness that Jeremy Taylor and his family were deeply indebted.—Besides the concealed charities of *John Crane*, a Cambridgeshire worthy, his hand, says Fuller, was "always open to all the distressed Royalists." He bequeathed £200 each to Bishops Wrenn and Brounrig.—Fuller likewise records the benevolence of Milton's college tutor, *William Chappell*, Bishop of Cork and Ross, who, fleeing from the Irish rebellion, "rather exchanged than eased his condition, such the woeful-

¹ *Hist. Camb.* § viii. ¶ 23; *Worthies*, § Shropshire, p. 10.

² *Worthies*, § Surrey, p. 86; *Fell's Life of Hammond*.

³ *Hist. Camb.* § vii. ¶ 15; *Worthies*, § Westminster, p. 244.

⁴ *Pope's Life of Ward*, iii.

⁵ *Ch.-Hist.* xi. p. 195.

ness of our civil wars. He died anno 1649, and parted his estate almost equally betwixt his own kindred and distressed ministers; his charity not impairing his duty, and his duty not prejudicing his charity."¹—Fuller somewhere speaks of the charity of *Lord Scudamore* to the distressed clergy, whom he bountifully relieved. Among the objects of his benevolence were Dr. Wrenn, Dr. Bramhall, Dean Fuller, &c.²—Fuller's associate, *Dr. Warmistry*, the Dean of Worcester, on the decline of the Royal cause, lived mostly in London, distributing to the clergy alms obtained from generous Royalists. A Wood says that he was chief confessor to loyal martyrs, a constant and indefatigable visitor and comforter of sick and distressed Cavaliers. Lloyd adds that he "outdid the faction at their own bow,—preaching."³ Warmistry was reinstated in his deanery, and died 1665.

It seems to have been at this time of Fuller's poverty and distress that he met with another patron whose generous bounty for several years contributed to counterbalance his great losses. This benefactor was SIR JOHN D'ANVERS, whose name was by Royalist writers afterwards surrounded with a halo of infamy on account of his connection with the Regicides. Fuller had probably been long acquainted with the family, which was settled in his native county. Sir John afterwards resided at West or Bishop's Lavington, holding a considerable portion of his large property thereabouts (derived from his second wife Elizabeth,⁴ grand-daughter "*et ex asse haeres*" of Sir John Dautesey) under the see of Sarum. But be this as it may, Fuller, about the year 1647, entered into relations with the knight, the particulars of which cannot with certainty be unravelled. If our hero applied to him for assistance on the ground of former acquaintanceship, he found at once both favour and patronage; for D'Anvers and his connections, in the days in which they patronised Episcopacy, belonged to the same ecclesiastical party as Fuller and his associates (i.e. Anti-Laudians); and if Clarendon's view of D'Anvers' character is correct, the connection was one which could not but tickle the knight's vanity, who may have had ulterior objects to serve.

As Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Sir John had been

¹ *Worthies*, § Notts, p. 317.

² See Kennet's *Register*, p. 861.

³ *Athen. Oxon.* iii. 173; Lloyd's *Memoires*, 624; Kennet, 568.

⁴ This lady (whose father, Ambrose Dautesey, died v. p.) died in 1636. The knight's second wife was the Lady Herbert, mother of Lord Herbert, and

of George Herbert. "She was old enough to have been his mother," says Aubrey; adding that Sir John "married her for love of her wit. The Earl of Danby was greatly displeased with him for this marriage." (*Letters from the Bodleian*, p. 354.) The lady died in 1627, Dr. Donne preaching the funeral sermon.

closely connected with Charles when Prince of Wales; and he, moreover, represented the University of Oxford in the Short Parliament, and was one of the "Recruiters" in the Long Parliament, having been elected for Malmesbury. In politics he is classed as a Tolerationist or Independent.

At this period of D'Anvers' public life, Clarendon's scornful sketch of him can scarcely be taken as a delineation of his true character; but it should be read later on, in connection with the event which gave rise to it. A portrait of D'Anvers, which evidently belongs to an earlier period, and which is said to be from one in private hands, is engraved in Thane's *British Autography*. A first sight of it creates a favourable impression, which a more deliberate examination will not dispel. He is pictured as a fair-featured man with eyes somewhat small but intelligent, a well-formed nose slightly pointed, an open forehead, and a round face. His appearance betokens him to have been open-hearted, and one who could enjoy a joke and a hearty laugh; and at the same time as one who might be noted for the predominant exercise of the masculine virtues. Aubrey says that Sir John had in a fair body an harmonical mind. In his youth his complexion was so exceeding beautiful and fine, that Thomas Bond of Ogbourne in Wiltshire (who was his companion in his travels), was wont to say that the people would come after him in the street to admire him.

D'Anvers was a younger son. Sir Charles, his eldest brother, had suffered for his share in the Earl of Essex's Rebellion. His remaining brother, Henry, had been a soldier of distinction, and King James had created him Baron Dantesy. He became Governor of Guernsey, and was made by Charles I. Earl of Danby. He died in 1643, "full of honour, wounds, and days." By his will, made 1639, he bequeathed his great estates to his "hopeful nephew" Henry,¹ Sir John's eldest surviving son, whom Fuller came to know very intimately. The knight had also two daughters. One, Anne, was a patroness of Fuller, who held her in as high regard as her brother; the other, Elizabeth, was married in 1648 to Robert Villiers, a son of Lady Purbeck, but whose father was reputed to be Sir Robert Howard. Villiers assumed the surname of Danvers upon his wife becoming co-heiress to her father.

After leaving his office in the King's household, D'Anvers, on the breaking out of the war, acquired a colonelcy in the army of the Parliament. He stood high in the favour of his party; and the subsequent recurrence of his name in the pro-

¹ *Worthies*, § Wilts, p. 154.

ceedings of the House shows how heartily he had espoused that cause. He was residing at D'Anvers House, Chelsea,¹ when Fuller was intimate with him.

Clarendon's interpretation of the knight's motives would, if true, render his character most despicable. He says that Sir John had been neglected by his brother the Earl, and that he had contracted a vast debt arising out of a vain expense in his way of living, a debt which he knew not how to pay.² His extravagance, according to Aubrey, was for buildings, gardens, &c. He accordingly endeavoured to set aside his brother's will in so far as regarded the Earl's niece, Lady Gargrave, to whom property had been bequeathed. There are notices in Whitelocke of differences in 1646 and 1649, between D'Anvers and this lady, his sister; the case being debated in Parliament on several occasions. In May and June, 1649, the will was declared void; the resolution stating that Sir John had been deprived of the estate "for his affection and adhering to the Parliament;" and it was referred to a committee to consider how the knight's losses might be repaired.³

The association of Fuller with a man who has been painted by Clarendon, Heath, and Bate in the blackest colours, is exceedingly hard to understand. The knight's real character is perhaps not known. His intimacy with Fuller is one of many instances that might be mentioned to show that the social intercourse of families during the Civil War was not greatly disturbed by political or religious differences; party-feeling being marked by an amount of courteous civility which has been too much overlooked by the writers on that age of dissension. Fuller had certainly a good opinion of his benefactor, and he appreciated the indirect protection which the connection afforded him.

Such, then, was the "worshipful" knight who—to use the words of the grateful Fuller—by a yearly and ample exercise

¹ D'Anvers, it is said, had built this house on the site of that in which Sir Thomas More (who like Fuller "wore a feather in his cap and wagged it too often") had lived; but there is some doubt about it (See *N. and Q.*, 2nd Series, iii. 317, 495.) Aubrey, who by his own account was very familiar with "my cos." Sir John, says that there the knight had enjoyed the friendship of Bacon; and we are told that the philosopher brought to the knight his *Hist. Henry VII.* "to desire his opinion of it before 'twas printed. Qd. Sir John,

'Your lordship knows that I am no scholar.' "'Tis no matter,' says my lord; 'I know what a scholar can say; I would know what you can say.' Sir John read it, and gave his opinion what he misliked (which I am sorry I have forgotten), which my lord acknowledged to be true, and mended it. 'Why,' said he, 'a scholar would never have told me this.'" (*Miscellanies*, p. 222.)

² *Rebellion*, xi. 696. To much the same effect Clarendon speaks of Lord Kimbolton.

³ *Memorials*, June 14, 1649, &c.

of his bounty (*annua ac liberali largitione*) raised his fortunes at a time when they were, as he expressively puts it, not only tottering, but utterly prostrate (*non nutantes modo, sed plane jacentes*). These particulars will be found in Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight*,¹ in a joint dedication in or before the year 1650 to HENRY D'ANVERS, son of Sir John; and to a member of the family of St. John.² The patrons are thus united because they had been companions in foreign travel, because they were distantly related, and because (Fuller might have confessed) he wished to kill two birds with one stone. Henry D'Anvers is described by Fuller as being then a young man of excellent parts (*generosae indolis*), the more winning in that he was comely to look upon (*gratioris quod e pulchro corpore*), and as the heir to a most worshipful father.

From the time that Fuller received this practical assistance, we shall find him, for many years, in frequent contact with his patron. Although one (at least) of his sermons (dated 1648) was preached in the knight's "private chapel," he does not seem to have held the relation of *chaplain*; and we must, therefore, regard him as an occasional resident and a constant and very pleasant visitor in D'Anvers' household. There he often preached, dined, and—his gloomy spirits gone—set the table in a roar. Had it been recorded, the conversations of the witty clergyman at the table of his patron would form colloquies as entertaining as those of Erasmus; for it may truly be said of Fuller that he was—

"Formed by his converse happily to steer
From grave to gay."

"How delightful," exclaims one of Fuller's ardent admirers, "must have been the conversation of Fuller, varied as it was with exuberance of knowledge, enlivened with gossiping, chastened by good sense, and sparkling with epigrammatical sharpness of wit, decorated with all its native fantastical embroidery of humorous quaintness! We verily declare for ourselves, that if we had the power of resuscitating an individual from the dead to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation, we do not know anyone on whom our choice would sooner fall

¹ See the engraving of Solomon's Temple, iii. 352.

² *Viz.* FRANCIS DE ST. JOHN. He was the eldest son of Sir Oliver St. John (Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Hampden's solicitor in the Ship-money business, and the introducer of the

Navigation Act, 1652), to whose high legal standing Fuller alludes in his dedication. Fuller expresses the hope that both of his young patrons would light up the renown of their families with a fresh splendour (*qui, uti spero, generis claritatem novo splendore illustrabunt*).

than Fuller."¹ We should hope that Fuller, in his intercourse with this and other families with whom he visited, followed George Herbert's advice, that chaplains are "not to be over submissive and base, but to keep up with the Lord and Lady of the house, and to preserve a boldness with them and all, even so far as reproof to their very face, when occasion calls, but seasonably and discreetly." That Fuller did not regard his position as one of servility is shown by his opinion that "God's prophets are no lumber, but the most profitable stuff wherewith an house can be furnished. Landlords prove no losers by such tenants (though sitting rent-free), whose dwelling with them pays for their dwelling with them."²

Fuller's meditations on the national troubles seem to have caused him to think it wrong to remain aloof; and in March, 1647, we accordingly again meet with him in London, whither he had probably repaired with some prospect of resuming the exercise of his vocation. It was for the freedom of the calling of the silenced clergy, that Jeremy Taylor, in his *Liberty of Prophesying*, was then eloquently pleading. In Fuller's case, his connection with Lord Mountagu, Sir John D'Anvers, and others, was of far more avail than the stately periods of the silver-mouthed divine. At the date mentioned we meet with Fuller as preaching at St. CLEMENT'S, EASTCHEAP, near Lombard-street, with such acceptance that he was appointed Lecturer.³ This was the first of several London lectureships held by Fuller; for which he was indebted to liberal-minded merchants and others, still resident in the city, who had not forgotten him. The "lecturer" of the church must not be confounded with the rector or minister. The rector, Benjamin Stone, appointed to St. Clement's by Laud in 1637, and holding also the rectory of St. Mary Abchurch, had been ejected and imprisoned, having been sent by ship from London to Plymouth. One John Kitchin took his place; but from 1642 to 1646, Walter Taylor is called "pastor" in the parochial Vestry-book. "After his departure the churchwardens seem to have managed the temporalities, and the entries in the vestry-book make it probable that the services of the Church were during this time entirely discharged by different voluntary lecturers."⁴

Among the Lecturers occur the illustrious names of Fuller and Pearson. The appointment, due to the parishioners in vestry assembled, did not in any way involve any compliance with the times, except in the matter of not using the liturgy.

¹ James Crossley, Esq., in *Retrospective Review*, ii. 51.

² *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 161.

³ *Life*, p. 41.

⁴ Life of Bp. Pearson in Churton's ed. of his *Minor Theol. Works*, vol. i. p. 30.

An ordinance, directed against the measures of Laud to advance conformity, had been passed in September, 1641, authorising parishioners "to set up a lecture, and to maintain an orthodox minister at their own charge, to preach every Lord's day where there is no preaching, and to preach one day in every week where there is no weekly lecture."¹ From the year 1647, the *clergy* began to avail themselves of this ordinance; and by means of it many of the London churches, of which there were in 1648 about forty without any constant minister,² were gradually filled by them. Fuller was perhaps one of the first of "the great Cavalier parsons" who thus, by means of a decree of his political opponents, again fell, with huge satisfaction, into the exercise of his profession.

The churchwardens' accounts, access to which was readily obtained from the present Rector, show that Fuller was preaching there early in the year, beginning in March. One of the first entries in that year is an item for money paid to Fuller, as follows: "*Paid for 4 Sermons preached by Mr. Ffuller, £01 06s. 08d.*"³ (This was at the rate of 6s. 8d. per sermon—the usual fee for the addresses of eminent ministers.) There are also traces elsewhere of Fuller having continued his connection with St. Clement's in the succeeding years, 1648 and 1649; for we find in John Spencer's *Things New and Old*, that, in addition to five extracts given in that old work from an unpublished sermon or sermons said to have been preached there in 1647, there are two citations from a sermon or sermons dated as belonging to 1648, and three to 1649. This includes the period during which Fuller was suspended from preaching,—a suspension which, as these dates show, did not last long. Fuller would doubtless, therefore, have his due share of the money referred to in the following item occurring in the churchwardens' accounts for 1648: "*Paid diverse ministers for preachinge 22 Sabbath daies, beginniſge the 12 of November, 1648 and ending the 12 of April, 1649—£022 00s. 00d.*" Fuller's lectures are said to have been delivered on Wednesday afternoons.⁴

In addition to the services in which Fuller was engaged at St. Clement's, a passage in his *Appeal* (1659), tends to show that about the same time he was also publicly preaching, perhaps with regularity, at *St. Dunstan's East*,—"a parish of many rich merchants," as Stowe tells us. Here a laughable circumstance occurred in connection with Fuller's great

¹ Nalson, ii. 477.

³ The *Christian* name of Fuller is not given.

² *Persecutio Undecima*, p. 50.

⁴ *Life*, p. 41.

natural powers of *memory*; for even by this time his reputation in this respect was made. We derive the relation from Fuller himself. His antagonist Heylyn, in his *Animadversions* of our author's *Church-History*, thinking he had found Fuller in error, had written of him: "If our author be no better at a pedigree in private families than he is in those of kings and princes, I shall not give him much for his *Art of Memory*, for his *History* less, and for his *Heraldry* just nothing." Whereupon Fuller, writing in 1659, thus replied: "When I intend to expose them to sale, I know where to meet with a franker chapman. None alive ever heard me pretend to the art of memory, who in my book [*Holy State*] have decried it as a trick, no art, and indeed is more of fancy than memory. I confess, some *ten years since*, when I came out of the pulpit of St. Dunstan's East, one (who since wrote a book thereof,) told me in the vestry, before credible people, that he in Sydney College had taught me the art of memory. I returned unto him, that it was not so; *for I could not remember that I had ever seen his face*; which, I conceive, was a real refutation!"¹

What a very flat and unanswerable contradiction this was! and how enjoyable the whole scene must have been to the churchwardens or other "credible people" who witnessed it! One would like to know how the "Memory-mountebank" took the convincing repartee.

It was happily and correctly suggested by the late Thompson Cooper, Esq., of Cambridge, that the nonplussed individual in question was Mr. Henry Herdson,² who must have had in view some other pupil of the name whom he had confounded with our hero. The next sentence of Fuller's reply to Heylyn must not here be omitted, since it contains,

¹ *Appeal*, pt. ii. 447. We bring this anecdote under this year 1647, because Spencer (*Things New and Old*, No. 582) cites a passage from an unpublished sermon by Fuller, which is said to have been preached at St. Dunstan's in this year. The quotation is entitled *God slow to anger*. It is also given in Russell's *Memorials of Fuller*, p. 320.

² "There can be little doubt that the individual alluded to [by Fuller] was Henry Herdson, who published two works on the subject of local memory, viz.: (1) *Ars Mnemonica, sive Herdsonus Bruxiatus; vel Bruxus Herdsoniatus*. Lond. 8vo. 1651. (2) *Ars Memoria; The Art of Memory made plaine by Henry Herdson; late Professor by Public Authority, in the University of Cambridge*. Lond.

8vo. 1651. These works are usually bound up together. The first is a republication of a portion of Brux's *Simonides Redivivus*; the second, which is reprinted in Feinaigle's *Art of Memory* (ed. 1813, pp. 297—317), consists of an extremely meagre and unsatisfactory epitome of the principles of the mnemonic art. The work is dedicated to his 'dearest mother' the University of Cambridge; so it is probable he received his education here, though at what college I have not been able to ascertain. Subsequently removing to London, he taught his art there, and was to be heard of at the 'Green Dragon,' against St. Antholin's Church." (Thompson Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., in *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, vol. iii. p. 383.)

as one of his editors has justly remarked, "a grateful and truly Christian acknowledgment of the bounty of Heaven in bestowing upon him a good natural memory:"—"However, seeing that a natural memory is the best flower in mine, and not the worst in the Animadvertor's [Dr. Heylyn's] garden, let us turn our competitions herein unto mutual thankfulness to the God of heaven."¹

Fuller's chapter on Memory in the *Holy State*, to which he has just called our attention, gives excellent advice on the cultivation of this gift. His rules are very sound, and are characteristically put: "Thankfulness to God for it continues the memory," says the pious writer. Special stress is laid upon *method*: "Marshall thy notions into a handsome method. One will carry twice more weight trussed and packed up in bundles than when it lies untowardly flapping and hanging about his shoulders. Things orderly fardled up under heads are most portable." Round his portrait prefixed to the *Worthies* were engraved the appropriate words "Methodus mater memoriae;" and somewhere in the same book he says that Order only makes the difference betwixt a wall and a heap of stones. Hence he had a poor opinion of artificial systems, and mere "memory-mountebanks." "Artificial memory is rather a trick than an art, and more for the gain of the teacher than profit of the learners. Like the tossing of a pike, which is no part of the postures and motions thereof, and is rather for ostentation than use, to show the strength and nimbleness of the arm, and is often used by wandering soldiers as an introduction to beg. Understand it of the artificial rules which at this day are delivered by memory-mountebanks; for sure an art thereof may be made (wherein as yet the world is defective), and that no more destructive to natural memory than spectacles are to eyes, which girls in Holland wear from twelve years of age. But till this be found out, let us observe these plain rules."² Aubrey states, in his careless way, that Fuller used such an artificial system. "His natural memorie was very great, to which he added the *art of memorie*;"³ inferring that by its aid Fuller performed those feats by which he used to astonish his friends at London. But Fuller's own words in 1659, already quoted, are against this statement.

Fuller's "plain rules" are worth noting: "Soundly infix in thy mind what thou desirest to remember; overburthen not thy

¹ *Appeal*, pt. ii. p. 447.

² *Holy State*, pp. 162-164.

³ *Letters, &c.* ii. 354. Dr. Saunderson

is said to have had a matchless memory, and to have improved it by an art of his own invention.

memory, to make so faithful a servant a slave ; spoil not thy memory with thine own jealousy, nor make it bad by suspecting it ; adventure not thy learning in one bottom, but divide it betwixt thy memory and thy note-books ; moderate diet and good air preserve memory," &c.

Fuller does not appear to have held for very many months his engagements as Lecturer at St. Clement's and occasional preacher elsewhere. As early as 1647, when publishing his *Sermon of Assurance*, he speaks of himself as "late lecturer in Lombard Street" (*i.e.* at St. Clement's) ; and states that his preaching was forbidden till further order. To explain this sudden *prohibition from preaching*, we must consult his anonymous biographer, who, in indicating in what spirit the earnest clergyman recommenced his ministrations, affords us a clue. Alluding to his hero taking a settled charge, he says :—

"A living was not the design of the good Doctor, who knew how incompatible the *times* and his *doctrine* must needs be. However, as oft as he had private opportunities, he ceased not to assert the purity of the Church of England, bewailing the sad condition into which the grievous abominable sins of the nation had so far plunged it as to make it more miserable by bearing so many reproaches and calumnies grounded only upon its calamity. But some glimmering hopes of a settlement and understanding betwixt the King and the pretended Houses appearing, the pious Doctor betook himself to earnest prayers and petitions to God that he would please to succeed that blessed work, doing that privately as a Christian, which he might not publicly do as a subject, most fervently imploring, in those families where his person and devotions were alike acceptable, the blessing of a restoration on this afflicted Church, and its defenceless defender the King."¹

Holding such opinions, though giving expression to them with all the caution which his position seemed to suggest, it was to be expected that, charm he never so wisely, his present occupation as a public lecturer would not be lasting. Select audiences would weekly assemble to hear so well-known a preacher. Changeful as were the times, his former defection would be remembered to his detriment ; and there would be many at that time in London who would call to mind the practical support he had given to the King's party in the West. A popular Royalist preacher in full feather could not be endured, despite his influential friends ; and Fuller accordingly was silenced.

¹ Pp. 37, 38.

He had to thank the Articles of Exeter that nothing worse followed upon his too great freedom of speech.

No particulars are known to exist relating to this sudden interruption to Fuller's pulpit career, but the fact rests on his own authority. In a preface to the sermon we have mentioned as published in 1647, he makes the following brief statement: "We read how Zachariah being struck dumb, called for table-books thereon to write his mind, making his hands to supply the defect of his mouth: it hath been the pleasure of the present Authority (to whose commands I humbly submit) to make me mute, forbidding me till further order the exercise of my publick preaching."¹

There is a passage in Rushworth which indubitably indicates in what way Fuller had given offence. We read that on December 25, 1647, complaints were made to the House of Commons in reference to the "countenancing of malignant ministers in some parts of London, where they preach and use the Common Prayer Book contrary to the ordinance of Parliament; and some delinquent ministers were invited and did preach on this day, because Christmas day. The House upon debate hereupon Ordered,—That the committee for plundered ministers have power given them to examine and punish churchwardens, sequestrators and others that do countenance delinquent ministers to preach, and to commit them if they see cause."²

Fuller particularly notes that it is his *public* preaching only which is prohibited: he could still do "that privately as a Christian which he might not publicly do as a subject." In the private families to which he had admittance, he was therefore none the less earnest in his profession, preaching, as heretofore, from house to house. Both now and subsequently, Fuller, like many of his brethren in adversity, was entertained at the houses of such as were eager to have the old services and the old ministers. Of such ministrations we get many interesting glimpses in Evelyn's *Diary*. Thus, under date of 18th March, 1648-9: "Mr. Owen, a sequestered and learned minister, preached in my parlour: he gave us the blessed Sacrament, now wholly out of use in the parish churches, on which the Presbyterians and fanatics had usurped."

It was thus as a private individual that the deprived clergyman preached his favourite sermon on Assurance, and another on Contentment. One of these discourses was, we know (and the other may have been), delivered at the house of Sir John

¹ *Sermon of Assurance.*

² Rushworth, vii. 944.

D'Anvers, to whom both were dedicated. It will thus be seen that Fuller's personal liberty at this time was not assaulted; and very soon, but without definite explanation of the cause, it will be found that he is no longer dumb in public.

This sudden change in Fuller's prospects again threw him adrift: once more the hopes he had indulged in were dissipated. His homeless condition extended throughout the year 1647, and the greater part of 1648. He himself uses expressive words to describe his unsettled life; for, dedicating a portion of his *Pisgah-Sight*¹ to the Earl of Carlisle (who was soon to befriend him by a timely gift), he says that up to that time (1649) he had been wandering from place to place. Such, indeed, was the life of many of the dispossessed clergy in those days.

London at that time was full, as has been seen, of small groups of the distressed clergy, drawn together from all parts of the country by their common misfortunes. They were making a living by keeping schools, and by other employments; but many of them were sustained by means of the secret and liberal bounty of the Royalists. Such a group of the literary clergy frequently met at the residence of our old friend, Dr. William Fuller, Dean of Ely (or Durham), who after the surrender of Oxford lived obscurely in his former parish, after having freed his little property from sequestration. Thomas Fuller, whose literary tastes were well known to his contemporaries, may not have been a stranger there. A Wood relates that Dr. Brian Walton, upon the decline of his Majesty's cause, returned from Oxford, where the Polyglot Bible was projected, to London, "and resided with his father-in-law, Dr. William Fuller, then a great sufferer for the Royal cause, as he [Walton] was; [he Walton] had time and leisure at command, as being debarred the exercise of his ministerial function (though often disturbed for his loyalty), of proceeding in the work [the Polyglot], with the advice of the most learned and religious Dr. Ussher, Primate of Ireland, [of] his said father-in-law, [of] Dr. Bruno Ryves, and [of] some others residing in London, yet not without the leave and license of Dr. Juxon, Bishop of that city."² Dr. Fuller signed the recommendation of the "many-linguaged Bible," in which he was acknowledged as a coadjutor. Our Fuller in 1655 wished this "excellent work"

¹ Map of the Tribe of Benjamin, ii. 238.

² *Fasti*, ii. 79; Todd's *Memoirs of Walton*, p. 29, *seq.* See also Thorn-dike's *Life*, vi. 204, 206. This Dr. Fuller was the preacher of *The Mourning of*

Mount Libanon: or, The Temples Teares, delivered at Hodsock, Notts., 20th Dec. 1627, in commemoration of Lady Frances Clifton, dau. of the Earl of Cumberland and wife of Sir Gervase Clifton. The latter patronised the preacher.

as "happily performed as it is worthily undertaken." It was published in 1657.

Dean Fuller died 1659, aged 79. Denied rest at St. Giles's, he was buried at St. Vedast's in Foster-lane, where a comely monument was put upon his grave by his daughter, Jane Walton. Catherine, his second wife, died 1668, and was buried in Hadham Magna Church.¹ He left an only son.

As regards Dean Fuller's character, attainments, and prospects, the Oxford antiquary has left it on record that he was famous for his prudence and piety; that he was an excellent preacher; and that without doubt he would have risen higher, had it not been for the iniquity of the times. And Lloyd: "A general scholar, well-skilled in his own and former times; a good linguist;—those languages which parted at Babel in a confusion met in his soul in a method;² a deep divine, . . . a grave man, whose looks were a sermon, and affable withal. . . . Such a pattern of charity himself and so good a preacher of it, that he was (with St. Chrysostom) called the poor man's preacher."

If our hero had now more leisure time than heretofore, it was well occupied by his industrious pen. Speaking of his literary labour, his biographer says that at London he "presently recommenced his Laborious Enterprise [*i.e.* his *Worthies*]; and by the additional help of books, the confluence and resort of Learned men (his acquaintance) to their fleecing tyrannical Courts and Committees newly erected, [it] made such a progress, that from thence he could take a fair prospect of his whole work."³

And again: "That desired affair [the agreement of the King and Parliament] went on slowly and uncertainly; but so did not the Doctor's book; for having recommended the first to the Almighty wisdom, he stood not still expecting the issue, but addressed himself to his study, affording no time but the leisure of his meals (which was short) to the hearing of news, with which the minds and mouths of men were then full employed by the changeableness of the army, who played fast and loose with the King and Parliament, till in conclusion they destroyed both."⁴

Fuller was also making good progress with his Ecclesiastical History, the first three books of which (about 300 folio

¹ Clutterbuck's *Herts*, iii. 404; Le Neve's *Mon. Ang.* ii. 66.

² *Memoires*, p. 509. This conceit is, with very much more, taken by this compiler from our Fuller. See his Life of

Julius Scaliger in *Holy State*, p. 72; also *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 127. Fuller describes Bishop Andrewes as fit to act as interpreter-general at the confusion of tongues.

³ *Life*, p. 36.

⁴ Pp. 38, 39.

pages) were for the main written (as he says) in the reign of Charles I.

Other details might be given to show that Fuller continued to engage eagerly in his wonted antiquarian pursuits. Thus, in his amusing chapters on Miracles in the *Church-History*, arguing that "occult qualities" are no miracles, "though they puzzle all men to assign the cause whereby they are effected," he adds: "One of which kind I here transmit to posterity, invested with all the circumstances thereof, which I have carefully (not to say) curiously enquired into." He then gives a circumstantial account of the finding, 16th February, 1646-7, underneath two skeletons, of a coffin and a corpse, both complete and unconsumed. He concludes: "Had this happened in the time of Popery, what a stock had been here to graft a miracle upon!"¹ Fuller speaks of having seen the registers of the parish of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, where this discovery was made; and elsewhere he incidentally states that he had examined the registers of St. Dunstan's West.²

Since Fuller could not publicly preach, he began with great effrontery to *publish* a few smaller pieces as Sermons, &c. Now, for instance, he published his *Sermon of Assurance* (1647) which he had originally preached in 1633 in Cambridge, and since elsewhere: it was "exposed to public view," as he says, "by the importunity of friends." The preacher styles himself "*late* Lecturer in Lombard Street." The sermon is of interest as giving other particulars of Fuller at this critical time of his life. Sir John D'Anvers seems to have made a request for its publication; and to that "Honourable and nobly accomplished Knight" it is accordingly inscribed. He greets his patron with all the blessings of this and a better life; and after referring to the inhibition (already quoted) which made him mute, he adds: "Wherefore I am fain to employ my fingers in writing, to make the best signs I can, thereby to express, as my desire to the general good, so my particular gratitude to your honour. May this treatise but find the same favour from your *eye* as once it did from your *ear*, and be as well accepted when read as formerly when heard. And let this humble dedication be interpreted a weak acknowledgment of those strong obligations your bounty hath laid upon me. Well may you taste the fruits of that tree whose roots your liberality hath preserved from withering. Sir, these hard times have taught me the art of frugality, to improve everything to the best advantage: by the same rules of thrift this my dedication, as returning thanks for

¹ Book vi. 333.

² *Worthies*, chap. xix. p. 54.

your former favours, so begs the continuance of the same. And to end as I began with the example of Zachariah, as his dumbness was but temporary, so I hope by God's goodness and the favour of my friends, amongst whom your honour stands in the highest rank, the miracle may be wrought, that the dumb may speak again, and as well by words publicly profess as now by his hand he subscribes himself, Your servant in all Christian office [s], THOMAS FULLER."

The pathetic address "to the Christian Reader" reveals particulars of Fuller's relations with the ruling powers. This epistle is also of moment as setting forth the preacher's prospects in his present speechless condition,—prospects which, by "the favour of his friends," he hoped would terminate with full "liberty of prophesying" for himself. He says: "I shall be short in my addresses unto thee; not only because I know not thy disposition, being a stranger unto thee; but chiefly because I am ignorant of my own present condition, remaining as yet a stranger to myself. Were I restored to the free use of my Function, I would then request the concurrence of thy thanks with mine to a gracious God the giver, and honourable Persons the dealers of this great favour unto me. Were I finally interdicted my Calling without hope of recovery, I would bespeak thy pity to bemoan my estate. But lying as yet in the Marshes between Hope and Fear, I am no fit subject to be be condoled for, or congratulated with.

"Yet it is, I trust, no piece of Popery to maintain that the prayers of others may be beneficial, and available for a person in my Purgatory condition. Which moves me to crave thy Christian suffrages, that I may be rid out of my present torment on such terms as may most tend to God's glory, mine own good, and the edification of others. However matters shall succeed, it is no small comfort to my conscience that in respect of my Ministerial Function, I do not die *Felo de se*, not stabbing my profession by mine own laziness, who hitherto have, and hereafter shall improve my utmost endeavours, by any lawful means to procure my restitution.

"When the priests would have carried the Ark after David, David forbid them to go further; 'If' (said he) 'I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, He will bring me again and show me both it and His habitation. But if He thus say, I have no delight in thee: behold here am I, let Him do to me as seemeth good unto Him.' Some perchance would persuade me to have the pulpit carried after me, along with me to my private lodgings; but hitherto I have refrained from such exercises as subject to offence, hoping in due time to be brought back to the

pulpit, and endeavouring to compose myself to David's resolution. And if I should be totally forbidden my Function, this is my confidence, that, *that great pasture* of God's Providence, whereon so many of my Profession do daily feed, is not yet made so bare by their biting, but that, besides them and millions more, it may still comfortably maintain thy friend and servant in Christ Jesus, THOMAS FULLER."

The text is "Give rather diligence to make your calling and election sure,"—a passage which (after a censure of the discussion of "curious" and needless points, to the neglect of practical Divinity) he wittily compares to *Ehud's dagger*, "short but sharp. And although now it be false into a lame hand (the unworthiness of the Preacher in this place) to manage it, yet enforced with the assistance of God's arm, it may prove able to give the deadly blow to four *Eglon sins* tyrannizing in too many men's hearts: (1) Supine negligence in matters of Salvation; (2) Busy meddling in other men's matters; (3) Preposterous curiosity in unsearchable mysteries; (4) Continual wavering, or Scepticalness concerning our calling and election.

"*Supine negligence* is despatched in that word, *Give diligence*: This grace of Assurance is unattainable by ease and idleness. *Busy meddling in other men's matters* is destroyed in the particle *your*: Each one ought principally to intend his own assurance. *Preposterous curiosity* is stabbed with the order of the words *calling and election*, not election and calling: Men must first begin to assure their calling, and then *ascendendo* argue and infer the assurance of their election. *Continual wavering* is wounded under the fifth rib in the conclusion of my text, *Sure*. We will but touch at [the] three first and land at the last [man's apprehension concerning his assurance] as the chief subject of our ensuing discourse."¹ The sermon therefore deals with the Christian's anxious thoughts, "Am I His, or am I not?"

This momentous topic is discussed with great tenderness and charity; for though the sermon is *controversial*, the Preacher enters into the subject with a temper and spirit which has not always been introduced into polemical theology. The discourse, moreover, admirably illustrates the Scriptural soundness of his views. The grace of Assurance, he shows, had been subject to the extremes of fanaticism and Romanism. But in opposition to the former, Fuller shows from his text (2 Peter i. 10) that the assurance of our "calling and election" may be attained in this life without any miraculous revelation. On the other hand, he insists that those cannot enter into its enjoy-

¹ Pp. 3, 4.

ment who make Christianity a life of worldly conformity or luxurious ease. His words tend to show his high estimate of that Profession, in the full exercise of which he had just been crippled. "Christianity is a laborious profession. Observe God's servants clean through the Scripture resembled to men of painful vocations: to *Racers* who must stretch every sinew to get first to the goal; to *Wrestlers*, a troublesome employment, so that I am unresolved whether to recount it amongst toils, or exercises (at the best, it is but a toilsome exercise); to *Soldiers* who are in constant service and daily duty, always on the guard against their enemies. Besides, we ministers are compared to *Shepherds*, a painful and dangerous profession amongst the Jews; to *Watchmen*, which continually wake for the good of others: so that besides the difficulties of our Christian calling, we are encumbered with others which attend our Ministerial function."¹

Marked is the depth of Fuller's charity towards those who made this assurance "to be the very being, essence, life, soul, and formality of faith itself." "Far be it from me, because dissenting from their opinions, to rail on their persons, and wound with opprobrious terms the memories of those which are dead: rather let us thank God for their learned and religious writings left behind them, knowing that the head of the knowledge of this age stands on the shoulders of the former, and their very errors have advantaged us into a clearer discovery of the truth in this particular."²

To the year 1648 belongs the publication of *A Sermon of Contentment*,³ By T. F., a Minister of God's Word, on the text "Godliness with contentment is great gain" (1 Tim. vi. 6). It is dedicated, like the former, to "The Honourable and truly noble Sir John D'Anvers, Knight;" and it throws further light on the apparently ill-assorted friendship between Fuller and his patron. It was delivered in D'Anvers' "private chappel," his Radical preachers, or himself, making way for one of ecclesiastical status. Fuller says that the small sermon might "well be termed Zoar, for is it not a little one?" adding that it bore a good proportion to the short text; to the little auditory for which it was composed; and to "your private

¹ Page 5.

² Page 10.

³ Fuller's "life" is the "best comment" on his text. On this subject he had already written an Essay in his *Holy State*, wherein he states that "God's Spirit is the best schoolmaster to teach contentment: a schoolmaster who can make good scholars and warrant the success as

well as his endeavour. The school of sanctified afflictions is the best place to learn contentment in; I say, *sanctified*; for naturally, like resty horses, we go the worse for the beating, if God bless not afflictions unto us. . . . Pious meditations much advantage contentment in adversity." (Page 183.)

chapel wherein it was delivered." It was not intended for publication: "good was the counsel which Iaash [Joash] gave Amaziah (2 Chron. xxv. 19), 'Abide now at home,' especially in our dangerous dayes, when all *going*, is censurable for *gadding* abroad without a necessary vocation." "But seeing such was your importunitie to have it printed," he chooses rather to be accounted indiscreet than uncivil, and yields to the desire. But the next "mainest motive" which put him on that public adventure was the consideration of "my engagements to your noble bounty, above my possibility of deserving it. The Apostle saith it is part of the duty of a good servant, Tit. ii. 9, *μη ἀντιλέγοντας*, 'not answering againe.' I must confesse mysele your servant, and therefore it ill beseemed me to dislike or mutter against any thing you was pleased I should doe. Thus desiring the continuance and increase of all spiritual and temporal happines on your honour, I commend you to the Almighty.—T. F."

As this is one of Fuller's least known¹ and rarest pieces, we here give a notice of it. He says that in the verse preceding his text, St. Paul sets forth "the worldling's prayer, creed, and commandments, which is their daily desire, belief, and practise; and all contained in three words: *Gain is godliness*;" but the text "countermines their opinion, or raiseth our antiposition to break down their false conceit," most elegantly crossing and inverting their words. "Take notice," he continues promptly, "of the unaffected elegancy of the Apostle, how clearly and naturally with a little addition he turns the worldling's Paradox into a Christian Truth. Though sermons may not laugh with light expressions: yet it is not unlawfull for them to smile with delightfull language: alwaies provided that the sweetnesse of the sawce spoile not the savourinesse of the meat. 'The Preacher sought to find out acceptable or pleasant words,' that so his sound matter might be more welcome to his auditors."

This sermon is as quaintly divided as the former. He says that the text presented his auditors with (1) a *Bride*: "Godliness;" (2) With a *Bridemaide*: "Contentment;" (3) With her *great Portion*: "Gain;" and (4) With the *present payment thereof*: down on the nail: "is." Godliness and Contentment he beautifully likens to Saul and Jonathan, "lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they are not divided. These twin graces always go together."

¹ There is no copy of it in the British Museum, or in the Bodleian Library. I quote from the copy formerly belonging

to Mr. Pickering, but now in the possession of Edward Riggall, Esq., of Bayswater.

The discourse abounds with passages of interest. He refers to the wild religious extravagancies of the sects of that time :—

“ Ask the tenacious maintainer of some new upstart opinion what Godliness is? And he will answer, It is the zealous defending with limb and life of such and such strange tenets, which our fathers perchance never heard of before ; yea, which is worse, such a person will presume so to confine Godliness to his opinion as to ungodly all others who in the least particular dissent from him. Oh, if God should have no more mercy on us than we have charity one to another, what would become of us? Indeed Christ termeth his own a little flock, ‘ Fear not, little flock ’ (Luk. xii. 32). But if some men’s rash and cruel censures should be true, the number of the godly would be so little it would not be a flock.”

In the sermon on Assurance he had pointedly censured those who spent much precious time in needless disputes, “ the conclusions whereof are both uncertain and unprofitable ; ” and he also here condemns the same class :—

“ It is a true but sad consideration how in all ages, men with more vehemency of spirit have stickled about small and unimportant points than about such matters as most concern their salvation. So that I may say (these sorrowfull times having tuned all our tongues to military phrases) some men have lavished more powder and shot in the defence of some sleight outworks which might well have been quitted without any losse to Religion than in maintaining the main platform of piety, and making good that Castle of God’s service and their own salvation. Pride will be found upon serious enquiry the principall cause hereof.”

As to the vital efficacy of Church-ceremonies, &c. his old opinions had undergone no change :—

“ As for all particular forms of Church Government, Ceremonies and outward manner of divine worship, most of them admitting of alteration upon emergencies, and variation according to circumstances of time, place, and persons (though these be more or lesse ornamentall to godliness, as they neerer or further off relate to divine institution), yet it is erroneous to fixe or place the life or essence of godliness therein. Wee conclude this point with the words of Saint Peter : ‘ Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons ; But in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him ? ’ yea, in one and the same nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, of what Sect, Side, Party, Profession, Opinion, Church, Congregation soever he be, is accepted with him, as having true godliness in his heart which with contentment is great gain.”

The following is a specimen of our author’s peculiar eloquence : “ *Great gain* : of what? Let Saint Paul himself, who wrote this Epistle tell us, when he cast up his audit, what profit he got by the profession of Piety. ‘ In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths often.’ Where is the gain all this while? Perchance it follows : we will try another verse. ‘ In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own

countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils amongst false brethren.' Where is the gain all this while? You will say, these were but the Apostle's adventures, his rich return (slow but sure) will come at last. Once more we will try. 'In wearinesse and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakednesse.' The further we go the lesse gain we find. Cushai said unto David, 'May all the enemies of my lord the king be as the young man Absalom is.' But if this be gain, May all the enemies of God and goodnes have plenty thereof. It will never sink into a worldling's head, that godlinesse is gain, whilst the grandees of piety are found so poore, Eliah begging food of a widdow, Peter without gold or silver; our Saviour himself not having where to lay his head."

The preacher, as we have seen, makes an allusion to the lawfulness of using "delightful language" in sermons, having perhaps mainly in view the fantastic mode of composition which the great preachers of his younger days had established as the highest kind of sacred oratory. The outbreak of the war had not altogether abolished in sacred subjects the use of the quaintnesses of this old school of preachers. They still had their imitators, who were by Gataker ridiculed in his *A Mistake or Misconstruction Removed*, 1646; a book written against a work by John Saltmarsh. But earnest aims brought about an earnest and less artificial mode of address. These latter qualities are specially apparent in Fuller's discourses. Characterised, however, as they are by plainness, and by practical divinity, there is in them a pervading spirit of wit, which is exhibited in multi-form ways. The question here arises, how far a preacher may properly indulge in wit. The answer depends on the spirit of his wit; and the best test of its quality in Fuller's case is shown in the fact that his wit is, in the first place, all but invariably allied to its sister Wisdom; and that, in the next place, very few would rise from the perusal of his pulpit utterances with the feeling that they had been in the company of one who was irreverent or undevout. Fuller, to use his own words, "never wit-wanted it with the Majesty of God." Craik, on this subject, asserts that there is probably neither an ill-natured, nor a profane witticism in all that Fuller has written. "It is the sweetest-blooded wit that was ever infused into man or book. And how strong and weighty, as well as how gentle and beautiful, much of his writing is!" The author of the *Holy State* could not be profane. He has enforced in that work maxims of sufficient seriousness to clear him from the charge of levity or

irreverence, which a sour or cursory reader might be inclined to attribute to one to whom Rosaline's words of Biron might very happily be applied :—

“A merrier man
Within the limits of becoming mirth
I never spent an hour's talk withal.”

“Harmless mirth,” says Fuller, “is the best cordial against the consumption of the spirits; wherefore jesting is not unlawful if it trespasseth not in quantity, quality, or season.” “It is good to make a jest, but not to make a trade of jesting.” “Jest not,” he solemnly urges, “with the two-edged sword [μάχαιραν δίστομον] of God's word. Will nothing please thee to wash thy hands in but the font? or to drink healths in, but the Church chalice? And know the whole art is learnt at the first admission, and profane jests will come without calling.” “Scoff not at the natural defects of any, which [defects] are not in their power to amend. Oh, 'tis cruelty to beat a cripple with his own crutches.”¹ (And elsewhere: “It is unnatural to laugh at a natural.”) Of the character entitled “The Faithful Minister,” Fuller says that he would “not use a light comparison to make thereof a grave application, for fear lest his poison go farther than his antidote.”² Fuller's opinions are in full accord in this respect with the maxims of the philosopher Bacon.

Lloyd's judgment upon our author was that he was not so skilled where to *spare* his jests³ as where to *spend*. Though in the main Fuller's wit was under proper regulations, he sometimes disregarded the limits which he has laid down as the province of harmless mirth. If his sallies were always “in season,” he occasionally offended, nevertheless, in their “quantity” and “quality.” The ingenuous reader will, however, very readily make allowance for their cheerful-minded favourite, who not once nor twice has expressed his confidence that besides entailing a “vigorous vivacity,” an ounce of mirth, with the same degree of grace, will serve God more, and more acceptably, than a pound of sorrow. Fuller was one who invariably commended those of a cheerful spirit; and it is not therefore singular that among such men almost the whole of his intimate acquaintance are to be found.

Professor Rogers has thus feelingly alluded to Fuller's exu-

¹ *Of Jestings*, pp. 145, 146.

² Page 76.

³ “Something more than (πλεϊον)” a jester “is here.” Fuller's wit was not invariably that of a mere jester. No one knew better the “real distinction be-

tween *facetiousness* and *nugacity*.” With him the distance was never great from his “mirth to solidity.” Archdeacon Churton somewhat undeservedly applied the epithet “the jester” to Fuller, whose jokes are commonly made up of true wit.

berant wit: "In his essay *On Gravity*, Fuller touchingly pleads for a charitable construction of the levities of a mirthful temperament. 'Some men,' says he, 'are of a very cheerful disposition; and God forbid that all such should be condemned for lightness! Oh, let not any envious eye disinherit men of that which is "their portion" in this life (*Eccles. v. 18*), comfortably to enjoy the blessings thereof. Yet gravity must prune, though not root out, our mirth.' Gravity must have had hard work to do this in his own case; for, as he himself says in another place [in this essay], beautifully commenting upon a well-known line of Horace, 'That fork must have strong tines wherewith one would thrust out nature.'" ¹ With an evident fellow-feeling, Fuller has acknowledged that he could not condemn Archbishop Toby Matthew "for his pleasant wit, though often he would condemn himself, as so habited therein, he could as well *not be* as *not be merry*, and not take up an innocent jest as it lay in the way of his discourse."² But Toby Matthew and Thomas Fuller were not the only English clergymen who acted up to the spirit of another good prelate's motto: "*Inservi Deo et lætare*," at once adorning their sacred calling and inspiring all around them by the charm of their manners and pleasantries or "holy facetiousness" of speech. Fuller is therefore fairly classed by Hare with Bishop Earle, La Fontaine, and others, who, as the richest in wit and humour, were also (as the same writer has said) the simplest and kindest hearted of men.³ Their piety never suffered on account of their wit and cheerfulness, but rather commended it; for, in Addison's words, they make "morality appear amiable to people of gay dispositions, and refute the common objection against religion, which represents it as only fit for gloomy and melancholy tempers."⁴

The anonymous biographer makes the following observations upon Fuller's style of preaching:—

"For his ordinary manner of teaching, it was in some kind different from the usual preachers' method of most ministers in those times; for he seldom made any excursions into the handling of common-places, or drew his subject-matter out at length, by any prolixly continued discourse. But the main frame of his public *sermons*, if not wholly, consisted (after some brief and genuine resolution of the context, and explication of the terms, where need required) of notes and observations, with much variety and great dexterity drawn immediately from the text, and naturally without constraint, issuing or flowing either from the

¹ *Essay on Fuller*, p. 26.

³ *Guesses at Truth*, p. 250 (ed. 1871).

² *Church-History*, xi. 133.

⁴ Addison, *The Freeholder*.

main body, or from the several parts of it, with some useful applications annexed thereunto; which though either of them long insisted upon, yet were wont with that vivacity to be propounded and pressed by him, as well might, and oft did, pierce deep into the hearts of his hearers, and not only rectify and clear their judgements, but have a powerful work also upon their affections."¹

It was the preacher's opinion that, if surprised with a sudden occasion, a good minister would count himself rather to be excused than commended, if premeditating the bones of his sermon, he clothes his flesh *extempore*. Fuller was scrupulously careful in preparing for the pulpit; on which account he seems to have approved of preaching the same sermon often; preferring, like Dean Colet, meat well done to that half raw and fresh from the spit. Notwithstanding his strength of memory, it was not Fuller's habit, says the *Life*, "to quote many Scriptures, finding it troublesome to himself, and supposing it would be to his auditors also; besides deeming it the less needful, in regard that his observations being grounded immediately on the Scripture he handled, and by necessary consequence thence deduced, seemed to receive proof sufficient from it."² "Heaping up of many quotations," said Fuller himself, free from a vice of his day, "smacks of a vain ostentation of memory."

Lastly, Fuller's sermons were remarkably short for that age. In this also he followed his Faithful Minister, who "makes not that wearisome which should ever be welcome. Wherefore his sermons are of an ordinary length except on an extraordinary occasion. What a gift had John Halsebach, Professor at Vienna, in tediousness, who, being to expound the prophet Esay to his auditors, read twenty-one years on the first chapter, and yet finished it not!"³

The efforts made by the friends of our witty preacher on behalf of his suspended vocation were crowned with success; for he was again publicly preaching. He attained his desire, however, at a time which he regarded as very gloomy. He afterwards spoke of it as "the midnight of misery." "It was questionable whether the law should first draw up the will and testament of dying *divinity*, or divinity first make a funeral sermon for expiring *law*. Violence stood ready to invade our property; heresies and schisms to oppress religion."⁴ Evelyn, the Diarist, returned about this time to England; and, strolling one day into Whitehall, records that he "heard horrid villanies." The death of the King was being decreed by the army. "Before

¹ *Life*, p. 80.

² *Ibid.* p. 81.

³ *Holy State*, p. 77.

⁴ *Mixt Contemplations* (1660), xxv. pt. ii. p. 38.

his own gate at Whitehall they erected a scaffold, and before a full assembly of people beheaded him ; wherein appeared the severity of God, the mutability and uncertainty of worldly things, and the fruits of a sinful nation's provocations, and the infamous effects of error, pride and selfishness." ¹

This violent deed deeply affected Fuller. Under its influence he threw aside his literary diversions ; abruptly abandoning, in particular, the compilation of *The Worthies*, which he had been arranging during his enforced leisure. It is said that "such an amazement struck the loyal, pious Doctor when he first heard of that execrable design intended against the King's person, and saw the villainy proceed so uncontrollably, that he not only surceased, but resolved to abandon that luckless work (as he was then pleased to call it). 'For what shall I write,' said he, 'of the *Worthies of England*, when this horrid act will bring such an infamy upon the whole nation, as will ever cloud and darken all its former, and suppress its future rising glories?'" ²

The lords who, after the execution of the King, followed the body to Windsor, were the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Lindsey. To three of these noblemen we know Fuller was not unknown ; and it was probably from one of them—and that one the Duke of Richmond—that he derived the particulars of the King's burial, with which, very fittingly and even solemnly, the *Church-History* concludes. ³ When the writer of these pages first read this section of the *Church-History* it appeared to him as if it were from the pen of an eye-witness ; and one unacquainted with the facts of Fuller's life might readily suppose that he himself was present. Fuller's intimacy, however, with the Duke of Richmond, ⁴ raised the conjecture that that nobleman might be the narrator ; and this surmise was confirmed by a passage in our author's *Appeal* : "The highest person (next the son of the king) wearing a blue ribbon, was pleased so far to favour me, as that from his own mouth I wrote the last sheet of my *History*, his grace endeavouring to be very exact in all particulars." ⁵

In the same work Fuller, with a like variety of detail, referred to the coronation of the fallen monarch ; which portion Fuller's critic, Heylyn, condemned as being out of place in a *Church-history*. To this criticism Fuller made the reply : "I never expected that a chaplain to King Charles should find fault with anything tending to the honour of his lord. How can any

¹ Baxter's *Life*, i. 63.

² Page 39.

³ Bk. xi. 237, 238.

⁴ See the Dedication of the *Church-History*.

⁵ *Appeal*, ii. 430.

good disciple grudge at what is expended εἰς ἐνταφιασμόν, 'on the burial of the memory' of his master, being the last in this kind?"¹

Judging from the references made by Fuller to this tragic event, his grief must have been very intense. He remained attached to the King and his cause to the last. It was in answer to one of Heylyn's sneers that Fuller bore proud but excusable testimony to the constancy of his affection in the following striking figure: "My loyalty did not rise and fall with His Majesty's success, as a rock in the sea doth with the ebbing and flowing of the tide. I had more pity, but not less honour for him in his deepest distress."²

Fuller's biographer has described the grief into which he was thrown; and in the following passage from the same authority we have further evidence of the fact: "But when, through the seared impiety of those men, that parricide was perpetrated, the good Doctor deserted not his study alone, but forsook himself too; not caring for or regarding his concerns (though the Doctor was none of the most providential husband by having store beforehand), until such time as his prayers, tears, and fasting, having better acquainted him with that sad dispensation, he began to revive from that dead pensiveness to which he had so long addicted himself."³ He again found a solace in literary labour, engaging himself more particularly, as his biographer tells us, with his *Worthies*, at which he laboured "with unwearied diligence."⁴ But other works were meanwhile to interfere with the consummation of this cherished project. Prompted by the exigencies of the time, he put forth in 1649 another joint edition of his two series of *Good Thoughts*, for the issue of which there was still a call as well by their popularity as by the condition of the country.

Not the least affecting incident relating to the King's death was the part taken in it by Fuller's patron, D'Anvers, who now becomes better known by the designation "the Regicide." He had attended the meetings of the judges with greater regularity than others of the Court. Under the influence of the thought of his crime, Clarendon says of him that "being a proud, formal, weak man, between being seduced and a seducer, [he] became so far involved in their counsels that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once; nor did that party of miscreants look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation

¹ *Appeal*, i. 334.

² *Appeal*, ii. 426.

³ *Life*, pp. 39, 40.

⁴ Page 40.

as they did upon D'Anvers and Mildmay."¹ Sir Harry Mildmay had been the master of the King's jewel-house, and he and D'Anvers ("Jack Danvers," as the King called him) were the only two of the judges who were personally known to the King.

It was probably as a means of alleviating his grief that Fuller composed a sermon, embodying the results of his thoughts on the execution of Charles. The discourse, which was published after delivery, towards the close of this fatal year, was a vindication of Divine Providence in the misfortunes and deaths of the righteous. It was entitled *The Just Mans Funeral*; and though there is in it no direct mention of the King by name, it was generally understood beforehand to refer to that event; and hence its delivery "before several persons of honour and worship."² The title-page of the first edition had a black mourning border. The inhibition from preaching seems (perhaps through the influence of D'Anvers himself) to have been relaxed by this time, for the sermon was publicly delivered in Chelsea Church. The text is from Eccles. vii. 15: "All things have I seen in the days of my vanity; there is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness; and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his life in his wickedness."

Proceeding to the handling of Solomon's observation, he insists upon these four parts, "to show: (1) That it is so; (2) Why it is so; (3) What abuses wicked men do make because it is so; (4) What uses good men should make because it is so." Under the second head he says:—

"Yea, we may observe in all ages that wicked men make bold with religion; and those who count the practice of piety a burden, find the pretending thereof an advantage; and therefore be the matter they manage never so bad, (if possible) they will intitle it to be *God's cause*. Much was the substance in the very shadow of St. Peter, which made the people so desirous thereof as he passed by the streets. And the very umbrage of religion hath a sovereign virtue in it. No better cordial for a dying cause than to overshadow it with the pretence that it is God's cause; for first, this is the way to make and keep a great and strong party. No sooner the watchword is given out *for God's cause*, but instantly 'GAD, behold a troop cometh' of many honest but ignorant men, who press to be listed in so pious an employment. These may be killed, but cannot be conquered; for till their judgments be otherwise informed, they will triumph in being overcome, as confident, the deeper the wounds got in God's cause gape in their bodies, the wider the gates of heaven stand open to receive their souls. Besides, the pretending their

¹ *Rebellion*, bk. xi. 696.

² So states the title-page. The copy in the Brit. Mus. is dated Nov. 27, 1649. It was again issued in 1652, appended to the sermons on *Christ's Temptations*; and also in the later editions of *The House of Mourning*. Shortly after the

execution of the King, Thomas Cawton, an old associate of Fuller's, at Queen's College, and minister at St. Bartholomew's, near the Exchange, in a sermon before the Lord Mayor, so expressed himself in regard to the Royalists as to cause his imprisonment for some months.

cause is *God's cause*, will, in a manner legitimate the basest means in pursuance and prosecution thereof ; for though it be against God's word to do evil that good may come thereof, yet this old error will hardly be beaten out of the heads and hearts of many men, that crooked ways are made direct, by being directed to a straight end ; and the lustre of a bright cause will reflect a seeming light on very deeds of darkness used in tendency thereunto. This hath been an ancient stratagem of the worst men (great politicians) to take piety in their way, to the advancing of their designs The priests of Bel were but bunglers which could not steal the meat of the idol, but they must be discovered by the print of their footsteps. Men are grown more cunning thieves now-a-days ; first they will put on the shoes of him they intend to rob, and then steal, that so their treadings will tell no tales to their disadvantage ;—they will not stride a pace, nor go a step, nor stir a foot, but all for *God's cause*,—all for the good and glory of God. Thus Christ Himself was served from His cradle to His cross ; Herod, who sought to kill Him, pretended to worship Him ; and Judas kissed Him who betrayed Him.”

And again, under the last head, he says, with further reference to his own times : “ It is also the boundant duty of all pious people in their several distances and degrees, to improve their utmost for the preservation of dying innocency from the cruelty of such as would murder it. But if it be impossible to save it from death, so that it doth expire, notwithstanding all their care to the contrary, they must then turn lamenters at the funerals thereof. And if the iniquity of the times will not safely afford them to be *open*, they must be *close* mourners at so sorrowful an accident. O, let the most cunning chyrurgeons not begrutch their skill to unbowel, the richest merchants not think much of their choicest spices to embalm, the most exquisite joiner make the coffin, the most reverend divine the funeral sermon, the most accurate marbler erect the monument, and most renowned poet invent the epitaph to be inscribed on the tomb of Perishing Righteousness. Whilst all others, well-wishers to goodness in their several places, contribute to their sorrow at the solemn obsequies thereof, yea, as in the case of Josiah his death, let there be an Anniversary of Mourning kept in remembrance thereof. However, let them not mourn like men without hope, but let them behave themselves at the interment of his righteousness as confident of the resurrection thereof which God in His time shall raise out of the ashes : it is sown in weakness, it shall be raised in power ; it is sown in disgrace, it shall be raised in glory.” In this proposal for an “ Anniversary of Mourning ” we have the first public call for the national fast-day which was afterwards appointed. Many of the clergy began to keep it with Ussher, &c. ; as also the laity with Evelyn, &c. Fuller further says of the King : “ Solomon speaking of the death of an ordinary man, saith, ‘ the living will lay it to heart : ’ But when a righteous man is taken away, the

living ought to lay it to the very Heart of their heart, especially if he be a Magistrate or Minister of eminent note. When the eye-strings break, the heart-strings hold not out long after ; and when the *seers* are taken away, it is a sad symptom of a languishing Church or Commonwealth."

While thus publicly preaching such pointed sermons from such pointed texts, it is not surprising to read that the preacher, who was in daily fear of a renewed suspension, was sometimes met with *interruption* on the part of his auditors. Wherever he preached, there would be many whose zeal for the young republic would lead them to dissent from such inferences or lessons as he intended should be drawn. The prayers of ministers who continued to use the prohibited Prayer-book were particularly obnoxious. While Dr. Saunderson, for instance, was reading the old prayers to his parishioners at Boothby Pagnell, the soldiers, says Walton, "forced his book from him, or tore it, expecting extempore prayers ;" and it had gone hard with him if he had not followed the advice of some shrewd and influential member of the Parliament, not to be too strict in reading *all* the Common Prayer, but to vary it, particularly if he were watched. In other cases, greater violence was attempted. When at his rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Hacket was threatened to be shot by a soldier belonging to the army of the Earl of Essex, if he persisted in using words so odious, the former made the well-known dignified reply : "Soldier, you do your duty, and I will do mine ;" and gave no heed to the menace. Opposition was manifested in other ways. There are no details as to the forms of annoyance to which Fuller was subjected by his opponents ; but he himself relates an incident which we must have in his own words. He heads the paragraph—"KEEP YOUR CASTLE."—"Soon after the King's death I preached in a church near London, and a person then in great power, now [1660] levelled with his FELLOWS, was present at my sermon. Now, I had this passage in my prayer, 'God in His due time settle our nation on the *true foundation* thereof.'

"The (then) great man demanded of me what I meant by TRUE FOUNDATION. I answered, That I was no lawyer, nor statesman, and therefore skill in such matters was not to be expected from me.

"He pressed me farther to express myself whether thereby, I did not intend the king, lords, and commons. I returned, That it was a part of my prayer to God who had more knowledge than I had ignorance in all things, that He knew what was the *true foundation*, and I remitted all to His wisdom and goodness.

“When such men come with nets in their ears, it is good for the preacher to have neither fish nor fowl in his tongue. But, blessed be God, now we need not lie at so close a guard. Let the gent. now know that what he *suspected* I then *intended* in my words; and let him make what improvement he pleaseth thereof.”¹

Fuller's biographer quotes this as a “very excellent passage of the Doctor's,” and as “a kind of his experiments in prayer which were many and very observable; God often answering his desires in kind, and that immediately when he was in some distresses; and God's providence in taking care and providing for him in his whole course of life, wrought in him a firm resolution to depend upon Him, in what condition soever he should be; and he found that providence to continue in that tenour to his last end. Indeed he was wholly possessed with a holy fear of, and reliance in God.”²

In August of the present year (1649) Fuller is met with as attending the bedside of his old friend, DR. RICHARD HOLDSWORTH,³ whose fatal illness was hastened through the death of the King, upon whom he had been in attendance at Hampton Court and the Isle of Wight. Holdsworth's preaching in London was acceptable before the war; and it is recorded of him that when on one occasion preaching on the acclamation made to Herod, he called out as often as his audience applauded him (as was then usual), “Pray remember the text.” A notice of him states that “he filled not the people's ears with empty noise, but ravished their hearts with solid truths: here the church rang not with the preacher's raving, but with the hearers' groans.” Fuller observes that skill in school divinity and practical profitable preaching seldom agreed in the same person; but that if ever they were reconciled to the height in any of our nation it was in Holdsworth. He continued in esteem until the disruption, “when the times turned; and he standing still was left to the censure of factious innovators.” He was imprisoned for a long time at Ely House, and afterwards in the Tower. To his little room in the latter place it was that Laud, after receiving sentence, betook himself, desiring his prayers in particular. The two prelates had been fellow-prisoners a year and a half. Holdsworth was afterwards

¹ *Mixt Contemplations in Better Times*, xl. pt. ii. p. 60.

² *Life*, 97—99.

³ In Fuller's notice of him in *Worthies*, § Northumb. p. 305, his name is spelled *Holeworth*; but he elsewhere gives it as *Oldsworth*, and *Houldsworth*. Hence

the notice of him in the *Worthies*, indexed under the first-mentioned orthography, has been overlooked by many who have given particulars of this divine. Gataker and others wrote the name *Oldisworth*.

released, and allowed to attend the King, who gave him the Deanery of Worcester, then a mere title, and who also offered him the Bishopric of Bristol. Fuller was with Holdsworth "some days before his expiring;" and he relates a passage which he then heard from him, characterising him as an "excellent preacher, both by his pious life and patient death." He was buried at St. Peter's Poor, of which he was Rector, his executors and "worthy friends" Thomas Rich and Richard Abdy, Esquires, "ordering his funeral with great solemnities and lamentation." By his will he also named Dr. Brounrig, Bishop of Exeter, his executor. The portraiture of the divine is thus given: "He was of a comely personage, of a convenient stature, and a graceful aspect; of a most holy conversation, a sprightly wit, a transient anger, but a perpetual zeal." Fuller also thus commemorates his friend: "How eminent an instrument he was of God's glory and the Church's good, is unknown to none, who in the least degree were acquainted with his person and profitable pains. They knew him to be composed of a learned head, a gracious heart, a bountiful hand, and (what must not be omitted) a patient back, comfortably and cheerfully to endure such heavy afflictions as were laid upon him."¹

A year or two after Dean Holdsworth's death, Fuller, whose name was already of value to the publishers of the day, was entrapped into writing a preface to a volume of Holdsworth's reputed sermons, twenty-one in number, entitled *The Valley of Vision*, 1651. The publishers were R. Tomlins at the Sun and Bible, and R. Littlebury at the Unicorn,² and they state on the title-page that the sermons were by "that learned and reverend divine." In the address to the reader Fuller gives a straightforward account of his own share in the transaction.

The address is characteristic, some admirer of Fuller having in places pencilled *in margine* of my copy, "Tom Fuller all over," "Tom Fuller again," &c. He regrets that the Dean left no books of his own; an omission which could not, he says, be imputed to "any envy in him as grudging us the profit of his pains (one so open-handed of his alms could not be close-fisted of his labours, for a general good); rather it proceeded partly

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* xi. 215; *Hist. Camb.* 148; *The Valley of Vision* (preface).

² Two volumes of Sermons, by Holdsworth, but not included in *The Valley*, are (on 20th Feb. 1654) entered by John Stafford on the Registers of Stationers' Hall. They are thus described: "Entred for his Copie under ye hand of Mr. Norton Warden a booke called Heaven

upon Earth, or the Transfiguracon of Christ upon the Mount, opened in several sermons by Richard Holsworth, Doctor in Divinity. vj^d." "Entred for his Copie under the hand of Mr. Norton Warden a booke called, a Cordiall for the Love Sick soule. Deliverd in ix sermons on Cant. 2. 5. by Richard Holsworth, Dr. in Divinity. vj^d."

from his modesty, having the highest parts *in* himself, and the lowest opinion *of* himself; partly from his judicious observation that the world now-a-days surfeits with printed sermons." After adding that all Holdsworth's MSS. were "only legible to himself," he proceeds: "Yet that the world might not totally be deprived of his worthy endeavours, I trust, *his* pains will meet with commendation in most, with just censure in none, who being exquisite in the art of *Short-Writing* (the only way to retrieve winged words, and fix them to stay amongst us) hath with all possible accurateness first taken and now set them forth (by the permission, as I am credibly informed, of the Author's best friends) to public view." Fuller then quaintly discusses the preacher's recognition of his own discourses as printed in the volume; and recommends them to the reader.

It was discovered when too late to be corrected that our good-natured author had been imposed upon, only *one* sermon in the collection being really authentic. The sermon in question (which is paged quite distinct from the following twenty sermons, and was, moreover, "printed by Roger Daniel, 1642," the separate title-pages of the other sermons being all dated 1650) is entitled *The People's Happiness*, and was the discourse on the anniversary of the King's inauguration in 1642, which brought the preacher into trouble. It was printed by command of the King, to whom it is dedicated. In his notice of Holdsworth in *The Worthies*, Fuller referred to the spurious sermons in these terms: "Pity it is so learned a person left no monuments (save a sermon) to posterity; for I behold that posthume work as *none* of his, named by the transcriber *The Valley of Vision*, a scripture expression, but here misplaced. *Valley* it is indeed, not for the *fruitfulness* but *lowness* thereof (especially if compared to the high parts of the pretended author), but little *vision* therein. This I conceived myself in credit and conscience concerned to observe, because I was surprised to *preface* to the book; and will take the blame, rather than clear myself, when my innocency is complicated with the accusing of others."¹

Notwithstanding this emphatic and authentic disclaimer of this dishonest compilation, the *Valley of Vision* still passes under Holdsworth's name in the biographical dictionaries. It is thus further disowned in the address to the reader of Holdsworth's *Praelectiones Theologicae*, &c., edited in 1661 by his nephew Dr. Richard Pearson: "Unicam concionem edidit eamque non nisi tertio Regis optimi monitu, ipse alioquin religiosissimus autoritatis Regiae observator. Caeterae quae

¹ § Northumberland, p. 305.

prostant Anglicè venales à praedone illo stenographico tam lacerae et elumbes, tam miserè deformatae sunt ut parum aut nihil agnoscas genii et spiritûs Holdsworthiani." Lowndes erroneously attributes the editorship of this work to Bishop Pearson.²

The sermons of the great preachers of the day were often thus unduly interfered with. Fuller had once to complain of other short-hand freebooters, who from imperfect notes proposed to print his sermons on Ruth "to their profit, but my prejudice." The practice of taking down sermons in short-hand was, in those days of famous divines and frequent attendance at church, a very general custom. Earle says of his "young raw preacher" that his "collections of study are the notes of sermons, which taken up at St. Mary's, he utters in the country. And if he write brachigraphy, his stock is so much the better." Dr. Nathaniel Hardy likewise animadverted upon the "scribblers, stationers, and printers" who traded thus in the names of eminent divines, instancing two books of sermons falsely coming abroad under the name of his friend Dr. John Hewit, "done too, both against a special *caveat* entered in Stationers' Hall by his honourable Lady, and advertisements in print by two of his worthy friends, Dr. Wild and Mr. Barwick, whose names have been made use of without their privity or consent, to stand in place of Licensers of those Sermons." Hardy also complains of his name being attached to a printed prayer that he had never made; and also that it had been as wrongly placed in large letters on *The Herbal of Divinity*. Such treatment, he says, was the lot of many preachers of the Gospel; adding that he must "needs resent the impudence" of those who in yet another publication had treated him unjustly. "By this I plainly foresee what is to be expected when I am dead; the consideration whereof hath been and is one cause inducing me to appear so often in print."¹ Would that the same consideration had moved the complainer to print the much-desired Funeral Sermon which he preached on Thomas Fuller, but which is apparently lost!

¹ *A Sad Prognostic of Approaching Judgment or, The Happy Misery of Good Men in Bad Times*, 1658. To the Reader. ² Page 1085.



CHAPTER XV.

CURATE OF WALTHAM ABBEY. (1649-50.)

SETTLEMENT AT WALTHAM-HOLY-CROSS.—THE EARL OF CARLISLE.—THE TOWN AND ABBEY IN FULLER'S TIME.—THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS.—ARCHBP. CRANMER; JOHN FOXE; BISHOP HALL.—ALLEGED COMPLIANCE WITH THE TIMES: FULLER'S DEFENCE.—HIS INDEPENDENCE.—INTERVIEW WITH SEQUESTRATORS.—FULLER'S TITLED PATRONS: THE EARLS OF MIDDLESEX; THE EARL OF WARWICK.—FULLER ATTACKED BY SMALL-POX.—HIS NEIGHBOUR-PATRONS: DR. BALDWIN HAMEY; MATTHEW GILLY; EDWARD PALMER, ESQRS., ETC.—HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS FRIENDS.—THE FULLERS OF ESSEX.

"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." (*The History of Abbeys in England: Church-History*, Bk. vi. 263.)

ABOUT this time our wandering parson met with an unexpected piece of good fortune, which was the means of giving him, not only a settled home, but also that leisure and quiet to which he had so long been a stranger. Some time before 1649, Fuller had attracted the attention of the Earl of Carlisle, who became greatly attached to him. The nobleman "voluntarily and desirously" bestowed his living of Waltham Abbey (or Waltham-Holy-Cross) upon the homeless clergyman, who was, we are told, "highly beloved by that noble Lord and other gentlemen and inhabitants of the parish."¹

The EARL OF CARLISLE, the son of the gay and profligate first Earl, had taken the King's side on the breaking out of the war, serving as a volunteer at the battle of Newbury, 1643, where he was wounded. About the middle of March, 1644, he "deserted the King's party and came into the Parliament," taking the oath for those that came out of the King's quarters. He compounded for his estate; and it is said that he gave

¹ *Life*, pp. 40, 41.

“what he could save from his enemies in largesses to his friends, especially the learned clergy, whose prayers and good converse he reckoned much upon, as they did upon his charities; which completed his kindness with bounty, as that adorned his bounty with courtesy; courtesy not affected, but naturally made up of humility that secured him from envy; and a civility that kept him in esteem: he being happy in an expression that was high and not formal, and a language that was courtly and yet real.” He was one of the noblemen who invited Seth Ward with “proffers of large and honourable pensions to come and reside in their families.”¹ His composition cost him £800.

The Earl, in right of his barony of Waltham and Sawley, had still in his gift the perpetual curacy of Waltham Abbey. It is a curious feature of the time that in the midst of many ecclesiastical changes during the civil troubles, the ancient right of presentation to benefices not unfrequently remained in the hands of the former patrons. Many of the latter, who had been actually engaged with the Royalists in the war, not only kept possession of their right to nominate to livings, but even exercised the privilege. Sometimes, however, the Presbyterians questioned the selection. Under the Commonwealth Fuller himself thought it was a grievance that ministers were set over parishes without the will of the lawful donors. Waltham Abbey was in the bishopric of Rochester; and Dr. Warner, famous for his advocacy of Episcopacy in the House of Lords and for his generosity to the ejected clergy, thus became Fuller's diocesan as well as intimate friend. But the Bishop had, of course, very little power in the county, it being then entirely under the *presbyterian* form of Church-government. For in May, 1646, certain ministers of the county had presented a petition to the Lords for the organisation of that discipline; and by a decree of the following January, signed among others by the Earls of Warwick and Manchester, ministers and elders were named to fourteen *classes* in the county.² This Presbyterian influence soon began to decline; and with the rise of the Independents, there was more religious liberty.

Fuller's timely presentation to this vacant benefice was of great service to him. One of his editors speaks of the arrangement which put him into possession of the living as “one of the methods by which Divine Providence at that time preserved several of the eminent episcopal clergy from the common ruin

¹ Whitelocke, 83, &c.; Lloyd's *Memoires*, 676.

² See the list in David's *Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 255—306.

and dispersion of their order, and from the rancorous molestation of their determined enemies."¹ Fuller's friend, Jeremy Taylor, was (it will be remembered) befriended in a similar way by Lord Carbery, at Golden Grove, and afterwards by Lord Conway. Although very many of the clergy were finding entertainment in the houses of the Cavalier aristocracy and others, very few of them at the same time occupied livings. Fuller's position was therefore exceptional.

The exact date at which Fuller received the curacy cannot be ascertained from documentary records. There are no accessible means of throwing any light on the subject from local sources. The registers, which it was usual for the minister to sign (a custom which Fuller has invariably followed elsewhere), do not fix the date definitely; nor do the ancient churchwardens' accounts afford any clue.² It is most probable that Fuller was presented during the latter part of 1648 or early in 1649. He refers to the gift in his *Pisgah-Sight*, which, though actually published in 1650, was already partly completed in 1649, in April of which year it was entered at Stationers' Hall. The reference in question is found upon one of the quaintly engraved maps, dated "*apud Waltham, 1649.*"³ Oldys placed the date of appointment in 1648,⁴ earlier than which it cannot truly be stated.⁵ An official pamphlet published in 1648, which contains the "names of the ministers and others fit to be of each *classis*," approved of by the standing committee of the County of Essex and by the Committee of Lords and Commons, gives "M. Price" as then minister. He is, no doubt, that Wm. Price, B.D., whose name first occurs in the register 23rd March, 1644.⁶ Price was one of the Assembly, and the author of a sermon preached at Westminster 25th Nov., 1646, entitled *Man's Delinquencie attended by Divine Justice*, in which he calls himself "Pastor of Waltham Abby." He seems also to have belonged to St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Price may therefore have been Fuller's immediate predecessor. A manuscript in the British Museum,⁷ containing an account

¹ Nichols, in Preface to *Hist. Camb.*

² The requisite search was kindly made by the Rev. F. G. Batho, M.A., and the Rev. James Francis, M.A., the Vicar, to whose exact knowledge of the antiquities of their parish this chapter stands indebted.

³ *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 238.

⁴ *Biog. Brit.* art. *Fuller*.

⁵ Newcourt (whom most follow) places it in 1640, giving Dr. Thomas Reeve, 1664, as Fuller's successor. (*Rep.* ii. 631.)

Fuller's biographer also misplaces the event.

⁶ So I am informed by Mr. Winters, of Waltham.

⁷ MS. Lansdown, 459, described as "A Register of all the Church livings" in Seventeen Counties, "with an account of their annual income, the names of the patrons and incumbents, and the particular characters of many of the latter. It is supposed to have been made about the year 1654 for the use of the Commission-

of certain Church-livings, and belonging apparently to the year 1650, mentions under Waltham "Mr. fuller" as being at that time the incumbent, and "an able, godly preaching minister;"¹ terms which seem to imply some continued residence on his part among the parishioners.

The curacy was all the more agreeable to Fuller, and less open to objection on the part of the local *classis*, from the fact that there were "other gentlemen" in the parish besides his "great friends" by whom he was encouraged to accept the living. All were desirous of having so witty and good a man for their neighbour.

To other favours bestowed by the Earl on Fuller, he added that of making him his chaplain.² Good reason there was, therefore, for the frequent grateful mention of the nobleman by Fuller. The first public expression of his gratitude was made in the very first book (the *Pisgah-Sight*) which he dated from his new parsonage-home. Upon the map of Benjamin, engraved by Robert Vaughan, of Waltham, he states that the Earl set him over the flock at Waltham, when he had no fixed habitation; and gave him such a salary as was not ordinarily allotted. Fuller earnestly hopes that his patron might have the fivefold happiness of Benjamin in this life, and everlasting happiness in that to come.³

The Earl has, of course, prominent notice in our author's history of the Abbey, in which he says it was then (1655) "the inheritance of this Earl's grandchild (by Honora, his daughter), James Hay, Earl of Carlile, who married Margaret, daughter to Francis, Earl of Bedford, by whom as yet he hath no issue; for the continuance of whose happiness my prayers shall never

ers appointed in the Act for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers."

¹ Folio 116 b. ² *Life*, p. 40.

³ This dedication is as follows: "Honorati: ac dignissimo Dnō Dnō Jacobo Comitii Carleolensi Vicecomiti Doncastrensi Baroni Hay de Sauley et Waltham, qui eum incertis laribus errantem Walthamensi Gregi praefecit stipendio non vulgari assignato felicitatem Benjaminicā in hoc Seculo quintuplam in futuro interminam exoptat T: F:" (*Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 238.) The curacy had been enriched, *temp.* Charles I., the Rev. John Guibon being Curate, by the Earl's grandfather, Sir Edward Denny (grandchild of that Sir Anthony Denny to whom Henry VIII. gave the Abbey and its lands), who be-

came Earl of Norwich in 1626. He settled on the Curate, in place of the "bare stipend" of £8, the sum of £100 *per annum*, "with some other considerable accommodations [viz. the house, wood, &c.], tying good land for the true performance thereof." Without this increase the minister must, as Fuller has it, have kept more fast days than ever were put in the Roman calendar. (*History of Waltham*, p. 20.) The Lansdown MS. describes the "vicaradge" as possessing this annual income "allowed by Earle, a certain sum payable out of Charnbury farme." The Claverhambury Estate is near Copt Hall. The gross amount of the revenues of the Abbey when its Abbots were mitred Parliamentary barons was upwards of £1,000.

be wanting.”¹ He patronised Fuller’s other works. *The Infants Advocate* (1653) is inscribed to this “most bountiful patron.” The fourth book of Fuller’s great folio has a similar inscription, in the course of which he gives a notice of the ancestors of the Earl, extolling the family for its having been honourably ennobled and wonderfully preserved. He says further that the shadow of the least of the in-escutcheons in his patron’s arms, with its favourable reflection, was sufficient to protect and defend his weak endeavours. The author dedicated his *History of Waltham Abbey* to the same Mecænas, saying that the inscription of it to any other would make it a stray indeed, and so would fall to his Lordship as due unto him by the custom of his manor. Lastly, Fuller adds in his *Appeal* (1659): “All will presume me knowing enough in the orthography of his title, who was my patron when I wrote the book [*Church-History*]; and whom I shall ever, whilst I live, deservedly honour for his great bounty unto me.”²

WALTHAM-HOLY-CROSS, the scene of Fuller’s new curacy, is situated upon the east side of the River Lea, in Essex. It obtained its distinguishing name from the miracle-working rood which, found in the West in the reign of Canute, was removed to the minster of Waltham, to which it gave a reputation for sanctity. It is to be distinguished from the village, one mile distant, called *Waltham Cross*,³ on the west side of the river, in Hertfordshire, the name being derived from the Gothic cross raised there by Edward I. in memory of his Queen Eleanore,—an erection which, when Fuller came to the parish, bore traces of recent rough treatment at the hands of those who had also destroyed in the Abbey a representation of Harold in glass, and damaged other portions of it. The action of the “deforming reformers” of the reign of Elizabeth and Charles I. was in Fuller’s remembrance when, in 1650, he wrote: “No zealot reformer (whilst Egypt was Christian) demolished *the Pyramids* under the notion of Pagan monuments.”⁴ Afterwards, regretting the destruction of Paul’s Cross, he thought that while “idle crosses, standing only for shew, were published for offenders, this useful one,” which was “guilty of no other superstition save accommodating the preacher and some about him with convenient places,” might have been spared: “but all is fish which comes to the net of sacrilege.”⁵ As regards the cross at Waltham, Fuller, who was “a great lover and preserver

¹ Page 20.

² Pt. iii. p. 558.

³ “There be many Walthams in Eng-

land, and three in Essex.” (*Worthies*, § Essex.)

⁴ *Pisgah-Sight*, iv. 83.

⁵ *Worthies*, § Kent, p. 72.

(properties never parted) of antiquities," tenderly regarded it in its low estate.

The River Lea is crossed two or three times ere we reach the famous Abbey, but there seem to have been more bridges in the time of Fuller, one of whose "remarkables" regarding the stream is that it "not only parteth Hertfordshire from Essex, but also seven times parteth from its self; whose septemfluous stream in coming to the town is crossed again with so many bridges." Thereabouts Izaak Walton, the angler, often fished; and mayhap at Waltham the acquaintance of "my deservedly honoured Master Isaac Walton"¹ with Fuller² may have begun.

The town of Waltham was in part surrounded with large and fruitful meadows, yielding rich crops, and in part by an extensive forest—part of the great Weald of Essex, "where, fourteen years since [*i.e.* about 1642], one might have seen whole herds of red and fallow deer. But these late licentious years have been such a Nimrod—such 'an hunter'—that all at this present are destroyed, though I could wish this were the worst effect which our woful wars have produced."³ The bounds of the forest had been greatly reduced as well in the perambulation of 1640 as during the wars. Epping Forest is now its only relic. As *Walt-ham* implies, the town was once within the purlieu of the Weald. Fuller's description of the town and neighbourhood still holds good:—"The air of the town is condemned by many for over-moist and aguish, caused by the depressed scituation thereof; in confutation of which censure we produce the many aged persons in our town above threescore-and-ten years of age; so that it seems we are sufficiently healthful, if sufficiently thankful for the same. Sure I am, what is wanting in good air in the *town*, is supplied in the *parish*, wherein as many

¹ *Worthies*, § London.

² Fuller and "my worthily respected friend Mr. Isaac Walton" (so called in *Ch.-Hist.* bk. x. 112) had a great admiration for each other. There was no little similarity in their affections and pursuits: both were acquainted with the great divines of their time; both were blessed with very cheerful dispositions and with exceedingly industrious and active minds. Each had a love for antiquarian lore, and successfully collected biographical memoirs, rescuing the particulars of English *Worthies* from oblivion. They both belonged to the same Church; and, besides being in high repute for their attachment and devotion to the

royal cause, they had friends among the persecuted clergy as well as among the more eminent adherents of the late King. Walton's remarkable book on angling, *The Contemplative Man's Recreation*, was written with a similar aim to that of Fuller's meditative treatises during the contentions. In particular, they were each lovers of peace and quiet, for the clergyman frequently enforced the apostolic motto with which the enthusiastic fisherman concluded his *Compleat Angler*—"STUDY TO BE QUIET." Fuller (*Worthies*) often quotes his friend Piscator as an authority in all matters relating to the fish of the separate counties.

³ *Hist. Waltham*, p. 5.

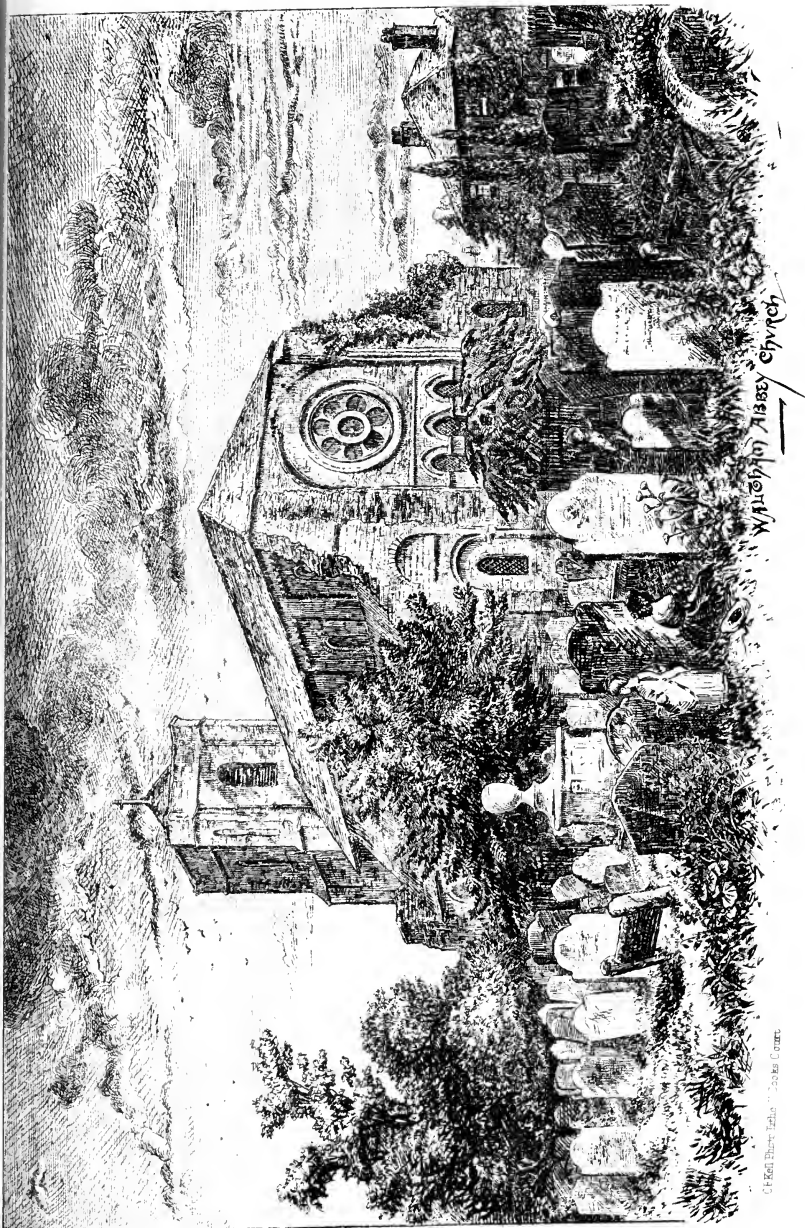
pleasant hills and prospects are as any place in England doth afford." ¹

The town is somewhat irregularly arranged, and contains many old buildings. One, who visited it in the spirit of a pilgrim to a shrine, observed that it might still be said to represent Fuller. "Everything about it looked as if it had a sort of sympathy with his quaint, good-natured, and witty spirit. . . . Humorous turns, bo-peep corners, unexpected street vistas, architectural 'quips and cranks,' queer associations, grotesque groupings—all varieties in good-tempered unity, told of their former Pastor.'

THE ABBEY is the chief object of interest. The original church, which sheltered the two priestly custodiers of the sacred relic, grew, under the favour of King Harold, into a magnificent monastery. Thither Harold's remains (first placed in the cairn-grave on the Sussex coast), were finally conveyed and buried. In the *Worthies* Fuller has a circumstantial account of the opening, in the reign of Elizabeth, of a tomb which was generally conceived to be that of Harold, one of the pedestals of which was carefully preserved by our antiquary "in my house" near the Abbey.² The foundation suffered much at the hands of the Norman kings; it was befriended in Stephen's time; and by Henry II. it was refounded and enlarged. Successive kings added to it. At the dissolution every portion but the nave—which belonged to the parishioners—and Lady-chapel was destroyed, and its extensive lands passed to Sir Anthony Denny, one of the King's executors. In Mary's reign the edifice underwent considerable repairs. Fuller, quoting from the parish books, supplies suggestive extracts relating to the sale or purchase of various articles for the service of the church, which strikingly show the changes in the devotion of those times. Since this period it has been grievously handled by its churchwardens. Both the Abbey and the roads were in much need of restoration in Fuller's time, insomuch that when Charles I. visited the town in 1641, the Earl of Carlisle, who entertained him, urged him to grant a moderate toll of cattle "coming over the bridge (with their great drifts [droves] doing much damage to the highways), and therewith both the town might be paved and the church repaired. The King graciously granted it, provided it were done with the privity and consent of a great prelate (not so safe to be named as easy to be guessed), with whom he consulted in all Church-matters. But when the foresaid prelate [Laud] was informed that the Earl had applied to His

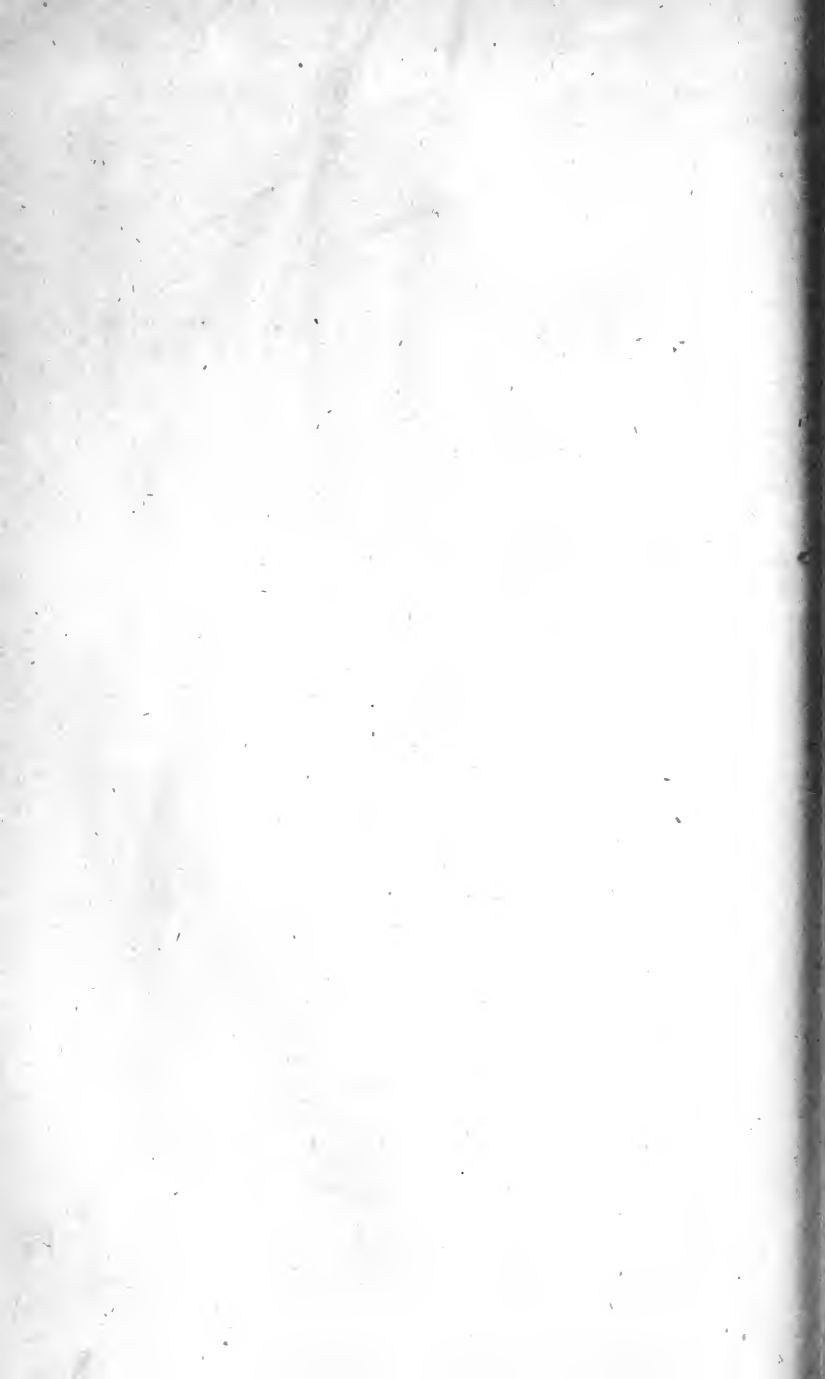
¹ *Hist. Waltham*, p. 6.

² § Essex, p. 320; *Hist. Waltham*, p. 7.



Walsingham Abbey Church

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Majesty before addresses to himself, he dashed the design; so that poor Waltham Church must still be contented with their weak walls and worse roof, till Providence procure her some better benefactors." But notwithstanding its condition, its worthy minister found there, Sunday after Sunday, that "best commendation of the church," its being filled "with a great and attentive congregation."¹

In his admirable account of his parish Fuller thus describes the Abbey as it was in his time:—

"A structure of Gothish building, rather large than neat, firm than fair; very dark (the design of those days to raise devotion), save that it was helped again with artificial lights; and is observed by artists to stand the most exactly east and west of any in England. The great pillars thereof are wreathed with indentings, which vacuities, if formerly filled up with brass (as some confidently report) added much to the beauty of the building. But it matters not so much their taking away the brass from the pillars, had they but left the lead on the roof, which is but meanly tiled at this day."

The extent of the building had been reduced at the suppression, the west end of the old edifice being the present church. The ancient central tower, with its "five great tuneable bells," fell down soon afterwards, perhaps on the destruction of the choir. The present square tower was erected in 1558. The old bells had been hung meanwhile in a framework in the churchyard, but had to be again sold to raise money; so that Waltham, says Fuller, which formerly had "steeple-less bells, now had a bell-less steeple." The parishioners and the Earl bought six, which in Fuller's time used to chime every four hours. The great bell was rung at 4 A.M. to rouse the apprentices to their work; and again at 8 P.M., when their labour ceased. During Fuller's pastorate the bachelors and maids of his congregation purchased the treble bell at a cost of £13 12s. 8d., and the parish at the same time paid for another. This was doubtless done at Fuller's instance, whose frequent references to English bells betokens his liking for them. We learn from one of his remarks that England in his time was called "the ringing island."

Upon the south side of the church a chapel was connected, which was, says our authority, "formerly Our Lady's, now a schoolhouse: and under it an arched charnel-house, the fairest that ever I saw. Here a pious fancy could make a feast to itself on these dry bones, with the meditation of mortality."

¹ *Hist. of Waltham*, pp. 22, 6.

After having suffered from long neglect, the edifice, but not the Lady-chapel, underwent a thorough and fitting restoration, and was re-opened in 1860.

The parishioners were, as we gather from an expression of Fuller's, generally poor. They were mostly employed in tending the large herds of cattle, which found a rich and plentiful pasture in the meadows. Fuller mentions fish as one of the chief commodities in their weekly market; but the trading of the town was insignificant, because, as he put it, the *golden* market at Leadenhall made *leaden* markets in all places thereabouts.¹ Many of the inhabitants were employed in the gunpowder factories, then in private hands. "More powder was," says Fuller, "made by mills of late erected on the River Ley, betwixt Waltham and London, than in all England besides." The charcoal was obtained from the willows which grew in the marshes. Fuller adds, with a recollection of the uncomfortable contiguity of the mills to his own house, that it "is questionable whether the making of gunpowder be more profitable or more dangerous, the mills in my parish having been *five* times blown up within *seven* years; but, blessed be God! without the loss of any one man's life."²

Waltham was famous in other respects than those named. Its fane being the nearest "mitred abbey" to London, whence it was distant about twelve miles, it had in bygone days often entertained noble guests. Hard by, at the house of "one Mr. Cressie," Cranmer was introduced to Henry VIII., when on his way to London from one of his "progresses;" and it was on this occasion that the future Archbishop suggested the abolition of the Pope's supremacy.

Fuller relates in his *Church-History* that Cranmer came to the town attended by two of his pupils, "the sons of Mr. Cressey, a name utterly extinct in that town (where God hath fixed my present habitation) long before the memory of any alive. But, consulting Weever's *Funeral Monuments* of Waltham Church (more truly than neatly by him composed), I find therein (p. 645) this epitaph:—

' Here lieth Jon and Jone Cressy,
On whose soulys Jesu hav mercy. Amen.'

It seems, paper sometimes is more lasting than brass; all the ancient epitaphs in that Church being defaced by some barbarous hands, who perchance one day may want a grave for themselves."³

¹ *Hist. Waltham*, p. 9.

² *Worthies*, § Essex, p. 319.

³ Bk. v. (179).

It was on account of the spoliation here referred to that Fuller failed to find the arms of his Abbey, which, says our herald, "appear at this day neither in glass, wood, nor stone, in or about the town or church thereof. At last we have recovered them (*unus homo nobis*) out of a fair deed of Robert Fuller's, the last Abbot, though not certain of the metal and colours, viz. *gules*, (as I conjecture) two angels (can they be less than *or*?) with their hands (such we find of them in Scripture, Matt. iv. 6) holding betwixt them a cross *argent*, brought hither, saith our antiquary, by miracle."¹

These passages indicate that Fuller attentively began to examine the antiquities of his Abbey; and conceiving that he owed "some particular description to that place of my abode," where Providence, by the hands of his worthy friends, had planted him, he wrote the valuable sketch of it as an appendage to his general history of the English abbeys. Reflecting amidst scenes in which the Regular Canons of the old monastery had served their generations, apart from the troubles of the outside world, his then feelings became engaged in their behalf, and he drew a very favourable picture of their piety and painfulness, being especially attracted to their secluded lives which could turn "solitariness itself into society." "It would do one good even but to think of their goodness, and at the rebound and second hand to meditate on their meditations. For if ever Poverty was to be envied, it was here." The refuge which they enjoyed seemed to be the haven to which the moderate men of his day might wish to repair.²

Apart from the interest attaching to the minster, the town is memorable from its connection with JOHN FOXE, the martyr-ologist, and JOSEPH HALL, "the English Seneca." The former wrote his *Martyrs* in the parish, a traditionary garret under the roof of the old building opposite the south wall of the churchyard being still pointed out as once his tenement. His descendants yet lived in the parish. Bishop Hall had been removed to the Abbey by Lord Denny, and remained curate for twenty-two years. He was not unlike Fuller in genius and disposition. In the Abbey he had preached those *Contemplations* which are still read with interest and delight. The good effects of his zealous labours were still apparent when Fuller, very many years afterwards, came to the parish. "I must pay the tribute of my gratitude to his memory," says Fuller, "as building upon his foundation, beholding myself as his great grandchild in that place, three degrees from him in succession, but oh!

¹ Bk. vi. 322.

² *Ch.-Hist.* bk. vi. 263.

how many from him in ability! His little Catechism hath done great good in that populous parish; and I could wish that ordinance more generally used all over England."

Hall attended the embassy of the Earl of Carlisle to France, accompanied King James to Scotland, and was afterwards sent, with other English divines, to the Synod of Dort (1619), but had to return through ill-health. He was successively Dean of Worcester, Bishop of Exeter, and (1641) Bishop of Norwich. The uprising of the popular feeling in the period preceding the war is said to have filled him with apprehension; he, like Fuller, saw "the sky thicken, and heard the winds whistle and hollo afar off, and felt all the presages of a tempest." He was imprisoned with the protesting Bishops, and suffered in other respects during the subsequent years. Alluding to his illness at Dort, Fuller, writing his *Church-History* about 1651, acquaints us that the Bishop was then "so recovered, not to say revived, 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' (1 Sam. xvii. 12). And living privately, having passed through the bishoprics of Exeter and Norwich, hath now the opportunity in these troublesome times, effectually to practise those his precepts of patience and contentment which his pen hath so eloquently recommended to others."

When thus writing the account of the Synod of Dort, Fuller, desirous of ascertaining the truth of a statement made by John Goodwin in his *Redemption Redeemed*, in regard to the divines at Dort, says that it came in his mind to ask the Bishop's sons (with whom he occasionally exchanged letters) the question of Joseph to his brethren: "Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake, is he yet alive?" And, being informed of his life and health, he wrote and received a reply, dated "Higham, Aug. 30, 1651," signed "Your much devoted friend, precessor, and fellow-labourer, Jos. Hall, B.N." Hall, who blessed God that he had lived to vindicate the memory of the Divines, survived to see the publication of his friend's *Church-History*, dying Sept. 8, 1656, aged 82. His last book was written on the occasion of his wife's death, being entitled *Songs in the Night; or, Cheerfulness in Affliction*. Of his numerous writings Fuller has said: "Not unhappy at controversies, more happy at comments, very good in his characters, better in his sermons, best of all in his meditations."¹

¹ *Worthies*, § Leicestershire, p. 130; *Ch.-Hist.* bk. x. pp. 80, 86.

Fuller's peaceful possession of this retired curacy excited the envy of some of his brethren who were not as advantageously circumstanced. In his occupancy of the pastoral charge his censors saw a want of loyalty to the fallen monarchy, and a lukewarmness for the Church. Heylyn, in his attack upon Fuller, advanced the direct charge that Fuller "complied with the times." The taunt has often been repeated since, but never in so offensive a way as by Hearne (the celebrated antiquary and Librarian of the Bodleian), who, alluding to the anonymous *Life*, "only the skeleton of a life," adds: "A great character of the Dr. is in it. Yet *he was certainly a Trimmer.*"¹ In reply to Heylyn, Fuller spoke at length upon the subject in his *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, written early in 1659. His very ingenuous and manly defence of his carriage, in critical times which put the shrewdest of the ejected Churchmen to a keen test, may appropriately be made here. No passage in his writings so well illustrates his moderation of character, or helps to explain the kindness with which all classes regarded him.

He says that there is a *sinful* and a *sinless* compliance with the times. After having explained the former, he passes to the latter, which he says is lawful and necessary. Commenting upon the text "Serving the time" (Rom. xii. 11), he says the doctrine was true, if the rendering were false: "though we must not be slaves and vassals, we may be servants to the times." Lawful agreeableness with the times was partly passive, partly active. *Passive*, consisting in bearing and forbearing: *bearing*, in paying the taxes imposed; *forbearing* (1) by silence, "using no provoking language against the present power," and (2) by "refraining (though not without secret sorrow) from some laudable act which he heartily desireth, but dares not do, as visibly destructive to his person and estate, being prohibited by the predominant powers. In such a case a man may, to use the Apostle's phrase, *διὰ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἀνάγκην*, 'for the present necessity' (1 Cor. vii. 26), omit many things pleasing to, but not commanded by, that God who preferreth mercy before sacrifice." Lawful compliance, again, was *active*, doing what was enjoined "as being indifferent; and sometimes so good that our own conscience doth or should enjoin the same. In such a case, where there is a concurrence of both together, it is neither dishonesty nor indiscretion for one in himself to conceal his own inclinations, and publicly to

¹ MS. Diary in Bib. Bodl. sub an. 1720, Aug. 24, Wednesday, St. Bartholomew's Day.—On that day Thomas Rawlinson,

Esq., lent Hearne the book in question, an abstract of which he proceeds to give.

put his actions (as fasting, thanksgiving, preaching, &c.) on the account of conformity to the times; it being (as flattery to court, so no less) folly to contemn and reject the favour of the times, when it may be had without the least violation—yea, possibly, with an improvement of our own conscience.

“I have endeavoured to steer my carriage by the compass aforesaid; and my main motive thereunto was, that I might enjoy the benefit of my ministry, the bare using whereof is the greatest advancement I am capable of in this life. I know all stars are not of the same bigness and brightness: some shine, some only twinkle; and allowing myself of the latter size and sort, I would not willingly put out my own (though dim) light in total darkness, nor would bury my half-talent, hoping by putting it forth to gain another half-talent thereby, to the glory of God, and the good of others.

“But it will be objected against me, that it is suspicious (at the least) that I have bribed the times with some base compliance with them, because they have reflected so favourably upon me. Otherwise how cometh it to pass that my fleece, like Gideon’s, is dry, when the rest of my brethren of the same party are wet with their own tears? I being permitted preaching, and peaceable enjoying of a parsonage?

“I answer, First I impute this peaceableness I enjoy to God’s undeserved goodness on my unworthiness. ‘He hath not dealt thus with all my brethren,’ above me in all respects. God maketh people sometimes *potius reperire quam invenire gratiam*—to find the favours they sought not for. If I am one of them whom God hath made ‘to be pitied of those who carried me away captive’ (Ps. cvi. 46), I hope I shall be thankful unto Him; and others, I hope, will not be envious at me for so great a mercy.

“Next to the fountain of God’s goodness, I ascribe my liberty of preaching to the favour of some great friends God hath raised up for me. It was not a childish answer, though the answer of a child to his father, taxing him for being proud of his new coat, ‘I am glad,’ said he, ‘but not proud of it!’ Give me leave to be glad, and joyful in myself, for my good friends; and to desire and endeavour their continuance and increase. ‘A friend in the court’ hath always been accounted ‘as good as a penny in the council, as a pound in the purse.’ Nor will any rational man condemn me for making my addresses to and improvement of them, seeing the Animadvertor himself (as I am informed) hath his friend in the council; and it is not long since he had occasion to make use of his favour.”

Having referred to the advantages which he derived from the

Articles of Exeter, of which he "had the benefit," he adds: "Nor was it (though last named) least casual of my quiet, that (happy criticism to myself as I may call it!) I was never formally sequestered, but went, before driven away, from my living; which took off the edge of the Ordinance against me, that the weight thereof fell but slantingly upon me. Thus when God will fasten a favour on any person, (though never so unworthy) he ordereth the concurrences of all things contributive thereunto.

"All I will add is this, that hitherto [1659] (and I hope, [He] who hath [kept] will keep me,—I speak it in the presence of God) I have not by my pen or practice to my knowledge, done anything unworthily to the betraying of the interest of the Church of England; and if it can be proved, let my mother-church not only 'spit in my face,' (the expression, it seems, of parents amongst the Jews when they were offended with their children for some misdemeanour, Num. xii. 14,) but also 'spue me out of her mouth.' Some will say, 'Such a vaunt savoureth of a Pharisaical pride.' I utterly deny it. For even the publican after he came from his confession he had made in the temple, 'God be merciful to me a sinner,' (Luke xviii. 13,) had he met one in the outward court, accusing and taxing him with such particular sins whereof he was guiltless, would no doubt have replied in his own just defence. And seeing I am on my purgation, in what the Schools terms *justicia causae*, (though not *personae*), I cannot say less (as I will no more) in my justification.

"Thus have I represented the reader with the true complexion of my cause; and though I have not painted the face thereof with false colours, I hope I have washed from it the foul aspersion of temporizing or sinful agreableness with the times, which the Animadvertor causelessly casts upon it.

"So much," adds he in conclusion, "for my outward carriage in reference to the times; meantime, what the thoughts of my heart have been thereof, I am not bound to make a discovery, to my own danger. Sure I am, such who are 'peaceable and faithful in Israel' (2 Sam. xx. 19), may nevertheless be 'mourners in Zion,' (Isaiah lxi. 3,) and grieve at what they cannot mend, but must endure. This also I know, that that spoke in the wheel which creaketh most doth not bear the greatest burthen in the cart. The greatest complainers are not always the greatest sufferers; whilst as much, yea, more, sincere sorrow may be managed in secret silence, than with querulous and clamorous obstreperousness; and such who will never print nor

preach satires on the times, may make elegies on them in their own souls." ¹

Many passages in our author's writings, penned about the time when he received his living, are in striking accord with the foregoing remarks, with which they naturally connect themselves. We cite a few of these passages, to show that he did not always attempt to conceal his principles. The citations give testimony to the general freedom allowed to reputed Royalists during the interregnum; and they exhibit "that stout church-and-king man" whom our hero all along typifies. These two-edged passages are especially numerous in the *Pisgah-Sight*, printed in the year following the execution of the King: others are to be found in the *Church-History*. Thus, he says of the death of Absalom that—

"It was Joab that despatched him with three darts through his heart. Wherein through a treble orifice were discovered disobedience to his parent, treason to his prince, and hypocrisy to his God, pretending a sacrifice and intending rebellion." And he adds of Absalom's tomb, that it consisted of "a great pit to hold, and a great heap of stones to hide a great traitor under it. May they there lie hard and heavy on his corpes, and withal (if possible) sink down his rebellious example from ever having a resurrection! No methodical monument but this hurdle of stones was fittest for such a causer of confusion." ²

Elsewhere of Absalom's pillar, he remarks,—

"Pilgrims at this very day, passing by the place, use every man to cast a stone upon it; and my request to the reader is, if he should ever go thither, that when he hath first served himself and satisfied his own revenge, he would then be pleased to cast one stone more upon that heap, in my name, to express my detestation of so damnable a rebellion." Rebellion, he adds, though "running so at hand is quickly tired as having rotten lungs; whilst well breathed Loyalty is best at a long course." ³

The same book contains more glances at his own times. He refrains from giving the title "Holy Land" to Palestine "lest while I call the land holy, this age count me superstitious." Again—

"Such as take down one church, before fully furnished for the setting up of a new, make a dangerous breach for profaneness and atheism to enter in thereat. No such *regnum* for Satan, as in the *interregnum* between two religions." ⁴

He alludes to the Rechabites as constantly dwelling in tents,—

"So to entertain all turnings of the times with less trouble to themselves. Provident birds, only to perch on the boughs, not build their nests on that tree which they suspected would suddenly be cut down, foreseeing, perchance

¹ *Appeal*, pt. i. (ch. xiv.) pp. 302—305.

³ Bk. ii. 296, 297.

² Bk. ii. 79.

⁴ Bk. iii. 422.

the captivity of Babylon. Indeed in all fickle times (such as we live in) it is folly to fix on any durable design, as inconsistent with the uncertainty of our age, and safest to pitch up *tent-projects*, whose alteration may be with less loss, and a clear conscience comply with the change of the times." ¹

His occasional agitation of mind in certain emergencies is seen, *e.g.*, in his description of Issachar (whose resemblance to an ass should not, he says, depress the tribe too low in our estimation; the strength of his back, not stupidity of his head, gave the occasion thereunto), where he says that the inhabitants were men that had "understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do" (1 Chron. xii. 32); and then exclaims: "Oh for a little of Issachar's art in our age, to make us understand *these* intricate and perplexed times, and to teach *us* to know what we ought to do, to be safe with a good conscience!" ²

The new curate of Waltham Abbey had probably not been very long settled there before he was brought into contact with the local Ecclesiastical Board. In connection with one of their interviews, we are told another characteristic anecdote about Fuller and his powers of memory,—an anecdote which proves that it was not always to *showy* uses that he put this remarkable gift. It is one of the traditionary anecdotes of Fuller, and is thus related:—

"This gentleman, making a visit to a *committee of Sequestrators* sitting at Waltham in Essex, they soon fell into a discourse and commendation of his great memory, to which Mr. Fuller replied, 'Tis true, gentlemen, that fame has given me the report of a memorist, and if you please I will give you an experiment of it.' They all accepted the motion, and told him they should look upon it as an obligation; laid aside the business before them, and prayed him to begin. 'Gentlemen,' (says he), 'I will give you an instance of my good memory in that particular. Your worships have thought fit to sequester an honest poor but cavalier parson, my neighbour, from his living, and committed him to prison; he has a great charge of children, and his circumstances are but indifferent; if you please to release him out of prison and restore him to his living, I will never forget the kindness while I live.' 'Tis said the jest had such an influence upon the committee, that they immediately released and restored the poor clergyman."³ Fuller's kindness of disposition, his ready wit and good-humour, nowhere appear to so much advantage as in this pleasant and characteristic anecdote.

¹ Bk. iii. 386.

² Bk. ii. 158.

³ Feinaigle, *Art of Memory*, ed. 1813, p. 425, who instances Fuller as one who

possessed extraordinary powers of natural memory. I have not been able to find the original source of this story.

Among the influential noblemen by means of whose friendship Fuller was indebted for a quiet home and an undisturbed lettered ease, the EARLS OF MIDDLESEX take the first place. Lionel Cranfield, the first Earl, and the Lord Treasurer to James I., had been displaced from his office through the influence of Buckingham. Fuller's intimacy with the family enabled him to give the true grounds of the Earl's dismissal: "he was lost at court for his fidelity to King James in sparing his treasure, and not answering the expensiveness of a great favourite." He adds that much of truth must be allowed in the Earl's motto, *Perdidit fides*, "frequent in his house at Copt-Hall." By losing his office he saved himself, "departing from his Treasurer's place, which in that age was hard to keep; insomuch that one asking what was good to preserve life, was answered, 'Get to be Lord Treasurer of England, for they never do die in their place!' which indeed was true for four successions."¹

The old Earl seems to have espoused the cause of the Parliament, but died about 1644, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Besides being a successful merchant and skilful financier, he was much devoted to literature, and had accumulated a library of good books. Judging him by his library, Fuller remarks that "he may be said to have been his own tutor and his own university." Lloyd adds that none was more exact; that he had a soul witty and wise; was bountiful to scholars; hospitable; and that though he suffered much, yet he was contented; and though he lost much, yet that he was charitable.

At the time when Fuller became Curate of Waltham, the earldom was in possession of the Treasurer's son, JAMES, who with his successors and relations lived in Fuller's parish at Copt Hall,—a mansion now no more, but which derives an interest from its having been erected by Abbot Fuller, and since enlarged and occupied by Sir Thomas Heneage and others. The house also possessed a long gallery, "as well furnished," says Fuller, "as most; more proportionable than any in England." Its chapel, moreover, was beautified with the richly-painted glass windows which were afterwards removed to St. Margaret's, Westminster.

It is on the general map of Palestine in Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight* that we find a dedication to this second Earl of Middlesex, in

¹ *Church-History*, x. 88; *Worthies*, § London, p. 211. Hackett says that the Earl "suffered dishonour, or rather the calamity of a censure; himself was so comforted to his dying hour, as the engraved posy spake his thoughts in his

great chamber at Copt-Hall, in Essex, *Quae venit immerito poena dolenda venit*; and I spake with few, when it was recent, that were contented with it, except the members of the house, who would not dislike their own action."

which the author thus refers to his relations with that noble patron and parishioner: "Galilææ descriptionem ut observantiae suae tesseram statuit Pastor ejus licet indignus,—T. F."

This nobleman, who died in 1651, was succeeded by his younger brother LIONEL, the third Earl, who seems to have been more fond than his brother of the Curate of the parish. Knowing his pastor's love of literary pursuits, and his hard lot in being a "library-less scholar," the Earl, by a rare generosity, bestowed upon him the remains of his father's library at Copt Hall.

This generous and timely gift was gratefully and worthily acknowledged by Fuller in his great folio, Book v. of which is inscribed to his kind patron. After feelingly alluding to the loss of his books and to their value to a minister, he sympathises with those of his brethren who were affected in the same way: "Would to God all my fellow-brethren, which with me bemoan the loss of their books, with me might also rejoice for the recovery thereof, though not the same numerical volumes. Thanks be to your Honour, who have bestowed on me (the *treasure* of a *Lord-Treasurer*) what remained of your father's library: your father, who was the greatest honourer and disgracer of Students, bred in learning: *honourer*—giving due respect to all men of merit; *disgracer*—who by his mere natural parts and experience acquired that perfection of invention, expression and judgement, to which those who make learning their sole study do never arrive. It was a gift I confess better proportioned to your dignity than my deserts; too great, not for your Honour to bestow, but for me to receive. And thus hath God by your bounty equivalently restored unto me what 'the locusts and the palmer worm etc. have devoured;' so that now I envy not the Pope's Vatican for the numerousness of books and variety of editions therein; enough for use being as good as store for state, or superfluity for magnificence. However, hereafter I shall behold myself under no other notion than as your Lordship's library-keeper; and conceive it my duty not only to see your books dried and rubbed (to rout those moths which would quarter therein), but also to peruse, study and digest them; so that I may present your Honour with some choice collections out of the same, as this ensuing history [The Reign of Henry VIII.] is for the main extracted thence, on which account I humbly request your acceptance thereof; whereby you shall engage my daily prayers for your happiness and the happiness of your most noble consort." The lady here alluded to was Rachel, widow of Henry, Earl of Bath, and daughter of Francis, Earl of Northumberland.

Fuller, who signs the above dedication as "your honour's most bounden beadsman," was a frequent guest at the Earl's mansion of Copt Hall, he himself having incidentally left this information. For, in allusion to a misprint in the *Church-History* in regard to the Christian name of the *Earl of Bath*, he says: "That noble Earl (questionable whether of more honour or learning), so cordial to the cause of the Church, (far from all 'new-dipt sectaries,') never changed his name till he changed his life; and then of a militant became a triumphing Saint [1654]. The reader will believe me knowing enough in his Christian name, whose relict (since Countess of Middlesex) was my late parishioner at Waltham, where I have seen his name above a thousand times, prefixed with his own handwriting, before the several books in the numerous and choice library at Copt Hall."¹ This nobleman, associated with the Royalists, was in 1642 arrested and taken prisoner in Devonshire, whither he had been sent on account of his presumed influence in that county. He was proved delinquent, and his estates were sequestered. His trials are dwelt upon by Clarendon. Upon his death the male line became extinct.

Another passage in Fuller's *Appeal* gives a further insight into his intimate relations with the family of the Earl of Middlesex. "Some three years since [*i.e.* about 1656], walking on the Lord's day into the park at Copt Hall, the third son (a child in coats) of the *Earl of Dorset* desired to go with me; whereof I was unwilling, fearing he should straggle from me whilst I meditated on my sermon; and when I told him, that if he went with me he would lose himself, he returned, 'Then you must lose yourself first, for I will go with you.'" Fuller relates this incident for the purpose of saying that "this rule I always observe, when meddling with matters of law: because I myself am a child therein, I will ever go with a man in that faculty, such as is most eminent in his profession, *a cuius latere non discedam*; so that if he lose me, he shall first lose himself."²

This Earl of Dorset was Richard Sackville, fifth Earl, a Royalist peer, of whom Fuller makes a graceful mention in his *Church-History*.³ His countess was Frances, daughter of the first Earl of Middlesex, and ultimately heiress to her brother. The child who evinced a fondness for Fuller's company was Lionel, born in 1645. The incident shows that our author (who, as Aubrey has told us, would eat up a penny loaf not knowing that he did it) had become at times absent-minded.

Fuller was also intimate with another Essex nobleman,

¹ *Appeal*, iii. 617.

² ii. 421.

³ iii. 42.

ROBERT, the "pious old EARL OF WARWICK," the Admiral under the Long Parliament. He had been Lord Lieutenant of the county before the war, and held the right of presentation to several parishes therein. Besides being noted for a manliness and uprightness of character, he was "of a pleasant and companionable wit and conversation, of an universal jollity." His house in Holborn had been a well-known refuge for distressed Puritan ministers in former times; but Clarendon tells us that through patronising these ministers he got the style of a godly man. His grandson and heir married Cromwell's youngest daughter. There is an allusion to the Earl in Fuller's controversy with Heylyn. The latter had spoken in his *Examen* of Wilson's "most infamous pasquil" of the reign of James I., published in 1653; commenting on which Fuller said in his *Appeal* (1659): "Let me add this in the honour of the deceased Robert Earl of Warwick, who told me at Beddington, that when Wilson's book in MS. was brought unto him, he expunged out of it more than an hundred offensive passages. 'My Lord,' said I, 'you have done well; and you had done better if you had put out one hundred more.'"¹ The Earl died in 1658, and was buried at Felstead in Essex. Beddington is a parish in Surrey, two miles west of Croydon, its church being beautifully situated in the Park, near the ancient manor house, then as now in the Carew family. With the gardens and curiosities of the house Evelyn expresses himself delighted; and Fuller was not less interested in the literary treasures. The Earl is mentioned as attesting to Fuller a story of his grandfather the Lord Chancellor; and Fuller elsewhere quotes from an old book "now in possession of the Earl of Warwick."²—To his munificent benefactor Edwin Rich, Esq., one of the Masters of the Court of Chancery, and of Lincoln's Inn (being third son of Sir Edwin Rich of Mulbarton in Norfolk), Fuller in the *Church-History* inscribed the plate of the seals of the mitred abbeyes.

¹ Pt. i. 309. He is alluding to the *second* Earl, who died 19th April, 1658. Calamy wrote the funeral sermon. His son of the same name, the *third* Earl, died May 30th, 1659, his funeral sermon (*Man's Last Journey to his Long Home*, in my possession) being preached by Nathaniel Hardy. The preacher remarked that "no less than three persons of honour, the father, the son, the grandson, have in less than two years been taken away by death, and that in the three several ages of life: the *Father* [the Admiral] in the evening of old age, the *Son* [the subject of the sermon] in the noon of manhood, and

the *Grandson* [Robert, who died in 1657] in the morn of youth." (Page 25.) The funeral sermon of the last-named was preached by Dr. Gauden. Mary, Countess of Charles the *fourth* Earl, is the writer of the *Diary*, which, March 21, 1669, notes two "most excellent sermons" by "Dr. Fuller" (*i.e.* Dean Samuel or his brother Thomas), at Leeze Chapel, Essex. The Countess wrote *Pious Reflections on Several Scriptures* after the manner of Thomas Fuller; as also *Occasional Meditations* after the manner of her brother, the Hon. Robert Boyle. She died 1678.

² *Ch.-Hist.* vii. 408; *Worthies*, §Essex.

The county of Essex is described by Fuller as generally not very healthy, *agues* sitting as close and sometimes as long as a new suit. But though the village parson escaped ague, he was attacked by *small-pox*. The immediate means of his cure was saffron, which, he tells us, then grew about the adjacent town of Walden (which "Saffron had coloured with the name thereof"), terming it "a most admirable cordial." "Under God," adds he, "I owe my life, when sick of the small-pox, to the efficacy thereof."¹ His physician at this and other times was one whom he placed high on the list of his friends, Dr. Baldwin Hamey.

DR. HAMEY had perhaps made Fuller's acquaintance at St. Clement's, Eastcheap, of which he was a benefactor, his liberality in that respect being commended by Fuller. After studying on the Continent and receiving his doctorate degree at Oxford in 1629, his progress was rapid. He attained to high position in the College of Physicians, to which he left bequests. He was also a good friend to Chelsea Church, where he was buried. At Chelsea he chiefly practised, and there likewise Fuller may have known him. He was owner of lands in Essex, and became in Waltham one of the parishioners of Fuller. The latter, out of gratitude and friendship to his doctor, in these terms dedicated the plate by Vaughan of the idols of the Jews in the *Pisgah Sight*:²—

"BALDWINO HAMEY Medicinæ Doctori tam in amoenioribus quam severioribus studijs versatissimo cui post Deum sanitatem suam semel atque iterum gratis restitutam debet agmen amicorum suorum merito claudenti et coronanti PANTHEON Judaeorum dedicat—T. F."

The learned Doctor's disposition being thus akin to Fuller's the latter enjoyed the acquaintance. To Hamey Fuller also wittily dedicated an early section of the *Church-History*, in which he again mentions that his Mecænas would take no fees from him; adding that his great book would have fared ill if it had not received the countenance of his friend. Hamey's co-operation may have been literary as well as pecuniary; since in both the Latin dedications his qualifications in the former respect are referred to. Fuller also in the *Worthies* names Hamey and Sir Francis Prugean as his "worthy friends, yea, the friends to mankind by their general generosity."³ Hamey died in 1676, and lies buried in Chelsea Church.

As in former happier days, other friends soon gathered round Fuller at Waltham, forming a favoured circle. Of these a foremost place must be given to MATTHEW GILLY, one of his

¹ *Worthies*, § Essex, p. 317.

² Bk. iv. 121.

³ *Ch.-Hist.* ii. 138; *Worthies*, § London.

flock. He was possessed of a manor in Little Oakley, near Harwich, containing a "peewit" island. Fuller first alludes to his friend in his *Pisgah-Sight*, where he exults in having Gilly for a parishioner, wishing that his (Fuller's) brother-pastors might have many such in their congregations.¹ Their friendship deepened with age, for five or six years later Fuller spoke of Gilly in these brief but emphatic terms: "Solomon saith, 'And there is a friend that is nearer than a brother.' Now, though I have read many writers on the text, your practice is the best comment; which hath most truly expounded it to me. Accept this, therefore, as the return of the thanks of your respectful friend."² Gilly is one of the "loving parishioners" to whom Fuller inscribed the *Infants Advocate*. He was probably related to the sole surviving daughter of Bishop Westfield; for Fuller, in his notice of that prelate, says that certain particulars were procured for him "by my worthy friend, Matthew Gilly, Esq., from Elizabeth, the Bishop's sole surviving daughter."³ Gilly was buried at Waltham, 25th August, 1662.

EDWARD PALMER, Esq., of Waltham, another of Fuller's parishioners, was likewise an intimate friend. He was of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he acquired a fellowship (1614). He was an accomplished Grecian; and in 1625, on the death of Andrew Downes, he had, though a layman, been a candidate for the vacant Greek fellowship. Fuller afterwards dedicated a section of the *Hist. Cambridge* to Palmer; and referring to the learned names in connection with Trinity College, he says, with an evident pun on his patron's name, "Inter quos ob summam Graecarum literarum peritiam, te *palmmam* ferre meritissime agnoscit." Fuller, addressing his friend as "Vir Atticissime," alludes to his own carefulness in preaching consequent upon the presence of scholars in his congregation: "Fratres meos, verbi ministros, saepius audivi sollicitos, ne mentes suae sensim torpescerent, eo quod rusticis vinculis damnati, sibi solum sit consortium cum crassis Minervis, quibus inter crudum et coctum nihil interest. At mea longe dispar conditio, cui, Deo gratias, emunctioris nasi parochiani contigerunt; e quibus tu, limato tuo judicio, me inter praedicandum hebescentem, instar coticulae, aliquoties exacuisti."⁴ Palmer is the first of the loving parishioners mentioned in the *Infants Advocate*. He was the friend of Duport,

¹ "Matthaeo Gilly vere generoso et (quod triumpho) Parochiano meo Walthamensi (Fratribus meis Pastoribus plures Agni contingant tales) *Synthesin Vestiarum Judaearum* dedico T. F." (Bk. iv. 95.)

² *Ch.-Hist.* x. 25.

³ *Worthies*, § Cambridgeshire, p. 154; Essex, p. 318.

⁴ *Hist. Univ. Camb.* § ix. ¶ 12; § vii. p. 117.

who, at a time when both were very old, vainly implored him not to carry out his threat of destroying his *Adversaria*.

MR. SAMUEL MICO, a London Alderman, was also a resident at Waltham. He has a place in the *Church-History* "in acknowledgement of your favours received."¹

To THOMAS DACRES, Esq., eldest son of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheshunt, adjoining, Fuller inscribed a plate in the work on Palestine. Five years later he referred to the Knight in a characteristic dedication. Dacres married a daughter of Thomas Elmes, of Lilford, near Fuller's birthplace. Fuller makes mention of "a lively picture" of Cranmer which he had seen at Sir Thomas Dacres' house, "done, as I take it, by Hans Holbein."²

To Cheshunt also belonged WILLIAM ROBINSON, Esq., of the Inward Temple, who patronised our author's works. After relating an anecdote of Sir Edward Coke (who said that he never knew a divine meddle with a matter of law but that therein he committed some great error), Fuller, presuming that "you lawyers are better divines than we divines are lawyers," states that having cause to suspect his own judgment in that particular section of the *Church-History* wherein was so much of law, he submitted it to his patron's.³

Another of our author's patrons was SIR HENRY WROTH, of Durants (or Durance, near Ponder's End), a mansion which is said to have been once a residence of the infamous Judge Jeffries. The family of Fuller's patron had possessed the seat since the reign of Henry IV. Fuller was informed that Edward VI. died in the arms of Sir Henry's grandfather, who in Mary's reign fled to Germany. "To be a fugitive," says Fuller in a dedication to him, "is a sin and shame; but an honour to be a voluntary exile for a good cause." He speaks of having seen in the knight's ancient house the bats' wings on his crest denoting this dark and secret flight. Sir Henry was a patron of Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight*.⁴ His composition is set down at £60.

ROBERT ABDY, Esq., of London, and Albyns, Essex, belonged to Fuller's inner circle of friends. He was a patron of the *Pisgah-Sight*. A few years later Fuller placed him prominently in the *Church-History*, saying: "He that hath an hand to take, and no tongue to return thanks deserveth for the future to be *lame* and *dumb*: which punishment that it may not light on me, accept this acknowledgement of your favours to your devoted friend and servant." He was made a baronet in 1660.⁵

¹ Bk. x. 93.

² *Pisgah-Sight*, iii. 406; *Ch.-Hist.* v. (179), x. 44.

³ Bk. iii. 73; Plate of Arms in *Pisgah-Sight*.

⁴ Plate of Arms in *Pisgah-Sight*; *Ch.-Hist.* bk. viii. p. 29.

⁵ *Ch.-Hist.* i. 9; Plate of Arms in *Pisgah-Sight*.

WILLIAM COOKE, Esq., of Gidea Hall, near Romford, appears as a patron of the *Pisgah-Sight* on the Plate of Arms.—Other neighbouring subscribers to Fuller's works were SIR THOMAS TREVOR,¹ of Enfield, where Fuller's widow died; and RALPH FREEMAN, Esq., of Aspeden, Herts., formerly of King's College, Cambridge², to whose sons Seth Ward was tutor up to 1649.

The terms in which Fuller addresses most of these friends and neighbours imply some considerable intimacy with them, which went far to make his position in the parish very agreeable. His friend the biographer records that he "had the happiness of a very honourable, and that very numerous acquaintance, so that he was no way undisciplined in the arts of civility: yet he continued *semper idem*, which constancy made him always acceptable to them."³ And another contemporary notice observes that he "was so good company that happy the person that could enjoy him, either citizens, gentlemen, or noblemen; he removing up and down out of an equanimous civility to his many worthy friends, that he might so dispense his much desired company among them, that no one might monopolise him to the envy of others."⁴

Speaking generally of Fuller's connection with his friends and neighbours, the anonymous biographer thus writes: "To his neighbours and friends he behaved himself with that cheerfulness and plainness of affection and respect as deservedly gained him their highest esteem. From the meanest to the highest he omitted nothing what to him belonged in his station, either in a familiar correspondency or necessary visits; never suffering entreaties of that which either was his duty or in his power to perform. The quickness of his apprehension, helped by a good nature, presently suggested unto him (without putting them to the trouble of an *inuendo*) what their several affairs required, in which he would spare no pains; insomuch that it was a piece of absolute prudence to rely upon his advice and assistance. In a word, to his superiors he was dutifully respectful, without ceremony or officiousness; to his equals he was discreetly respectful, without neglect or unsociableness; and to his inferiors (whom indeed he judged Christianly none to be) civilly respectful, without pride or disdain."⁵

Oldys has the following account: "He was so engaging, and had such a fruitful faculty of begetting wit in others when he exerted it himself, that he made his associates pleased with

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* vi. 348. He was Bart. 1641; and M.P. for Tregony.

² *Hist. Camb.* § 5, p. 69.

³ *Life*, p. 69.

⁴ Lloyd, 524.

⁵ Pages 74, 75.

their own conversation as well as his ; his blaze kindled sparks in them, till they admired at their own brightness ; and when any melancholy hours were to be *filled* up with merriment, it was said, in the vein he could sometimes descend to, that the Doctor made everyone *Fuller*.”¹ In other words, our facetious divine was, as Falstaff put it, “ Not only witty in himself, but the cause that wit is in other men.”²

NOTE TO CHAPTER XV.

THE FULLERS OF STEBBING (ESSEX), ETC.

ALLUSION has been made at page 15 to the numerous Fullers who were settled in Essex. Several of them were ministers ; and as they have often been confused by careless writers with the real Simon Pure, it is desirable that they should be indicated here. The following family is of especial interest, both by reason of its contemporary importance, and of the mistakes made in the identity of its members.

One THOMAS FULLER, M.A. (1562—1633) appears as *Vicar of Stebbing*, Essex, from 1600 to 1633 or 1634. He describes himself in his own register as “ natus in ista villa,” of honest parents, and as of St. Peter’s College, Cambridge (Brydges, *Restituta*, from Kennet, i. 162). He had a brother Isaac, of Layn Manor, who died 1624, and whose will names his nephews Thomas and John, and his brother Thomas, minister of “ Steben.” There is also mention of the Vicar in Newcourt (*Repertorium*, ii. 557). According to the same authority, this Thomas Fuller was in 1616 also *Rector of Tolleshunt Knights*, near Kelvedon (ii. 607) ; and it is stated in the Bishop of London’s registry that he was succeeded by Rand. Coxall, 26 May, 1662. Neither of these two benefices can therefore be the nameless Essex living which the anonymous biographer of our Thomas Fuller stated was held by him shortly before he was beneficed at Cranford (*Life*, p. 46 ; see also this biography, chap. xx.). One of the same name and title, referred by Newcourt and Kennet to the same person as the above, also appears as *Vicar of Hatfield-Peverell*, 1591-6 (*Reper.* ii. 318) ; and as *Vicar of Baddow-Parva*, 1596 (ii. 27), both in Essex, and (with Stebbing) near Chelmsford.

The Vicar of Stebbing was succeeded by his son, JOHN FULLER, who was born in 1602 (*Restituta*, i. 162). He seems to have held the living from 1633 till the Restoration ; at the time, therefore, that our Fuller was beneficed in the county. He was a clergyman of some local note, and, at a later period, became well known in the metropolis. He is referred to in one of the depositions against the clergy, taken 1644, before the Committee for Scandalous Ministers : “ Philip Harvy saith, That about a week before the Vow and Covenant was to have been taken in Ffalborne, he heard Mr. Strutt [of Little Yeldham, Essex] dissuade Sir Edward Bullock from taking it, telling Sir Edward that Dr. Gawden, and Mr. Collins, of Braintree, and *Mr. Fuller*, of

¹ *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2057.

² *Henry IV.* Part ii. Act i. Sc. ii.

Stebbing, and others did not take it, And that the said Vow and Covenant was called in againe." (*Coles MSS.*, Brit. Mus. xxviii. p. 38.)

John Fuller, with changed views, is next met with in the metropolis, describing himself in 1650 as "Minister of God's Word at Botolph's, Bishopsgate:" see his two sets of commendatory verses prefixed to the *Marrow of Eccles. Hist.* (1656 and subsequently) of "his reverend friend, Mr. Samuel Clarke." John Fuller, as minister of "Botolph's, Bishopsgate," signs the *Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel, in and about London, from the unjust Aspersions cast upon their former Actings for the Parliament, as if they promoted the bringing of the King to Capitall punishment*: London, 1648; as also the *Serious and faithfull Representation of the Judgements of Ministers of the Gospell Within the province of London. . . A Letter. . .* London, 1648-9. He wrote a Prefatory Epistle to John Beadle's *The Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian*, 1656, dating it from St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, October 12, 1655. This work (Br. Mus. E. 1581) is jointly dedicated to Robert, Earl of Warwick, the Admiral, who patronised Beadle and gave him the living of Barnston, Essex; and to Eleanor, his Countess. Fuller says: "Concerning the author of this Journall, my knowledge hath been above twenty years' standing; we were of an intimate society and vicinity for many years, we took sweet counsell together, and walked unto the house of God in company. He was my guide, and my acquaintance, as David hath it. We oft breathed and powred out our Souls together in Prayer, Fasting and Conferences. When walking after the Lord in a wilderness we had lesse allowed liberty, but more inward enlargednesse of spirit. At which time he had the happiness of a younger Elisha (not to powre water on the hands, but) to be watered by the droppings of that great *Elijah*, that renowned man of God in his generation, Reverend Mr. Thomas Hooker, and hath had ever since the blessing and favour of much of his spirit resting on him, as was said of Elisha." From his study in Ironmonger Lane, Fuller dates, Oct. 12, 1658, *The Apprentice's Alarm, Sounded (by a Dying Watchman That desires to be faithfull) From the City to the Countries round about, &c.* 12mo. 1658. This tract is in continuation of something he had already written for the City, and relates to the conversion of a murderer. The author mentions his native country town, Stebbing, and those places adjacent; and he beseeches the "inhabiters in Essex to recover your ancient name and renown for religion."

An edition of the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechism, published in 1658, is commended to the Christian reader by Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Samuel Clark, *John Fuller*, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Manton, and others. In 1658 John Fuller, as Rector of St. Martin's, gave to Sion College *Biblia per Osiandrum* (Fol. Cat. by Wm. Reading). Fuller is said to have been the author of a Latin epitaph and English poem on the death of Mr. Jer. Whittaker, and of a poem on the death of Mr. R. Robinson.

Calamy, whose *Account (Nonconformist's Memorial, ed. 1802-3, i. 159)* lays claim to Fuller as one of the ejected of 1662, describes him as "a most pious man, and a practical preacher." But Kennet (*Reg. p. 772*) will not allow Calamy to claim him: "he is said," he states, "to have died before the Restoration; and though a strict Presbyterian, did not suffer for Nonconformity." He was buried in Ironmonger Lane.

There is another Fuller of his name connected with Essex, whose identity is a matter of difficulty. This was John Fuller, of *Much Waltham*, who is mentioned in the register of that place as marrying, Oct. 19, 1652, Alice Bound, of Kelvdon Hatch. She was sister to Rev. George Bound, Rector of Shenfield. (*Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 463, by Davids, who says that he was the same as the Fuller thus mentioned in the Report, 1632, of Robert

Aylett, one of Laud's Commissioners, concerning Great Waltham : "There is a learned and grave man, come from Oxford, vicar ; and a *young hott fellow, one Fuller*, Lecturer, who, I fear, will pull down faster than the builder can build up in Conformity." Page 173.)—Another John Fuller, A.M., is mentioned as being *Vicar of Great and Little Wakering*, in January, 1667. He died 1687. (Newcourt, *Repert.* ii. 620-1.)

With neither of these two individuals have we been able to connect John Fuller (the younger brother of the subject of this biography), all trace of whose whereabouts disappears after he displayed an inclination for the law. (See *ante*, p. 181.) There is before 1690 no complete register extant of the names of members of Trinity Hall, whither Bishop Davenant wished to remove John Fuller ; but before the date in question, his name is not found in the list of members on the foundation. (Mr. Henry Davidson, the Bursar of Trinity Hall, kindly made search.)

John Fuller, of Stebbing, by his wife Dorcas, had three sons (hereafter mentioned), all scholars and ministers of note. His brother, THOMAS FULLER, who lived 1593—1667, attained to an eminent position in life. He was disinherited by his father, Thomas, the Vicar of Stebbing ; on which account probably he altered the spelling of his name to *Fulwar*, but the two forms seem to have been used indifferently. His disagreement with his father drove him to Ireland "with the happy necessity of being sober and industrious." There he seems to have been ordained. A Wood and Ware connect him with Dublin University. The following paper (from Rawl. MSS. C. 439, fol. iii., in the Bodleian Library), addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, seems to relate to Fulwar :—

"THE PETⁿ OF THO. FULLER, DOCTOR IN DIVINITY,

Shewinge that John Laphorne, Ensigne to Capōn Tho. Roper, is justly indebted to yo^r supplt. in the some of viii^l ster. wth should have ben long since paid and satisfyed as by specially under the hand and seale of the said John Laphorne ready to be shown will appeare, w^{ch} moneys yo^r supplt. hath in friendly manner demanded and yett or by y^e said John unjustly detayned to yo^r supplt. great damage Humbly prayeth to command the said Laphorne to give yo^r supplt. pr[']sent satisfaccon of the said 8^l together wth costs and damages or forthwth to appeare before yo^r lopps to shew cause to the contrary. And, &c.

"St. Mary Abbey, 6 July, 1636. The said laphorne is hereby required to give the pet^r present satisfaccon of what is iustly due unto him or otherwise to appeare forthwth before us to shew cause to the contrary."

Fulwar rose to be Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe in 1641. As such he ordained his three nephews, Thomas, Samuel, and Francis, sons of his brother John. He escaped with difficulty out of the Irish insurrection, and found shelter in London. Of the one or more sermons which A. Wood says he had extant, one only is now known : *A Sermon preached at Grayes Inne, October 2, 1642. By Thomas Fulwar, Doctor in Divinity, and Bishop of Ardfert in the kingdome of Ireland. London. Printed in the yeare 1642.* Text, Luke ii. 48 : "Thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing." The discourse is dedicated to the worthy gentlemen and inhabitants of the parish of St. Andrews, Holborne, who had been, he says, "the chief preservers of me and mine since our escape out of Ireland, where we had only our lives for a prey, and those lives your bounty hath cherished." To avoid persecution he fled to Oxford, and he was incorporated there, Aug. 12, 1645, being already D.D. of Dublin or Cambridge (see page 249). Fulwar is the "one

bishop" mentioned by Fuller as belonging to his family in 1659 (*Appeal*, ii. 532). By letters patent dated Feb. 1, 1660, he was translated to the Archbishopric of Cashel. An account of his reception there will be found in Kennet, with a glance at his character (p. 312). The prelate died March 31, 1667, and was buried in the chancel of his cathedral of St. John's, under an inscribed stone: Hic jacet corpus reverendissimi in Christo Patris THOMAE FULWAR nuper Casseliensis Archiepiscopi, qui obiit 31^o die Martii 1667, ætatis suæ 74. (Kennet's *Histor. Register*, pp. 312, 364, 523, 772; Sir Jas. Ware's *Works concerning Ireland*, i. 486, 524; A Wood's *Fæsti Oxon.* ii. 79; and the wills and notes of J. F. Fuller, Esq.) According to the chapter book of Cashel, the prelate made large leases of the lands of the see to his son Thomas of Thurlesbeg, whose second son was also named Thomas. The two last-named reverted to the common spelling of the name.

We know not whether this prelate was the same Thomas Fuller who is mentioned in Brady's *Cork*, &c., as Deacon in 1633, and Prebendary of Ardcanney, Limerick; who, again, may or may not be the same individual as Thomas Fuller, Vicar of Ringrone, Cork, Dec. 22, 1634.

THOMAS FULLER, the eldest son of Rev. John Fuller aforesaid, is described as having been first scholar of Catherine Hall, and thence elected Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. His name, however, does not occur (so Dr. Cartmel informs me) upon the books of the latter college; yet he was in 1649 Fellow in place of one Langley (Prof. Mayor's *Matthew Robinson*, p. 26). He became the associate of the Diarist Pepys, then of Magdalen College, 1650-4, who has this entry: "Mr. Fuller, of Christ's, told me very freely the temper of Mr. Widdrington, how he did oppose all the fellows in the college," &c. (Feb. 21, 1659-60. The careless index-maker of the Diary has not entered this item.) Le Neve also mentions Fuller as Taxor of Christ's in 1656. He was very popular in the college, and filled the post of Prevaricator. The speech of this Varier or Jester was connected with the philosophical disputations for the degrees in arts, and his business it was "to enliven the proceedings with witticisms in Latin and hits at the Dons." (See page 97.) Abuse of the privilege ultimately brought about its extinction. One of Fuller's speeches in this character is in a manuscript commonplace-book in the University Library, Cambridge (D. vi. 60), described in the printed catalogue as "a paper book, in quarto, containing 142 pp., written in a small hand about the close [middle?] of the xviii century." The position of his speech in the book is amongst similar speeches by Prevaricators at Cambridge and Oxford, some of which are dated 1652 and 1653. Among them are three *orationes* by Robert South; and the names of Mr. Thurman, Morland, Worth, Dominus Hawkins (Magdalen College), the Cambridge Tripos, Dominus James (Magdalen College), J. Vintner, &c., also occur. The subject of Fuller's speech, or *Quæstio*, was *An anima hominis sit rasa tabula*.—Is the mind of man a blank page? It is followed by two English speeches addressed to the ladies by the Prevaricators in a similar bantering strain. Through some mistake on the part of the copyist, or compiler of this book, Fuller's *Quæstio* is signed thus: "Thomas Fuller, è Coll. *Sydn. Cantabrigiæ*." Under the supposition that it was from the pen of the author of the *Church-History*, the only one of his name who was connected with Sydney College, I was allowed by H. Bradshaw, Esq., M.A., the University Librarian, to take a transcript of it. An examination of the speech showed, however, that it was a very puerile and scurrilous production; and that it belonged to a period much later than the college life of Fuller, when he would be above such trifles; for the "new University" of Durham, which was first mentioned in 1651, is referred to. Professor Mayor, to whom I was indebted for the reference to the document, which at first sight had every appearance of

being a youthful exercise of the hero of these pages, also informed me that another speech was to be found in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 669). This proved to be a 12mo. MS. book thus described: "64. Orationes Fuller. Duport (Cantab.), Bragge, Phinmere (the music speech in English), Hunter, South, Ellis, I. Brooke; in comitus Oxoniae habitae." The speeches belong to the years 1651—1663. Some of the names in the Cambridge MS. appear here; and, in addition, the names of Waller, Dryden, and Cowley occur. The compiler of the volume, knowing apparently only one of the name who was an inveterate "Varier," has not only placed Fuller's speech first, but described it in the contents as "*Dr. Fuller's ye Prevaricator's Speech;*" but a later hand has altered "Dr." to "Mr." At page 1 is "1651. Oratio habita Cantabrigiae A Fullero *Terrae filio,*" the two latter words being afterwards altered to "*Prevaricatore,*" i. e. the Cambridge word for the Oxford phrase. This copy of Fuller's speech is substantially the same as the Cambridge copy; but it is much abbreviated and altered. Among Baker's MSS. in the Brit. Mus. (Harl. 7045, fo. 238) is an extract from that part of the address which touches on the question as to which of the two Universities was the ancients. Without doubt, says the Prevaricator, Oxford was the oldest, because it was already approaching its second childhood (quia jam secundo puerascit)! "Ego nuper Oxonium concessi (non ad cupiendum ingenii cultum) ibi nihil eminens vidi praeter aedificia!" Baker adds at the end of his extract, "This is a sample of the rest. And yet this man was known and distinguished by a reputation for genius (et tamen hic vir notus erat, et famâ ingenii celebris)." He quotes the passage as a "Specimen Ingenii an: 1651, ex oratione praevaricatoriâ Mri. Fuller, Coll: Chr: habitâ in Comitibus publicis anno 1651." In the *Index* to Baker's MSS. (Camb., 1848), the entry leaves the impression that it is a speech of the Thomas Fuller, for not only is the speaker's college or degree omitted, but the entry is misdated twenty years too early! Copies of the collection in which this speech is contained seem to have been multiplied on account of its presumed connection with Dr. Fuller. Mr. W. H. Turner, of the Bodleian, turned up a *fourth* copy of the same speech in a 12mo. MS. (Rawl. Misc. No. 228), which is correctly given as by Thomas Fuller of Christ's. He has Latin verses among the congratulatory poems of the University entitled, *Oliva Pacis ad Illustrissimum Celsissimumq: Oliverum . . . Dominum Protectorem*, 1654, being on the occasion of the peace with Holland in the spring of that year. Dr. James Duport, then the Greek Professor, contributed to the collection. Fuller's lines (which have, of course, been attributed to our Fuller) are headed "*Εἰρηνωδία* ad Protectorem," and are signed "Thom. Fuller, A.M. C.C.S." It is his name which is found in a MS. which was in the sale of the collection formed by Archbishop Tenison (Lot 85, 1st July, 1861): "Theses (per Rust, Fuller, Hill, &c.) de Resurrectione, discussae in diebus Comitiorum, 1658-60, decisae et determinatae a Doctore Love Margaretae Professore (Cantabrigiae). Lectiones xvii. in ii. cap. Hebræos, &c., cotemporary manuscripts in paper, 4to." The gentleman who kindly put me in possession of this item (B. H. Beadham, Esq., of Kimbolton) informs me further that the MS. was bought for one shilling, according to his priced catalogue, by one "Rose." In 1659 Fuller was B.D., and engaged in the Commemoration that year, being mentioned in some proceedings, particulars of which are printed in Wood, 276. A. ccclxix (Bib. Bodl.). The subjects he had to discourse upon were: (1) *Non datur externus Index infallibilis Controversiarum Fidei.* (2) *Religio non est vi et armis propaganda.* At the bottom of these exercises (which are in Latin verse) is printed "Julii 5, 1659. In die Com. Respond. Thom. Fuller S. T. B. Coll. Christi Socio."

This, therefore, is the individual further alluded to by his acquaintance

Mr. Pepys, in 1664, 23rd Sept.: "Comes Mr. Fuller, that was the wit of Cambridge, and Prævaricator in my time, and staid all the morning with me, discoursing, and his business to get a man discharged, which I did for him."—9th Oct. (Lord's day): "Mr. Fuller, my Cambridge acquaintance, coming, he told me he was to preach at Barking Church, and so I to hear him, and he preached well and neatly. To bed without prayers."—18th Dec. "After supper, Mr. Fuller, the parson, and I, told many stories of apparitions and delusions thereby, and I out with my storys of Tom Mallard: and then to prayers and to bed." The editors of the Diary in their indices misplace these three entries, which they refer to William Fuller, the Bishop of Lincoln, who was of Oxford! (see p. 279). This Thomas Fuller is plainly marked off from the other two of his name who had Pepys' acquaintance.

The disposition of this Thomas Fuller may be gathered from these references, which indicate that he was a very different man from his great namesake. After his ordination in Ireland by his uncle the Bishop, who also ordained his brother Francis, he became chaplain at Dunkirk to the Governor, Col. Lockhart (Kennet's *Register*, pp. 4, 772, and 937), who in 1658 writes the following letter to Secretary Thurlowe (Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 205):—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,—

"This gentleman Mr. Fuller his coming away from me deprives me at the same time of a Chappellaine and a frend. His father calls him back, and I cannot in justice detaine him. His deserts are so great, that it would be lesse justice in me to lett him goe without a faire character: and therefore I humbly beseech your Lordshipp to looke upon him as a person abundantly qualified with good nature, excellent parts, great improvements, and I shall add, as that which adornes all, of a pious and sober frame of spirit. I say not this to urge any thing for him; for he hath no desyers, save such as are submissive to, and followers of providence. The losse of him makes me bold as it gives me the occasione to putt your lordshipp in mynd, how necessary it is to have men of extraordinary talents in this place, who by ther conversatione, doctrine, and learning too, may be able to prevaile against adversaries, that victorie may not only be obtained over their persons here, but also over their errors! He will mynd your lordshipp more fully of this; and I know your lordshipp's care and zeale will prevent all, that I can either say or desyer upon this subject, and therefore I forbear to trouble your lordshipp further in it: and am

"May it please your lordshipp,

"Your most humble, faithfull, and obedient servant,

"WILL. LOCKHART.

"DUNKERK, July 6, N.S. 1658."

He was afterwards Rector of Navenby, or Nanby (printed Nawmby in Fuller's *Hist. Camb.* sect. vi. ¶ 9, p. 92, where the value is given as £17 per ann.), a living ten miles south of Lincoln, which was in the gift of his college. There he was settled at the Restoration. He was also inducted to the Rectory of Willingale-Doe, near Chipping Ongar, in Essex, on 16th Dec., 1670. He was an inveterate preferment-hunter, and often appears as such in the Calendar of State Papers (Dom. Ser.). Under date of Oct. 17, 1660, he is found begging for two prebends (p. 315). In the following year he announces that he is about to follow the King's intention of looking for a wife (p. 32). In 1663 he asks for something, "however small, which may keep him about town" (p. 195). About town he of course meets with our entertaining gossip, Pepys, whose intercourse with him has been mentioned.

The King, writing Mar. 6, 1665, to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, recommends, among others, this Thomas Fuller, "late of Christ's College,"

for his D.D. degree, with seniority according to his standing in the University. This degree he obtained, his name being included among the *graduati* in 1665 as "S.T.P." and of Christ's. From the State Paper volume 1665-6, we gather that he was unfortunate in his matrimonial speculation: he had been married to one Hannah Wiffin, "now wife of Thomas Bayles" (175). In the volume 1666-7, writing from "Naneby," he begs interest of his correspondent to obtain him some place (p. 356), and he afterwards petitions for presentation to the Vicarage of Newark-upon-Trent (p. 398). He does not appear to have obtained this appointment, but died at Navenby and was buried there, 22 Mar. 1701.

SAMUEL FULLER (1635 or 1644—1699), the second son of John Fuller, of Stebbing, was admitted at St. John's College, Camb., in 1656, of which he was elected Fellow in 1664. He is included among the *graduati* as of that college, S.T.B. 1665, S.T.P. 1679, and was incorporated at Oxford, 1663. He was admitted to the living of Elmdon, in the diocese of Rochester, 8th Aug. 1663. He was made Chaplain to Dr. Wm. Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln, for his name's sake; and was successively Chancellor (1670) and Dean of Lincoln (1695). Brydges says that his preferment to the latter position was owing to the interest of the Lay lords, who loved him for his hospitality and wit, but the King refused him at first; that he was in expectation of being made Master of St. John's College; that he also desired to have been Rector of St. Clement Danes, and thought his interest in the Exeter family to have been great enough, because he knew how to accommodate his humour to the genius of that house, so that his picture was hung up in the drinking-room, and M. Verio upon the stair-head drew his face for a Bacchus riding on a barrel. Besides his deanery, he held the Rectories of Tinwell, Rutland (1668), and of Knaptoft, Leicester, 1671. He wrote a Latin tract on the Canonical Succession of the Ministry of the English Church, 1690. He died March 4, 1699-1700, his illness being attributed to Lincoln ale, for which he had too great a partiality, although it is said that he used to drink it in small glasses. His epitaph at Lincoln describes him as "Vir pius, beneficus, doctus, facilis, suavis, hospitalis,—quid multa?" Above the epitaph is his portraiture down to his breast, in white marble. (Å Wood, *Fasti*, ii. 268; Brydges, *Restaurata*, i. 162 seq.; Baker's MSS. 27, 38, 235, 366; Mayor's *Coll. St. John*, 297, 335; Peck's *Desid. Cur.* 321).

FRANCIS FULLER, the youngest son, had been ordained by his uncle in Ireland (*Kennet*, 937, who states in the same page that he was of Pembroke Hall, B.A. 1656. He was also M.A.). He is described as "an uneasy man;" Calamy relating that he was sometimes in the West and sometimes in London, preaching occasionally, but not inclined to fix. *Kennet* says he was "a Nonconformist by humour and chance." He was curate to Dr. Temple "at Warcup"—by which Calamy seems to mean *Warkworth*, two miles from Banbury, in Northamptonshire—whence he was ejected in 1662. Brydges adds more exactly that he was minister of Marston St. Lawrence, a living connected with Warkworth, in Peterborough diocese. He died in London, July 21, 1701, aged 64. He is said to have been a facetious, pleasant man, and one who discovered great sagacity in judging of some future events. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Jeremiah White, from the text 1 Thess. iv. 14, who upon this occasion, as he states, first appeared in print. "This Jeremiah White was a famous rascal: he was Oliver Cromwell's chaplain, a notorious hypocrite and epicure." (Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, in *N. & Q.*, 2nd Ser. ix. 419.) He addresses the Epistle Dedicatory to Mrs. Bridget Fuller, the widow, and Mr. Francis Fuller, the son of the divine. After commending Fuller's judicious and sincere preaching of the Gospel, White mentions his useful learning: "It was not only a personal, but here-

ditary accomplishment ; for I think it did belong to his family to be learned. His Father was a Learned, Eminent, and Heavenly Preacher of the Gospel in this City of London. And though I was then no Judge of his Learning, nor do now pretend to be one, yet I bless God, I have tasted the Sweetness of his Ministry : and do still reckon it among the many favours of God to me that I was acquainted with the Preaching of those days. Three of his sons he designed for the Ministry : and God was pleased to succeed the Design. I had a pleasurable and profitable acquaintance and Friendship with the Eldest, *Dr. Thomas Fuller*, for many years. In his earlier Days he was a celebrated Wit in the University of Cambridge ; afterward an Excellent Preacher ; and for his Learning and other Qualifications he was justly to be numbered with those Worthies of Christ's College, with whom he was cotemporary. I had no personal knowledge of the second Son, *Dr. Samuel Fuller* ; but I find all who had, do give him a Character no ways inferiour to his Brother : and I cannot but mention him with Honour upon this Occasion, for his very great kindness to the hopeful son of our deceased friend ; a kindness accompanied with such Circumstances, as rendred it not more natural than it was in the truest sense, generous and Christian. Our Departed Friend was the youngest of the three Brothers, but came behind the other two only in his Age and Fortune ; his Conscience not allowing him to make that Advantage of his Education which others did." "For our deceased Friend's civil Capacity, I will only say this : He was a Man of a publick Spirit, a true Lover of his Country, and a down-right Honest English man." (Pp. 111-116.) Francis Fuller wrote (1) *A Treatise of Faith and Repentance*, 1684 ; (2) *Words to give the Young Man Knowledge, &c.*, 1685 ; (3) *A Treatise of Grace and Duty*, 1688 (dedicated to Thomas Lord Carew) ; (4) *Some Rules how to Use the World So as not to Abuse either That or our Selves*. London, 1688 (dedicated to the Right Hon. John [fifth] Earl of Exeter, who was a patron of Thomas Fuller. He dates his preface from Bath) ; (5) *Advice to his Son* ; (6) *Peace in War, a Fast-day Sermon* (1696) ; (7) *Of the Shortness of Time*, 1 Cor. vii. 9 (1700). (Calamy's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Palmer's Ed., 1802-3, iii. 46, i. 159 ; Kennet, p. 772 ; Calamy's *Account*, 36, 497 ; *Cont.* 53, 648 ; Wilson's *Dis-senting Churches*, i. 64 ; *Fasti Oxon.* ii. 269.)

This Francis, says Brydges, left a son Francis, of St. John's College in Cambridge, who studied Physic. He adds that he was the author of *Medicina Gymnastica*, and was left heir to his uncle Dr. Saml. Fuller, Dean of Lincoln. To the latter circumstance White alludes in the above passage. A notice of the author of the *Medicina Gymnastica* will be found in chap. i. of this work (p. 17, n.).

Among others of the same name belonging to Essex was *Rev. Robert Fuller*, Vicar of Tillingham, 1650, where he is described as "an able, godly minister" (Lansdown MS. 459). He was also Rector of Chignall St. James, and died in 1661. (David's *Nonconformity in Essex*, 267, 273 ; Kennet, p. 526.)

A *Daniel Fuller*, gentleman, is mentioned, 1648, as an Elder of the church of Hallingbury Magna. (David, 279.)

There even seems to have been a family of the name settled at Waltham. On the books of Christ's College, Cambridge, is the notice of the admission as sizar, 1624, of one James Fuller, educated at Waltham under Mr. Warmsley of Waltham, being the son of one *William Fuller* of that place. (*Christ's Coll. Register.*) Among the thirty Commissioners and Jurors who drew up the report relating to Waltham Abbey in the survey of Church Lands in 1649, was a *Henry Fuller*. (Lambeth MS. vol. viii. fo. 67. This MS. mentions Thomas Fuller as "the present minister . . . who supplies the said cure, and is an able godly preaching minister, there placed by the said Earle.")



CHAPTER XVI.

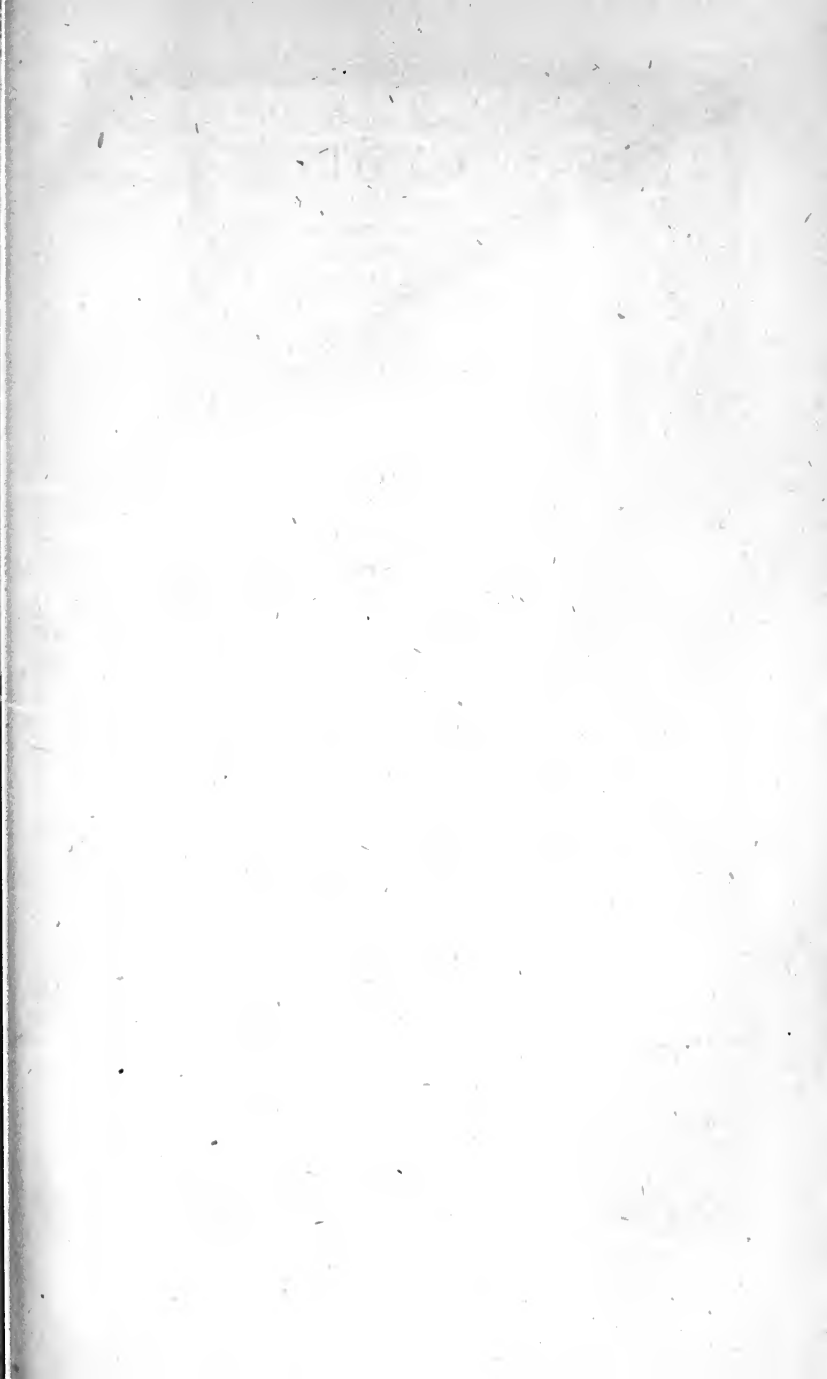
“A PISGAH-SIGHT OF PALESTINE,” “ABEL REDEVIVUS,” ETC. (1650-1.)

THE LITERARY FAME OF WALTHAM.—PREPARATION, ETC. OF “PISGAH-SIGHT.”—THE “GRAVERS,” ETC. OF THE “PISGAH:” FRANCIS CLEIN; ROBERT VAUGHAN; ISAAC FULLER; ETC.—PLAN AND OBJECT OF THE WORK: ITS VALUE AND POPULARITY.—FULLER’S MANY-SIDED WIT.—HIS AUTHORITIES.—HIS LITERARY PATRONAGE: THE STUART, BURGHLEY, RUSSELL, ETC. FAMILIES.—HIS CHILD-PATRONS.—DR. JOHN LIGHTFOOT AND FULLER.—PRINCIPAL BAILLIE’S LETTER TO FULLER.—PUBLICATION OF “ABEL REDEVIVUS:” ITS CONTRIBUTORS.—FULLER AS A BIOGRAPHER.—HIS PORTRAIT.—SAMUEL CLARKE’S GRIEVANCE AGAINST FULLER.—CLEMENT BARKSDALE’S ODE TO FULLER.—SPARKE’S “SCINTILLULA ALTARIS.”—FULLER’S MS. IN JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.—SION COLLEGE.—FULLER’S LONDON PATRONS.

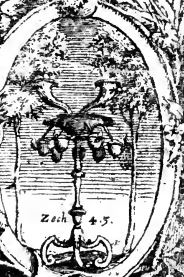
“He [George Sandys] proved a most accomplished gentleman, and an observant Traveller, who went as far as the sepulchre at Jerusalem: and hath spared other men’s pains in going thither, by bringing the Holy Land home to them; so lively is his description thereof.”—*The Worthies*, § Yorkshire, p. 212.

AMIDST the claims that Waltham had upon his attention, Fuller does not omit to notice its remarkable literary fame. This made it especially dear to its curate and historian, who dwelt with pride upon “the many worthy works which had their first being within the bounds of this our parish.” He thus enumerates them in the dedication of his *Infants Advocate* to his parishioners: “For first, the book of *Mr. Cranmer* (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury and Martyr) containing the reasons against King Henry the Eighth his marriage with Queen Katherine Dowager, was compiled in our parish,¹ whilst the said Cranmer retired hither (in the time of a plague at Cambridge) to teach his pupils. Thus did Waltham give Rome the first deadly blow in England, occasioning the Pope’s primacy to totter therein, till it tumbled down at last. The large and learned works of the no less religious than industrious *Mr. Fox* in his book of *Martyrs* was penned here,

¹ Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1860.—F.



A
**Pisgah-sight of
 PALESTINE**
 and
 The CONFINES thereof
 with the HISTORIE of the
 old and new TESTAMENT
 acted thereon.
 By Thomas Fuller
 B. D.



Gen. 47. 11
 Take of thy best fruit in thy land in
 seven years, and carry downe y man
 poyent, a little beeh, and a little honey, spize,
 and Eshbaube, and Anonzi
 Jerem. 8 -
 Vinea s' flet in s' heaven knoweth her appoynted ones,
 and y welle and s' Crane, and s' wallye obse, and s' but s'
 their coming, but my people know not y' indoment of Loed
 Votum Authoxis
 Terrætes Solymas mihi qui seruis ille de dicit.
 Coletes landem des habitare, Deys.

Printed by M. F. for Iohn
 Williams at s' Crowne
 in S' Pauls Churchyard



leaving his posterity a considerable estate at this day possessed by them in this parish. What shall I speak of the no less pleasant than profitable pains of *Reverend Bishop Hall* (predecessor in my place), the main body of whose books bears date from Waltham?"

By the preparation of some of his best works, upon which he at once fell with a will, Fuller has added to the "worthy books" connected with the parish. He has thus put himself in no unworthy position with respect to his predecessors, Foxe and Hall, who, with himself, form an illustrious literary trio.

The first book which our author issued from Waltham was his entertaining description of the Holy Land, entitled, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine, and the Confines thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testament acted thereon*, 1650, a folio of about 800 pages. This ingenious work was perhaps originally planned at Broad Windsor, the author being led to undertake it through his *Holy War*, of which Palestine was principally the theatre. In the latter work Fuller, following the example of heralds who blazon their field before they meddle with the charge, describes the land in a series of eminently fascinating chapters,¹ before relating the actions done upon it. There, indeed, we already find the very title of the work now to be noticed, chapter xviii. being "A Pisgah-sight, or Short survey of Palestine in general." Fuller seems for a time to have been undecided as to the name of the work, when the happily-chosen title was in suspense: it is entered on the Stationers' Hall registers, under date of 15th April, 1649, as "a booke called A Choragraphicall [*sic*] Cōment on the history of the Bible or the description of Judea by Tho. Ffuller, B:D:"² His collections for the undertaking perhaps fell with his books into the hands of the Sequestrators. The papers having returned to his possession about the time that he obtained his curacy, he prosecuted the favourite project, laying aside for the purpose his more ambitious literary schemes. The fact that Marshall's map of Gad has the early date of 1648 betokens an active preparation by that time. His own account of the time of its preparation is as follows: "So soon as God's goodness gave me a fixed habitation, I composed my *Land of Canaan, or Pisgah-Sight*."³

In an address to the reader Fuller explains why his long-

¹ Prof. Rogers (*Essay on Fuller*, p. 13) says in reference to these and other chapters: "What in other hands would have proved little more than a bare enumeration of names, sparkles with perpetual

wit, and is enlivened with all sorts of vivacious allusions."

² Entered by Williams, under the hands of Mr. Crauford, and Mr. Dawson, warden.

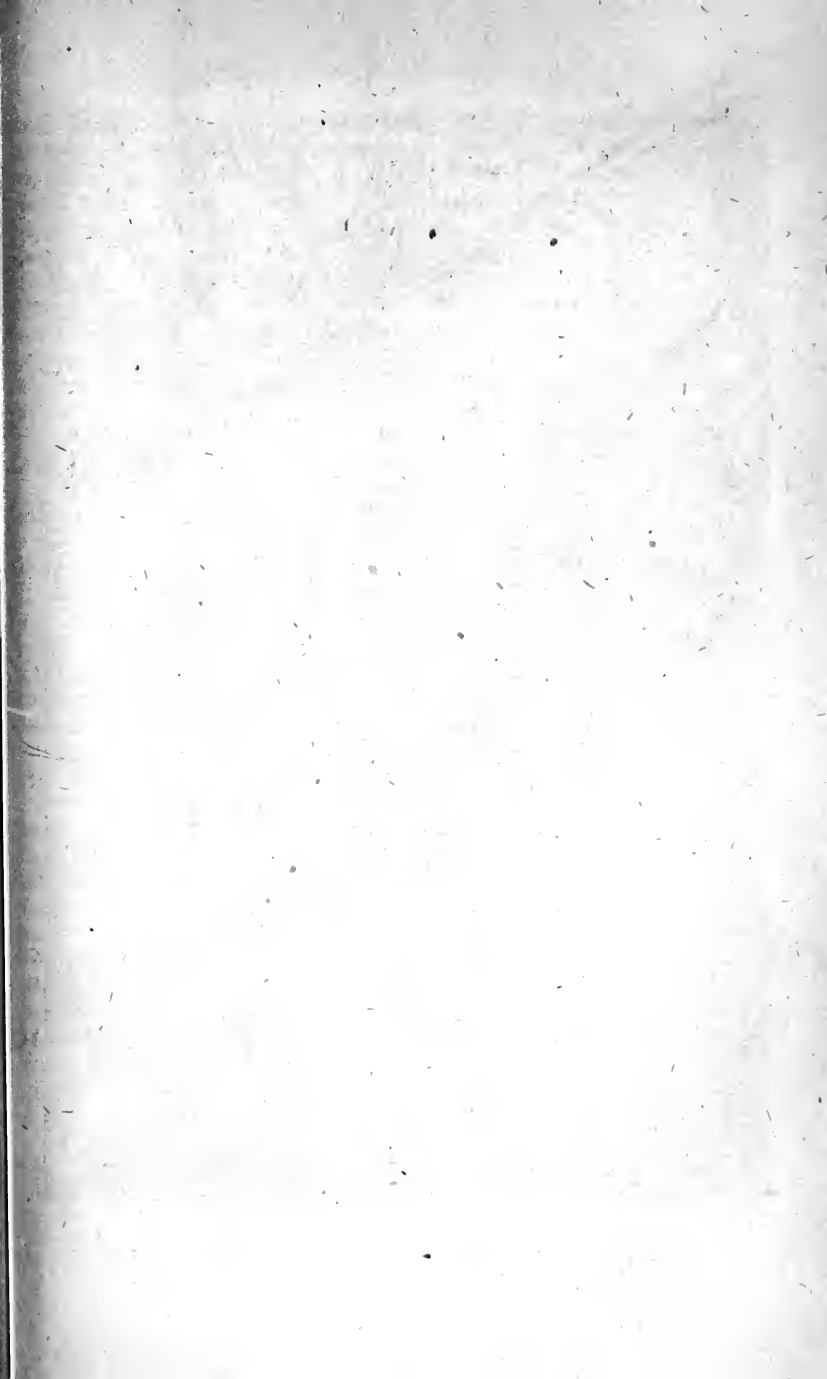
³ *Appeal*, pt. i. 317.

promised *Church-History* had not appeared. His reasons are characteristic. "Many have long patiently waited," says he, "that I should now, according to my promise, set forth an *Ecclesiastical History*, who now may justly complain that their expectation is abused, finding a Changeling in the place thereof, a book of far different nature tendered in stead thereof. And should I plead with Laban the custom of the country, that it is not fashionable 'to give the younger before the first-born' (Gen. xix. 26); should I allege for myself that *this* book, containing matter of more ancient date, ought to precede the other; yet this, like Laban's answer, will be taken rather as a sly evasion than solid satisfaction." He pleads in defence that his promise in the *Holy State* preface was conditional; that (among other things) peace were first settled. And, alluding to the further condition, he asks, "Are these 'gloomy days' already 'disclouded?' or rather, Is it not true, in the Scripture phrase, that the 'clouds return after rain?'" He is sorry to be able to bring this forward in his defence, and would count himself happy if all other breaches were made up, and he only to be punished for his breach of promise.

The *Pisgah-Sight* was completed about the autumn of 1650, or more than a year after it was registered.¹ The engravings were the probable cause of the delay. Of the plates, the title-page is the most artistic, and is deemed of sufficient interest for reproduction here. It is one of the sketches of FRANCIS CLEIN, a native of Rostock, who was connected with the tapestry works which James I. established in 1616 at Mortlake, Surrey. Clein went thither as the designer, old patterns only having been produced there before. He acquired his skill at Copenhagen and Venice; and becoming acquainted at the latter city with Sir Henry Wotton, "the English Lieger there," he was, through Prince Charles, invited to England. The artist arrived when the Prince was in Spain; but James entertained him liberally, and sent him back to the King of Denmark with a letter which, says Fuller in his *Worthies*, "for the form thereof, I conceive not unworthy to be inserted, transcribing it with my own hand." Upon Clein's return in the following year, he settled with his family in London, his pension being £100 per annum, which was "well paid him," adds our authority, until the beginning of the wars,² in which the works at Mortlake were destroyed. There are specimens of the artist's designs at Petworth; and of his painting at Holland House. Clein

¹ The dedications of Books i. and iv. are dated from Waltham Abbey on the 7th and 16th July, 1650, respectively.

² § Surrey, p. 77.





and his son of the same name afterwards made drawings for the illustration of books, being, in particular, the designers of some of the plates in Ogilby's *Vergil* and *Æsop*, which were published about the same time as the *Pisgah*. Among the published lists of Clein's sketches, the spirited frontispiece to Fuller's book is not mentioned. The resemblance of his style to that of Hollar has been commented upon. Clein died in 1658, and his son in 1650.¹ Not the least noticeable feature of the annexed plate is the quaint and pious wish of Fuller.

The second plate, which is also appended in fac-simile to this chapter, is by J. Goddard, and contains the armorial bearings and names of those friends of the author's who especially encouraged the undertaking. It is taken from a copy of the 1650 edition in my possession, and contains thirty-three shields of arms, with names of those who bore them. It has not hitherto been noticed that some copies of the plate contain only twenty-one shields and twenty-three names.² The address to the reader states that the grateful author could not have brought out his most expensive book had it not been for the patronage which the plate commemorates. In similar phraseology he said in 1659, with such works as the *Pisgah-Sight* in view, that "of late some useful and costly books, when past their parents' power to bring them forth, have been delivered to the public by the midwifery of such dedications."³ Fuller's favourite patrons appear to occupy the upper row on the plate.

Very much of the costliness of the book was due to the engraving. Besides a very large map of Palestine and the two plates just mentioned, there are twenty-seven double-paged maps, &c., all closely filled: namely, one or more of each of the tribes, with others of Jerusalem, the Temple, the surrounding nations, Jewish clothes, idols, &c. The maps strongly resemble the ancient charts of *terrae incognitae*, which used to circulate among our early navigators. Speed's maps seem to have been the models. The artists have aimed at depicting the chief events of the Bible narrative upon the

¹ Vertue's *Anecdotes*, &c. ii. 291.

² The arms of Thos. Trenchard, Esq., and Wm. Van Brugs, were afterwards added. The patrons who were added to the plate were these: Sir Roger North; William Gostwyk, merchant; Peter Marolois, merchant; Peter Matthews, merchant; Hugh Smith, Esq.; William and Thomas Humble, merchants; Joseph Alston, citizen; Jonathan Ash, merchant;

and Nicholas Penninge, merchant. One place is still vacant. The facsimile of the plate in Tegg's reprint was taken from this copy. In the plate of another copy of this book in my hands, dated in a contemporary hand 1662, the arms and names of Ash, Alston, Penninge, and Matthews are still deficient. Fuller thus seems to have filled up the places gradually.
³ *Appeal*, i. 320.

places where they occurred; and they have dexterously attained their end. Thus the progress of the Israelites is pictorially traced into the land; Jonah's "whale," with the ship in the storm, is represented with exaggerated bigness off Joppa; fugitives followed by avenging pursuers are hastening towards the cities of refuge; the cities of the plain are pictured as in flames; Moses views the country from the summit of Pisgah; &c. These quaint drawings Fuller terms "History-properties." The cities, towns, and villages are further distinguished by walls, turrets, or flags, to indicate their character. Well might the ingenious author recommend his maps—he does so very gravely—to the notice of his child-patron until such time as he could read! With the same gravity Fuller cautions his readers thus: "For the further managing of our scale of miles we request the reader not to extend it, therewith to measure all the properties, or History-pictures in our maps (for then some men would appear giants, yea, monsters, many miles long), expecting him rather to carry a scale in his own eyes for surveying such portraitures. . . . Nor would I have the scale applied to cities drawn in prospective." He adds: "Yea, in general I undertake nothing in excuse or defence of those pictures, to be done according to the rule of art, as none of my work, ornamental, not essential to the maps: only this I will say, that eminency in English Gravers is not to be expected till their art be more countenanced and encouraged."¹

One of these "gravers," "RO. VAUGHAN," who lived at Waltham, signs seven of the maps. He was an industrious but indifferent book-illustrator, and engraved some of the plates in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.² Vaughan's enthusiasm for his art probably incited Fuller to advocate its encouragement. The author and his engraver were good friends, and worked their jokes into the copper. From the name of Waltham being found upon some of the plates, Oldys conjectured that there Fuller "employed some engravers to adorn, with sculptures, his copious prospect or view of the Holy Land, as from Mount Pisgah."

The other engravers were J. Goddard, W. Marshall, Thomas Cross, and I. Fuller. Eight of the maps are without signatures. Goddard, who signs six of the plates (including the large map) is said to be known by a single plate only. Marshall, who is connected with other works by Fuller, executed four plates. He was a laborious artist, and was chiefly employed

¹ Book i. 46.

² Vertue (*Anecdotes, &c.* v. 71) commends Vaughan's work, but does not

name any of the plates of the *Pisgah-Sight*, which are not mentioned in any of the notices of the engravers.

by Moseley, the London bookseller. Cross's work is said to be of an unpleasing character, and the examination of his three maps in the *Pisgah* does not modify the censure.¹ I. Fuller, who is alluded to at page 2 *antea*, cut the plate descriptive of the Jewish dresses, &c. Oldys, who prints the signature as "J. Fuller," presumed that he was no relation of our author, but hazarded that it might be a "son, or other kinsman, of Isaac Fuller, the History-Painter, if not himself."² The plate was most likely designed by Isaac Fuller, who died 1672, and was a man of note in his time, being "much employed to paint the great taverns of London," *i.e.* their walls and ceilings. Some of his work, including his portrait by himself, yet remains at Oxford. His altar-piece in Magdalen College is celebrated in one of Addison's poems. Strutt mentions a *John Fuller*, engraver, who died 1676.

Some read Isaac Fuller's signature on the plate in question as *T. Fuller*, referring it to the author of the book; and they say that, like Samuel Ward, he amused himself with the graving-tool when his time was unoccupied, instancing as his work the plan of Jerusalem which has been referred to (page 2) as having the jocular signature, "Fullers field."³ They might add that Vaughan of Waltham would naturally be his master. The author of the book rather drew up the rough drafts of the maps than engraved them, allowing his fancy to be as uncontrolled as though he were writing prose. That the actual engraving is no part of his handiwork is shown by some variations. The plan of Jerusalem, for instance, does not accord with the letter-press description by Fuller, who says that the roofs of the houses were "*flat* and fenced with battlements by special command from God;" but the engraver has given to them quite an English appearance. Moreover, elsewhere Fuller censures, or ingenuously excuses, blunders or oversights on other maps. These differences between his text and his illustrations are very characteristically discussed in the supplementary fifth book, which for the most part is written dialoguewise.

Thus, to Goddard's engraving of the Dead Sea in the map of Judah,⁴ the objection is raised, "Would it not affright one to

¹ None of the plates are by Hollar, who with Sir Robert Peake—himself an artist and print-seller as well as a good artilleryman—survived the massacre at Basing House. (Vertue's *Anecdotes*, v. 87.) Hollar excelled in perspective views, plans, &c. He is said to have worked for fourpence an hour, and to have executed 2,400 prints!

² *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2058.

³ In one of the old book-catalogues of Mr. Kerslake, of Bristol, we meet with—"5312. Thos. Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, 1653, many curious maps and plates, some of which are etched by Fuller's own hands, folio, good copy, old calf, 14s."

⁴ Book ii. 265.

see a *dead man walk*? and will not he in like manner be amazed to see the *Dead Sea moving*? Why have you made the surface of the waters thereof *waving*, as if like other seas it were acted with any tide?" "I will not score it," replies Fuller, "on the account of the Graver, that it is only *lascivia*, or *ludicrum coeli*, the over-activity of his hand. In such cases the flourishings of the *Scrivener* are no essential part of the bond: but behold Mercator's and other authors' maps, and you shall find more motion therein, than is here by us [*us: we* gravers] expressed."¹

More amusing still is Fuller's answer to the objection, "The faces of the men which bear the great bunch of grapes are *set the wrong way!* For being to go south-east to Kadesh-Barnea, they look full *west* to the Mediterranean Sea."—"You put me in mind of a man who being sent for to pass his verdict on a picture, how like it was to the person whom it was to resemble, fell a-finding fault with the *frame* thereof (not the *Limner's* but the *Joiner's* work) that the same was not handsomely fashioned. In stead of giving your judgement on the map (how truly it is drawn to represent the tribe), you cavil at the *History-properties* therein—the act of the *Graver*, not *Geographer*. Yet know sir, when I checkt the Graver² for the same, he answered me, That it was proper for *Spies*, like *Watermen* and *Ropemakers*, for surety sake to look one way and work another!"³ Fuller also uses this simile of the clergy of the reign of John (it is worth repeating now-a-days): "Looking at London, but rowing to Rome; carrying Italian hearts in English bodies."⁴

The first chapter of the *Pisgah-Sight* is devoted to a defence of his book from "Causeless Cavils." This is a manner of beginning his works peculiar to Fuller; and those who are familiar with these chapters know how entertaining they are. He likens his condition to that of the Israelites at Kadesh-Barnea, Numb. xiii. 23 and 28, who were pleased with the report of the spies until they were told of the three sons of Anak, which appalled their courage and "deaded" their desire. So when pleasing considerations and delightful motives induced him to compile the work, three giant-like objections did in a manner dishearten him. First, *that the description of the country had been done by many before*; an objection, he shows, which might be lawful against the industry of all posterity. Such a plea never disheartened St. Luke, forasmuch as many had taken in hand to set forth histories before him; "yea the former

¹ Book v. 166.

³ Book v. 163. See the map of Dan, bk. ii. 205.

² Ro. Vaughan.—F.

⁴ *Church-Hist.*, iii. 48.

endeavours of many in the same matter argue the merit of the work to be great. For sure there is some extraordinary worth in that face which hath had so many suitors." Second, that the work *could not perfectly be done by any*, an objection, he says, which should quicken and not quench industry. Third, *that if exactly done, it would be altogether useless and might be somewhat superstitious*. Under this head he observes that "he that hath climbed to the top of mount Libanus, is not, in respect of his soul, a hair's-breadth nearer to heaven." His history of the Crusades illustrates the force of this remark. He slyly hints at the wild heated imaginations of the age, when he makes an objector say that it was better to let the land sleep quietly, "the rather, because the New Jerusalem is now daily expected to come down, and these corporal (not to say *carnal*) studies of this terrestrial Canaan begin to grow out of fashion with the more knowing sort of Christians." He replies, that though these studies were not essential to salvation, they contributed much to the true understanding of the Bible. He finds in a verse three studies which he, a devout antiquary, took especial delight in, viz. "*And hath made of one blood all nations of men, &c.*" (Acts xvii. 26.) "We may see Divinity, the Queen, waited on by three of her principal ladies of honour; namely, skill in (1) GENEALOGIES, concerning the persons of men and their pedigrees 'of one blood all nations.' (2) CHRONOLOGY, in the exact computation 'of the times appointed.' (3) GEOGRAPHY, measuring out the limits of several nations, 'and the bounds of their habitations.'"

The *Pisgah* is divided into five parts; the *first* being prefatory and consisting of a general description of Judæa; the *second* is occupied with the tribes; the *third* treats of Jerusalem and the Temple; the *fourth* is devoted to the surrounding nations, the tabernacle, garments, idols, measures, &c. of the Jews;¹ while the *fifth* book contains a miscellaneous assortment of topics, so placed that the former books might be, as the author says, more cheerful and pleasant in the reading. "On the sinister front of this our description" he places the names of the former inhabitants of the particular tribes, &c.

The treatment of the subject, as well as the design itself, were altogether original. Fuller thus sets forth the disadvantage of neglecting such duties: "Our work in hand is a parcel of geography touching a particular description of Judæa; with-

¹ To these divisions of the volume "Joh. Ridley" alludes in the Greek commendatory verses prefixed to the volume. (Ridley was probably a college

friend of the author; he was B.A. of King's College, Cambridge, in 1616.—Russell's *Memorials of Fuller*, page 40.)

out some competent skill wherein, as the blind Syrians intending to go to Dothan went to Samaria; so ignorant persons discoursing of the Scripture must needs make many absurd and dangerous mistakes. Nor can knowledge herein be more speedily and truly attained than by particular description of the tribes, where the eye will learn more in an hour from a map, than the ear can learn in a day from discourse." ¹ Elsewhere, he very justly complains of the fault charged by foreigners on the English gentry, that many of them were very knowing beyond the seas, but strangers in their native country,—a topic often introduced in his works. "Too many of our nation," he says, "are guilty of a greater ignorance; that being quick-sighted in other kingdoms and countries, they are altogether blind as touching Judæa and the land of Palestine, the home for their meditations who are conversant in all the historical passages of Scripture." He would not advise them personally to pace and trace the land of Canaan; for he thought that precept given to Abraham, "Arise, walk through the land," might be performed even while following the counsel of Joash, "Abide now at home." "This may be done," continues he, "by daily and diligent perusing of the Scriptures, and comparing the same with itself (diamonds only cut diamonds); as also by consulting with such as have written the description of that country. Amongst whom give me leave (though the unworthiest of thousands) to tender these my endeavours to your serious perusal and patronage; hoping my pains herein may conduce to the better understanding of the history of the Bible."² And he modestly says in his address to the reader: "What I have herein performed, I had rather the reader should tell me at the end than I tell him at the beginning of the book."

Notwithstanding that the *Pisgah-Sight* is now old, and that much light has since its day been thrown on sacred topography by complete explorations, it is still eminently useful for the purpose for which it was written. The writer of these pages often refers to it for information, &c. which more recent works do not supply. A proof of its utility is shown by the fact that other editions were soon called for. To its success and popularity Fuller himself alluded with satisfaction when Dr. Heylyn (who, having written a description of Palestine in his *Micro-cosmography*, perhaps regarded Fuller as a poacher on his estate,) jeered him for sallying into the Holy Land when he should have been setting forth a Church-history. Fuller assures his critic that he could the better bear his jeers, "seeing (by God's

¹ Book i. 3.

² Book iii. 306.

goodness) that my book hath met with general reception, likely to live when I am dead; so that friends of quality solicit me to teach it the Latin language.”¹

The attractive manner in which this work was written accounted for much of its popularity. An ordinary writer would find such subjects difficult to present in an entertaining way; but Fuller, by his rich and lively fancy, has scattered throughout such a profuse display of quaint thoughts, wit, and facetiousness, that every page of it contains delightful reading. Fuller’s pen transforms the driest of details into matter of interest. A writer, referring to this work, says: “No one could have expected the lavish display of every kind of wit and drollery which is to be found in the book. His fancy fertilized the very rocks and deserts; the darkest and dreariest places he illumines and renders cheerful with his never-failing humour.”² Another critic says that the work was a happy elucidation of what Fuller always excelled in—sacred story: “And no work of his better displays the riches of his mind or the plentitude and fertility of its images.”

A few passages, which we now come to cite, will show the spirit and pleasantry of the work:—

“As for their conceit that Anti-Christ should be born in CHORAZIN, I take it to be a mere monkish device to divert men’s eyes from seeking him in the right place where he is to be found.”³

THE SEPTENARY NUMBER.—“Seven years was this temple in building. Here some will behold the sanctity and perfection of the septenary number so often occurring in Scripture, whilst we conceive this the best reason why just seven years were spent on the building thereof, because it could not be ended in six, nor accomplished within a shorter compass of time.”⁴

THE BEAUTIFUL GATE.—“We will wait on the reader into the Temple. First requesting him to carry competent money, and a charitable mind along with him. For as we shall enter in at the eastern gate (commonly called Beautiful), we shall be sure there to meet with many creeples and beggars of all sorts, as proper objects of his liberality. Here daily lay that lame man, on whom St. Peter, though moneyless, bestowed the best alms he could give, or the other receive, even the use of his limbs.”⁵

JERUSALEM.—“As Jerusalem was the navel of Judea, so the Fathers make Judea the midst of the world, whereunto they bring (not to say *bow*) those places of Scripture, ‘Thou hast wrought salvation in the midst of the earth.’ Indeed, seeing the whole world is a *round table*, and the Gospel the *food* for men’s souls, it was fitting that this *great dish* should be set in the midst of the *board* that all the guests round about might equally reach unto it; and Jerusalem was the *center* whence the *lines of salvation* went out into all lands.”⁶

“MODERN DAMASCUS is a beautiful city. The first Damask-rose had its root here and name hence. So all Damask silk, linen, poulder, and plumbs

¹ *Appeal*, pt. i. 317.

³ ii. 97.

iii. 362.

² Knight’s *Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, vii. 76.

⁵ iii. 428.

⁶ iii. 315.

called *Damascens*. Two things at this day are most remarkable among the inhabitants : there are no Lawyers amongst them, no Advocates, or Solicitors of causes, no compacts being made for future performance, but *weigh and pay*, all bargains being driven with ready money. Secondly, physicians here are paid no fee except the patient recover his health."¹

"THE ONCE FAMOUS CITY OF CAPERNAUM, Christ's own city. Note by the way, Christ had three cities which may be called his own (if seven contended for Homer, well may three be allowed to Christ) : Bethlehem, where he was born ; Nazareth where conceived and bred ; and Capernaum where he dwelt—more than probably in the house of Simon Peter. This Capernaum was the magazine of Christ's miracles. Here was healed the servant of that good Centurion ; who though a Gentile out-faithed Israel it self. . . . Here Simon Peter's wife's mother was cured of a fever ; and here such as brought the man sick of the palsy, not finding a door on the floor, made one on the roof (Love will creep, but Faith will climb where it cannot go), let him down with cords, his bed bringing him in which presently he carried out being perfectly cured. Here also Christ restored the daughter of Jairus to life, and in the way as he went (each parenthesis of our Saviour's motion is full of heavenly matter, and his *obiter* more to the purpose than our *iter*) he cured the woman of her flux of blood, with the touch of his garment. But amongst all these and more wonders, the greatest was the ingratitude of the people of Capernaum, justly occasioning our Saviour's sad prediction, 'And thou, Capernaum, which are exalted, &c. O sad strapado of the soul, to be hoisted up so high, and then cast down suddenly so low, enough to disjoint all the powers thereof in pieces ! Capernaum at this day is a poor village, scarce consisting of seven fishermen's cottages.'"²

Fuller's sprightly style and quaint allusions have attracted all who have read the work. One admirer has thus written : "His book really answers to its title. He might be thought to have seen the 'Good Land,' so graphic are some of its sketches, so lively his observations, and so pleasantly does he keep the eyes and hearts of his hearers. He is as painstaking, acute, discriminating, and cautious as Dr. Robinson himself ; but where this tedious Doctor is as dull, dry, and monotonous as if he had never seen Palestine from a nearer point than the United States, and was merely describing it from a leaden model to a school of American surveyors, our old Fuller is all life and buoyancy, enticing you by his company into long rambles over scenes which he knows all about, upon which he looks lovingly, about which he talks charmingly, and which he really photographs upon your very soul by the light of his genial wit and hallowed fancy. His wit, however, is never out of tune with pure and simple faith ; his intellectual brightness never loses its devout warmth, nor does any affectation of science ever mar the loveliness of his meek and reverent spirit."³

The uncertain positions of many towns, &c. in the Holy Land were a source of difficulty to our topographer, who for his map

¹ iv. 9.

² ii. 109.

³ *Homes of English Writers*, p. 179.

accompanying his *Holy War* had consulted thirty maps and descriptions. Some of the points at variance are settled in a rough and ready way, all his own. Thus, the first syllable of Gadara is to him argument enough for placing it in *Gad*! When he finds distances stated variously he "umpires the difference by *pitching on a middle number betwixt both*. For instance, Seiglerus makes it fourteen thousand paces or fourteen miles betwixt Zidon and Tyre (eminent marts, and therefore the distance betwixt them might be notoriously known), whilst Vadianus makes it two hundred furlongs, or twenty miles. Here to part the difference equal, we have insisted on seventeen miles." Dibon, which the author finds sometimes assigned to Reuben (Josh. xiii. 17), sometimes to Gad (Numb. xxxii. 34), is similarly treated: "Some," he says, "make them different and distant cities, which in my apprehension is rather to set up two marks, than to hit the right one. For seeing these two tribes confine together [are contiguous], and both lay claim to Dibon (like the two mothers challenging the living child), we have only, instead of a sword, made use of pricks, setting it *equally in the bounds of both*." Heshbon, said in Scripture to be sometimes in Reuben, sometimes in Gad, is also inserted "so equally between these tribes as partially in both, totally in neither!" In regard to the position of the disputed altar Ed, Fuller—following the custom of devout Jews, who, when the Sabbath was newly changed into the Lord's Day, kept both Saturday and Sunday holy, observing both *ex nimia cautela*—for more certainty *erects "two altars, one on each side of the river, leaving it to the discretion of the judicious reader to accept or refuse which of them he pleaseth!"*

The vagueness of the contemporary geographical knowledge of the land is evinced by such expressions as that the distance between Cyprus and the Continent "*cannot be great, if it be true what Pliny reports, that whole herds of deer used to swim over thither*." A very large number of the towns and cities on the maps have flags or banners floating over them to indicate that their position is *conjectural*. "One side of which flags humbly confesseth our want of certainty; the other as earnestly craveth better information." The ingenuous author often confesses his want of exact knowledge, and promises that all errors should be amended in his second edition ("God lending me life to set it out"), where he would give thanks to any reader convincing him of error, "or else let him conclude my face of the same metal with the plate of these maps!" On the same subject he also makes this appeal: "I doubt not but the ingenuous reader (finding in Palestine six cities of refuge by God's

own appointment, for the safeguard of such as slew one un-awares without *malice prepense*;) will of his bounty build a seventh in his own bosom for my protection, when guilty of involuntary mistakes in so great a work."

Much of the very curious writing and reasoning, here and elsewhere, might more readily and easily be called *Fullerian* than described. A living writer has thus happily referred to it: "If it be inquired what was the character of his wit, it must be replied, it is so various, and assumes so many different shapes, that one might as well attempt to define wit itself; and this, seeing the comprehensive Barrow has contented himself with an enumeration of its forms, in despair of being able to include them all within the circle of a precise definition, we certainly shall not attempt. Suffice it to say, that all the varieties recorded in that singularly felicitous passage are exemplified in the pages of our author. Of *his* wit, as of *wit* in general, it may be truly said, that, 'sometimes it lieth in pat allusion to a known story, or in seasonable application of a trivial saying, or in forging an apposite tale; sometimes it playeth in words and phrases, taking advantage from the ambiguity of their sense, or the affinity of their sound; sometimes it is wrapped in a dress of humorous expression, sometimes it lurketh under an odd similitude, sometimes it is lodged in a sly question, in a smart answer, in a quirkish reason, in a shrewd intimation, in cunningly diverting or cleverly retorting a question; sometimes it is couched in a bold scheme of speech, in a tart irony, in a lusty hyperbole, in a startling metaphor, in a plausible reconciling of contradictions, or in acute nonsense; sometimes a scenical representation of persons or things, a counterfeit speech, a mimical look or gesture, passeth for it; sometimes an affected simplicity, sometimes a presumptuous bluntness giveth it being; sometimes it riseth only from a lucky hitting upon what is strange; sometimes from a crafty wresting obvious matter to the purpose. Often it consisteth in one knows not what, and springeth up one can hardly tell how. Its ways are unaccountable and inexplicable, being answerable to the numberless rovings of fancy, and windings of language.' Of all the preceding varieties of wit, next to the 'play with words and phrases,' perhaps Fuller most delighted in 'pat allusions to a known story;' 'in seasonable application of a trivial saying;' 'in a tart irony' and 'affected simplicity'; in the 'odd similitude' and the 'quirkish reason.'"¹ To Barrow's remarks on wit may be added Addison's observations on humour, with which

Fuller's writing is also in accord: "Very various and unequal in his Temper; sometimes you see him putting on grave Looks and a solemn Habit, sometimes airy in his Behaviour and fantastic in his dress: Insomuch that at different times he appears as serious as a Judge, and as jocular as a Merry-Andrew."¹

In all respects the *Pisgah-Sight* was worthy of Fuller's sacred calling. An ardent antiquary, he carried his favourite pursuit into his profession. To him, as to his contemporary Browne of Norwich, "the Ancient of Days" was "the Antiquary's truest object." The *Pisgah* reverently sprang from his affection for the Bible; for (to use his own expression) next to God the Word, he loved the Word of God. Hence, as has been said, the work is mainly illustrative of the Bible, with which book it often ranged in the homes of the time. Scripture is reverently used as the *chief* authority. "Let God be true, and every man a liar," says Fuller in one place. "I profess myself a *pure Leveller*, desiring that all human conceits (though built on most specious bottoms) may be laid flat and prostrated, if opposing the *written Word*."² No other of his books evinces so deep an acquaintance with the sacred volume. He has probably extracted every topographical verse, besides very many others. Like his friend Mede, he was "an exact text-man, happy in making Scripture expound itself by parallel passages." "Diamonds," he would say, "only cut diamonds." Hence the *Pisgah* has been called the exactest of his works. Orme says: "This is one of the most curious books ever written on the Scriptures, . . . and incidentally illustrates a number of passages of Scripture."³ The learning which he brings to bear on his discussions is not only exact but deep.

In furtherance of the scheme of the work Fuller also undertook other extensive reading and researches, which bear ample testimony to his "painfulness." Of ancient authors, JOSEPHUS takes the first place. "Pardon a digression," says he, "in giving a free character of his writings, whereof, next holy writ, we have made most use in this book. . . . Notwithstanding all these [his] faults, the main bulk of his book deserves commendation, if not admiration; no doubt at the first compiled, and since preserved by the special providence of God, to reflect much light and lustre upon the Scriptures."⁴ He also quotes from the Rabbins; and he laid under contribution Pliny,

¹ *Spectator*, No. 35.

² Book v. 170.

³ *Bibliotheca Biblica*, p. 199. "The author was distinguished for his learning; and not more remarkable for wit

and quaintness than for the felicity with which he clothed fine thoughts in beautiful language. Unfortunately he could not resist joking, even on the most sacred subjects."⁴ Book ii. 147.

Jerome, Ptolemeus, Villepandus, Arias Montanus, Adricomius, Bochartus, &c. Of travellers he consulted Brocardus, Breidenbachius (whose description of Palestine "is neither divided into leaves, pages, columns, nor chapters"), Morison, Biddulph ("a late English divine"), Munster, Bunting. There is also frequent mention of George Sands or Sandys, the traveller, whose famous Eastern journey was made in 1610, and of whose description of the Holy Land, with his passage thither and return thence, Fuller speaks admiringly.¹ Sandys was the youngest son of Edwin, Archbishop of York, and is better known as a translator of Ovid. Fuller seems to have been acquainted with him: he says that he was a very aged man when "I saw him in the Savoy, anno 1641, having a youthful soul in a decayed body." Sandys, like others, had been attracted thither by the fame of the popular preacher. The civil war caused him to make another visit to Palestine. Lloyd, who scrupled not to copy frequently the conceits of Fuller, says: "Having translated many good authors, he was translated himself to heaven, 1643."²

As to the spirit in which Fuller availed himself of the labours of these his predecessors and authorities, let the following citation declare: "We intend a little to insist both upon the commodities and countries of such as hither [viz. to Tyre] resorted. For though I dare not go out of the bounds of Canaan to give these nations a visit at their own homes, yet finding them here within my precincts, it were incivility in me not to take some acquaintance of them. In setting down of their several places, I have wholly followed—(let my candle go out in a stink when I refuse to confess from whom I have lighted it)—Bochartus, in his *Holy Geography*."³

The fifth book, in addition to replies to objections, contains discussions on other topics. Thus we have miscellaneous chapters on "Ezekiel; his Visionary Land of Canaan;" on the "Fate of the Ten Tribes;" "Of the Jews repossessing their Native Country;" "Of the General Calling [conversion] of the Jews," and the obstructions to it; "How Christians ought to behave themselves in order to the Jews' Conversion." Fuller took a great interest in the descendants of the Chosen People, inserting at the close of the work a prayer for their speedy conversion; to which end he supplicated the Divine Being "to compose the many different judgments of Christians into one truth."

The work concludes with a very elaborate "Index of Geographical, &c. Names, with English Equivalents,"—a table similar,

¹ *Worthies*, § Yorkshire, p. 212.

² *Memoires*, 637.

³ Book ii. 128.

in some respects, to that given in Stanley's *Palestine*.¹ In it, "to fix the Hebrew names the better in our memory, we have here and there (as the propriety of our language and commodities of our country will admit) inserted some English towns as *Synonymas*, and parallel to the Hebrew in signification."

The chief patron of this remarkable folio was ESME STUART, then scarcely a year old, "son and heir to the illustrious James, Duke of Richmond and Lennox." In the elegant dedication the writer states that, in seeking a patron, he wished to find one who was of most noble extraction, and who was of spotless innocency, his sly reason being that he feared too many faults might be found in the book itself, and he desired to make some amends by dedicating it to one free from all exception. After showing that his infant patron, by his ancestry and connection with the best houses in England, Scotland, and France, came within the scope of his first requirement, he thus beautifully comments on the second: "Now that your Honour cannot be taxed with any actual offence, your tender months, not as yet completing a year, do sufficiently evidence. Whose innocence is the most entire relic of our primitive integrity, and most perfect pattern of our future felicity. Yea, some admiring what motives to mirth infants meet with in their silent and solitary smiles, have resolved (how truly I know not) that then they converse with angels, as indeed such cannot among mortals find any fitter companions."

This beautiful sentiment attracted the attention of Charles Lamb, who included it among the specimens from the writings of Fuller.²

Fuller passes on to notice and comment upon the three main ends aimed at in all ingenuous dedications, viz. "Hope to receive protection, Desire to derive instruction, and Zeal to express affection." Under the first head he states that as some in the civil wars had saved themselves from the sword with no other shield than bearing a babe in their arms, which rebated their enemies' fury into compassion, "so when some shall be ready to wound our book with their censuring darts, they will be mollified into mercy, finding your innocent name prefixed in the front thereof." And under the next head he

¹ "Fuller's pages are more fruitful of healthy influence than those of Stanley. Brilliant as Stanley is, he lacks steady Christian warmth; and is very unlike Fuller in that he so often makes his reader feel the presence of a subtle scepticism. . . . Dear old Fuller! thine eye was single, and had too much of the

nature of Divine light in it to be dazzled or touched with the least uneasiness before the face of Inspired Truth!" (Christophers' *Homes of English Writers*, p. 179.)

² See *Rosamund Gray, Essays, Poems, &c.*, ed. 1849, p. 96.

acknowledges the present incapability of his patron deriving instruction from the book ; but adds, that " until such time as your Lordship's judgement can reap profit from our descriptions herein, *may your eyes but take pleasure in the maps which are here presented unto you !*" After some quaint comments on the family name and ancestry, Fuller concludes : " But I grow tedious in a long letter to a little lord, and therefore turn my pen into prayers that Christ would be pleased to take you up into His arms (whose embraces are the best swaddling-clothes, as to straighten, so to strengthen you in the growth of grace) to ' lay His hands upon you and bless you,' that you may ' grow in stature and favour with God and man : ' the daily desire of your Lordship's humble orator, THO. FULLER."

This " little lord's " father was an illustrious scion of the nobility. He was James the First's cousin, and was, with his family, brought up under the King's care. He had, however, says Clarendon, " the manners, and nature, and heart of an Englishman." In course of time a fast friendship arose between Lennox and Prince Charles. Lennox, in Fuller's college days, was of Trinity. At twenty-one he was made member of the Privy Council, and married the sole daughter of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, with a great portion. In 1641 he became Duke of Richmond. He was also Warden of the Cinque Ports and Steward of the Household. On the breaking out of the war, he, with his brothers (three of whom were then cut off), fought for the King. He suffered during the troubles, and was one of the nobles against whom the Parliament had exceptions, on account of his devotedness to the King. " As he had received," says Clarendon, " great bounties from the King, so he sacrificed all he had to his service, as soon as his occasions stood in need of it; and lent his majesty at one time £20,000 together; and, as soon as the war began, engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the service."¹ As to his son Esme, it is touching to remark that, very soon, Christ *did* take him up into His arms; and thus Fuller's prayer was literally fulfilled. The " little lord " died in France, 1660, aged eleven years.

It is in the fifth book of the *Pisgah-Sight*, inscribed to the young Lord Burghley, son of the fourth Earl of Exeter (see *anted*, page 20), that we have Fuller's defence of his custom of dedicating to *children*. He is aware, he says, that it would be objected that " your Lordship is *infra-annuated* to be the patron of a book," insomuch as patrons were properly appealed to as judges of the merits of a treatise. But Fuller replies that no

¹ *Rebellion*, vi. 369.

Roman Catholics would lay this to his charge, since he might bring up a story, "confessed by their *Champion*" (*i. e.* Campion), of a child of five years old being consecrated Archbishop of Rheims. Custom, he says, had much mitigated the rigour of the word patron, "which is not current in common discourse at so high a rate whereat first it was coined," patrons being then the "countenancers" of books instead of "censurers." In this dedication also he unfolds the system which he followed in choosing his patrons—a passage which Dr. Heylyn afterwards ridiculed: "Our London Gardeners do not sow or set all their seeds (though of the same kind) at the same time, but so that they may ripen successively to last the longer in season. Such is my design, planting a nursery of Patrons, all noble, but of different years; a babe, a child, two youths of several date, and a man [Lord Beauchamp], (having, as a scale of miles in my maps, a scale of ages in my honourable patrons), hoping so always to have one or more in full power to protect my endeavours."¹

To the "two youths" alluded to were dedicated Books iii. and iv. The first was *John Lord Ros* (son to the Earl of Rutland), who was born 1638, and whose connection with Fuller was due to his mother, the Countess of Rutland. In the dedication, Fuller deals with the topic of being unacquainted with one's own country.² The other youth was *Francis Lord Russell*, son to William, fifth Earl of Bedford, and first Duke, born likewise in 1638. Fuller characteristically cites St. Luke's dedication to Theophilus, which furnishes him with some "observables very conducive to my present purpose;" noticing that "dedicating of books to noble persons is an ancient practise, warranted by Scripture-precedents." Fuller hoped he had found a Theophilus in his Lordship, "whom I see to be young, know to be noble, and believe to be religious." After alluding to his ancestry, the writer urges him to do nothing unworthy of it. "Far be it from your honour to be listed among those noble men, of whom it may be said in a sad sense that they are *very highly descended*, as being come down many degrees from the worth and virtues of their noble progenitors."³ Francis was the brother of the patriotic Lord William Russell, beheaded in 1683, and the grandson of the fourth Earl of Bedford. The mother of these noble youths was Anne, daughter of Carr, Earl of Somerset, and the divorced wife of Essex. Fuller says that the Countess was "as chaste and virtuous a lady as any of the English nation."⁴ It is said that she had never been made acquainted with the history of her wretched parents; and that accidentally

¹ Book v. 141.

Book iii. 305.

³ Book iii. 439.

⁴ Book x. 68.

meeting in a parlour window with a book containing the account of their iniquity, she read it, and fell senseless on the floor.

The plate, *Fragmenta Sacra*, at the end of the *Pisgah*, is dedicated to *John* and *Edward Russell*, uncles of Francis above-named, and younger sons of that Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, who, in the House of Lords, was the distinguished leader, till his death (1641), of the popular party, by whom his name was cherished. His untimely end was felt to be a national calamity. It was he who, by the *Bedford Level*, drained the Fens almost as far as Fuller's birthplace. This earl's daughter, Margaret, married, first, the Earl of Carlisle (and hence Fuller's introduction to the Russell family); secondly, the Earl of Manchester; and lastly, Robt. Rich, Earl of Warwick and Holland.

Thirty-two other patrons, besides those already spoken of, are mentioned on the engraved maps, &c., their arms being set down with a Latin encomium of their virtues or munificence. It is noticeable that the tribe-maps contain also heraldic standards, or symbols of each tribe.

The greater number of these patrons were Fuller's personal friends, some of whom we have already referred to. We have yet to mention the following: *Paul Pindar, Esq.*,¹ of Idenshaw, Cheshire, made a baronet in 1662; *Robert Cordel, Esq.*,² of Long Melford, Suffolk, who also became a baronet at the Restoration; *Mr. Roger Vivion*, merchant, "to whose eyes," says Fuller, "Syria is more known than to my pen," and for whom he wishes good ships, vigorous sailors, safe ports, favouring breezes—everything, in fine, befitting Zebulon;³ *Mr. Thomas Leigh*, at whose charges the map of Issachar is engraved;⁴ *Wm. Crane, Esq.*, of whose father Francis, we are told, "Cujus Minervae Anglia debet si quid habeat rarioris artificij in subtiliore Textura;"⁵ *Mr. William Honeywood*, of Evington, near Canterbury, the best of friends, whose mellifluous name Fuller of course couples with the pleasantest character, and of whom he afterwards said that "being sensible in myself by your bounty what a burden it is for one who would be ingenuous to be loaded with courtesies which he hath not the least hope to requite or deserve."⁶ Last, but not the least munificent patron, was *Lord William Maynard*, Baron of Estaines⁷ and Wicklow, whom Fuller calls "Mecænas suus magnificus et plurimum colendisimus;" and of whose name, in allusion to his motto *Manus justa nardus*, he makes the comment, "nomine e flore mensium

¹ Book ii. 52.

² See the General Map.

³ Map of Zebulon, Book ii. 136. See also v. 181.

⁴ Book ii. 154.

⁵ Book ii. 181.

⁶ Book ii. 225; *Church-Hist.* ix. 79.

⁷ *I.e.* Easton, near Dunmow, Essex, the seat of the late Lord Viscount Maynard.

et aromatum principe composito." Fuller also mentioned him in *The Worthies* as having been "so noble an encourager of my studies that my hand deserveth to wither when my heart passeth him by without a prayer for his good success." This nobleman's father, Lord William, founded the logic chair at Cambridge, and deserved (says Fuller) well of that university; adding elsewhere, that he "well knew the great conveniency, yea, necessity, of logic for divines." He had been educated at St. John's College, where Dr. Playfere "thus versed it on his name : *Inter menses Maius et inter aromata nardus.*"¹

Fuller's friends were apparently so numerous that he occasionally assigned two patrons to one map. The map of Palestine is inscribed to *three* persons; and one patron, Hugh Forth, a London merchant, is mentioned *twice*. Fuller wished to multiply his dedications because at the time each friend would expect such an honour, and—was willing to pay handsomely for it.

It seems that Dr. JOHN LIGHTFOOT had been for many years engaged on a work somewhat similar to that which Fuller had just brought out. Lightfoot had begun the study of Hebrew after he left Cambridge; and in prosecution of his researches in Rabbinical lore, he removed from Staffordshire to Hornsey, that he might take advantage of the library of Sion College. He afterwards received a living in Staffordshire, where he spent a most studious life. During the troubles, "he was one of those good men who thought it best to follow the course of events." Hence he took a prominent part in the Assembly of Divines. He afterwards received from Parliament the Rectory of Much Munden, in Hertfordshire, and became Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.

In Part iii. of his *Harmony*, dated Jan. 30, 1649-50, he refers to the progress he had made in the work alluded to—a Chorographical description of Canaan from the writings of the Jews, prepared at great pains. "I went on in that work a good while," says he, "and that with much cheerfulness and content; for methought a Talmudical survey and history of the Land of Canaan (not omitting Collections to be taken up out of the Scripture, and other writers), as it would be new and rare, so it might not prove unwelcome nor unprofitable to those that delighted in such a subject. But at last I understood that another Workman, a far better Artist than myself, had the *Description of the land of Israel*, not only in hand, but even in

¹ *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 264; *Worthies*, § Essex, p. 347; Ded. to *Hist. Camb.*; and § 9 ¶ 7.

the press ; and was so far got before me in that travail, that he was almost at his journey's end, when I was but little more than setting out. Here it concerned me to consider what I had to do. It was grievous to me to have lost my labour, if I should now sit down ; and yet I thought it wisdom not to loose more in proceeding further when one in the same subject, and of far more abilities in it, had got the start so far before me. And although I supposed, and at last was assured, even by that Author himself (my very learned and worthy friend) that we should not thrust nor hinder one another any whit at all, though we both went at once in the perambulation of that land, because he had not meddled with that Rabinnick way that I had gone ; yet when I considered what it was to glean after so clean a reaper, and how rough a Talmudical pencil would seem after so fine a pen, I resolved to sit down, and to stir no more in that matter, till time and occasion did show me more encouragement thereunto than as yet I saw. And thus was my promise fallen to the ground, not by any carelessness or forgetfulness of mine, but by the happy prevention of another hand, by whom the work is likely to be better done."¹

In the *Description of the Temple in the time of the Saviour* (April 3, 1650), Lightfoot again refers to the subject, saying : "When I had spent a good large time and progress in that Work, I found that I was happily prevented [forestalled] in that subject by a more Learned and Acute Pen ;² which, though it went not the same way in that Work that I had done, yet was it so far before me both in progress and in accuracy, that I knew it would be lost labour for me to proceed further."³

In his *Pisgah-Sight* Fuller also alludes to the labours of his brother divine, the passage showing in what way their labour differed : "As for the remainder of the vessels of the Temple, with the manifold traditions concerning them, the reader is referred to the learned pains of my industrious friend Mr. John Lightfoot, who, as I understand, intends an entire treatise thereof. Far be it from me that our pens should fall out like the herdsmen of Lot and Abraham, 'the land being not able to bear them both, that they might dwell together' (Gen. xiii. 6). No such want of room in this subject, being of such latitude and receipt, that both we and hundreds more, busied together therein, may severally lose ourselves in a subject of such capacity. The rather because we embrace several courses in this our description ; it being my desire and delight to stick

¹ *Works*, vol. i. 559, 560 (ed. 1684).

² "Mr. Thomas Fuller, B.D." (Lightfoot's note).

³ *Works*, vol. i. 1048.

only to the written word of God, whilst my worthy friend takes in the choicest Rabbinical and Talmudical relations, being so well seen in those studies, that it is questionable whether his skill or my ignorance be the greater therein."¹

It is pleasant to see, as Southey in his *Doctor* has pointed out, how liberally and equitably both Lightfoot and Fuller speak of their labours. "Lightfoot was sincere in the commendation which he bestowed upon Fuller's diligence, and his felicitous way of writing. And Fuller, on his part, rendered justice in the same spirit to Lightfoot's well-known and peculiar erudition."²

Lightfoot's *Description of the Temple Service*, alluded to by Fuller, came out in the following year (1650); and it cost the author (as he himself says) as much pains as if he had travelled thither. It is still quoted as an authoritative work. As to the "entire treatise"—*The Chorography*—mention is made of it in Strype's Appendix to the Life of Lightfoot: "The unhappy chance that hindered the publishing this elaborate piece of his, which he had brought to pretty good perfection, was the edition of Doctor Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight*: great pity it was that so good a book should have done so much harm. For that book handling the same matters and preventing his, stopped his resolution of letting his labours in that subject see the light. Though he went a way altogether different from Doctor Fuller, and so both might have shown their faces together in the world, and the younger sister (if we may make comparisons) might have proved the fairer of the two. But that book is lost utterly, save that many of his notions are preserved in his Chorographical pieces put before his *Horae*."³

Lightfoot became D.D. in 1652, and about this time Fuller spoke of him as an "excellent linguist." Transgressing the rules he had laid down when compiling the *Worthies*, Fuller there also mentions him as one who was liberal in his inclinations, and "who for his exact nicety in Hebrew and Rabbinical learning hath deserved well of the Church of England."⁴

The *Pisgah-Sight* brings Fuller in connection with another well-known character of the time, viz. Robert Baillie, then Principal of Glasgow University, a letter from whom to Fuller may fittingly be introduced here. Baillie had come to England at the end of 1643 for the purpose of attending the Assembly of Divines; and he had taken up his abode, with the other Scottish Commissioners, at Worcester House (or Place), in the

¹ Book iii. 395.

² See *The Doctor*, vol. ii. pp. 38—44 (ed. 1849, pp. 87—89).

³ Vol. i. page xii.

⁴ *Worthies*, § Staffordshire, p. 46.

City. During their stay in England, these Scottish ministers were very popular, and were often called upon to preach. In December, 1646, Baillie, long anxious to return home, left London with his books; so that if he had had any intercourse with Fuller, it must have been about July of that year, when the latter was in London. Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, whence the epistle to Fuller is taken,¹ and which have been truly described as among the most graphic books of contemporary memoir to be found in any language, show that he had an extensive acquaintance with scholars at home and abroad.

“ For MR. THOMAS FOWLER.

“ REVEREND SIR,

“ Having latelie, and but latelie, gone through your Holy Warr, and Description of Palestine, I am fallen so in love with your pen, that I am sorry I was not before acquaint with it, and with yourself, when from the 1643 to 1647, I lived at Worcester House, and preached in the Savoy, that then, when I had some credite there, I might have used my best endeavours to have done yow pleasure. You seem to promise ane Ecclesiastick Storie : it were a pity but it should be hastened. However I am one of those who could gladlie consent to the burning of many thousand volumes of improftable writers, that burthens and harms the world; yet there are some pens whom I wish did write much, of which your's is one. Mr. Purchase in his *Pilgrimes*, from the intelligence he had by English and Dutch travellers and merchants, together with the printed treatises of some late Italian, Spanish, and French writers, gave us a very good accompt of the World, the whole Universe, the present condition of it, as in his time. I conceive no man were fitter than yow to let us know, in a handsome, fyne, and wyse way, the State of the World as now it stands. If the Lord would put in your heart to mind it, and give yow encouragement for such a performance, if yow would put out one part of it, were it the present state of Asia, I trust it should be so accepted by judicious men, that yow should have from many all desirable encouragements for the perfyting of the rest. Your cartes are very neatly and singularly well done : yow would not be sparing of them. I wish, in your Palestine, yow added some more, as one or two of Chaldæa, because of many Scriptures relating to Babylon, Nineve, Ur, &c. ; the voyage of Paul ; some cartes of the present state, joynd with these of the old Scripturall state, as of Egypt, Jerusalem, &c. For these and the like happy labours, we, at so great a distance, can but encourage yow with praise, love, and prayers to God, which yow shall have, I promise yow, from me, as one who very highly pryses the two wrytes I have seen of your hand, and judges by these that the rest yow have done or shall doe, will be of the same excellencie. The Lord bless yow and all your intentions ; So prays

“ Your very loveing and much honouring Brother,

“ R. B.

“ *Glasgow in Scotland, August 22d, 1654.*”

The pithy language and shrewd criticism of this letter make it a peculiarly valuable contribution to these pages. Baillie seems to propose to Fuller some such work as Heylyn's *Cosmo-*

¹ Vol. iii. pp. 265, 266. By permission of David Laing, Esq.

graphy. One regrets that Fuller's reply, which perhaps showed more devotion to divinity than to geography, has not been preserved. His natural antipathy to Scotchmen ought to have been modified at the receipt of a letter evincing in a gratifying manner the writer's pleasurable associations with his works; but Baillie would probably have been one of the last men from whom Fuller would have begged a favour, however willing the former might have been to bestow it. The accomplished editor of Baillie's *Journals* informs me that he made at the time various inquiries after Fuller's reply, but without any good result; and that he had never met with autograph letters of Fuller's in catalogues, &c.

Among less notable works which Fuller dated from Waltham Abbey was *Abel Redevivus*, 1651, being a series of lives of modern divines, one hundred and seven in number. The compilation has been falsely termed "the first biographical volume published in the English language."¹ Fuller contributed seven of the biographies, and "The Epistle to the Reader." Although his connection with the work did not extend further, it is all but invariably put under his name in catalogues, and the lives when quoted are said to be by him. He certainly was not responsible for the Latinity of the title. The volume was really the venture of a "stationer" with whom Fuller had not before held business relations, viz. "John Stafford, dwelling in Bride's Churchyard, near Fleet-street." Fuller's popularity in this parish may perhaps have induced Stafford to obtain him as a client. It was apparently from Fuller's connection with *Abel Redevivus*, which became a favourite book in its day, that an absurd statement afterwards found credence that Fuller eked out his livelihood at this time by scribbling for the booksellers. Carlyle (see *infra*, chap. xvii.) gives his sanction to the supposition; and it has been offensively repeated in a recent untrustworthy book, in these terms: "Thomas Fuller was among the first, as well as the quaintest, of *hack-writers*."²

Fuller's preface begins with a characteristic discourse on the text, "Such honour have all His saints." He passes on to the *matter* of the book. "Providence," saith he, "so ordereth it, that out of the ashes of dead Saints, many living ones doe spring and sprout, by following the pious precedents of such godly persons deceased. This was a maine motive of publishing the ensuing Treatise, to furnish our present age with a Magazeen of religious patterns for their Imitation." "Here may we find

¹ Wilson's *Mem. Cantab.* p. 151. D[onald] L[upton]'s *Hist. of the Moderne Protestant Divines*, &c. preceded it in 1637.

² Curwen's *Hist. of Booksellers*, p. 23.

many excellent Preachers, who first reformed themselves, that their Doctrine might take the better effect in others. For as one who would most mannerly intimate to another any spot or foulness in his face, doth wipe his owne face in the same place; that so the other beholding him, may collect where and how, to amend any thing that is amisse: So these worthy Ministers gave others to understand how to rectifie their faults, by exemplary clensing and clearing their owne lives and conversations."

As for the "Makers," or rather authors, of the book, "they are many; some done by Dr. Featly, now at rest with God; viz.: The lives of Jewell, Reynolds, Abbot, and diverse others. Some by that reverend and learned Divine Master Gataker, viz.: The lives of Peter Martyr, Bale, Whitgift, Ridley, Whitaker, Parker,¹ and others. Doctor Willets life by Doctor Smith,² his Son in Law. Erasmus his life by the rev. Bishop of Kilmore.³ The life of Bishop Andrewes, by the judicious and industrious, my worthy friend Master Isaackson: and my meannesse wrote all the lives of Berengarius, Hus, Hierom of Prague, Archbishop Cranmer, Master Fox, Perkins, Junius, etc.—save the most part of the Poetry was done by Master Quarles, Father and Son, sufficiently known for their abilities therein. The rest the Stationer got transcribed out of Mr. Holland and other authors."

In regard to these names, Dr. FEATLY (or Fairclough), who is first named, and who died in 1645, had long been known in London, where he was beneficed. He was a staunch Calvinist, and had been chaplain to Archbishop Abbott, and Provost of Chelsea College. He suffered during the war. A Wood says that he was considered "one of the most resolute and victorious champions of the Reformed Protestant religion of his time, a most smart scourge of the Church of Rome, a compendium of the learned tongues, and of all the liberal arts and sciences: also that though he was of small stature, yet he had a great soul, and had all learning compacted in him." Fuller also says that he was a perfect master of his own learning. He kept to his post in London about a month longer than Fuller, but finally got into trouble. "It seems, though he was *in*, he was not *of*, the late Assembly of Divines, as whose

¹ That p. 523, and not that p. 328, which was printed before a more exact copy was procured.—(F.)

² Dr. PETER SMITH had already edited some of Willet's writings, and compiled a biography. His contribution is singu-

lar, by reason of a multiplicity of footnotes.

³ BISHOP BEDELL, the celebrated prelate who brought about the translation of the Liturgy and Bible into Irish. He had died during the Rebellion, 1641-2.

body was with them, whilst his heart was at Oxford. Yea, he discovered so much in a letter to the Archbishop of Armagh; which being intercepted, he was proceeded against as a spy, and closely imprisoned," dying the same year in "the Prison Colledge at Chelsea." "His wife's son," adds Fuller, "hath since communicated to me his pocket-manual of his memorable observations, all with his own hand; but, alas! to be read by none but the writer thereof." Featly is said to have asked the King for a deanery or bishopric, on the ground that he was serving the royal interests in the Assembly.¹

"MASTER GATAKER" was Thomas Gataker, at that time of Rederith, or Rotherhithe, a profound scholar, whose house was a college to which even European scholars resorted. He would be well known to Fuller. Gataker relates of himself that he "maintained a good correspondence and some inward familiarity with the moderate sort on either side," especially with those who "misliked those innovations that in the latter times began to creep in."² He favoured a presbyterianised episcopacy. His son Charles was the associate of Fuller at Sydney College, and contributed verses to *Rex Redux*, 1633.

Fuller's "worthy friend," HENRY ISAAKSON, had been the companion and amanuensis of Andrewes, and was the careful author of the valuable chronological tables published in 1633. Isaakson was a native of London, and was so proud of the connection that he put the affix "Londoner" to his name on the title-page of his book. Fuller says he was a successful imitator of Andrewes' style. Isaakson's life of Andrewes in the *Abel Redevivus*³ was, with one or two other of his tracts, reprinted in 1829, with a memoir by the Rev. Stephen Isaacson, A.M., who stated that among the geniuses who addressed complimentary verses to Isaakson upon the publication of his Chronology "will be found Matthew Wren, the celebrated Bishop of Ely, T. Fuller, the famous Church historian, R. Crashaw, the poet," &c. But, on consulting the original copies of the work, Fuller's name does not appear as the writer of any of the poems. One set, however, is *unsigned*, as follows:—

"TO MY FRIEND, H. I.

Had I a veine for *Verse*, then know, I would
As soone proclaime thy *Laud*, as any should :
But what need I? When every *Page* sets forth
The splendour of the *Worke*, and Workman's worth,

¹ *Worthies*, § Oxfordsh., p. 340; *Clarendon*, vii. 438; *Athen. Oxon.* iii. 156.

² *Discours Apologetical*, p. 26.

³ It seems to have been at first sepa-

rately printed by Stafford, and published under Isaakson's name. Its position in *Abel Redevivus* was just after page 440, being inserted unpagéd.

And every Line, that's in this *Volume* read,
 Demonstrates *Learning*, and thy *Name* doth spread:
 Nay more, each *Letter*, *Point*, and *Tittle* too,
 Doe say as much for thee as th' others doe.
 Yet though each *Page*, *Line*, *Letter*, *Point* & *Tittle*
 Doe add to *Thee*, yet all of these too little."

In these lines there is nothing to raise the suspicion that they came from the pen of Fuller; and as he had at that time scarcely begun thus to compliment grave works, we are inclined to think that Isaakson's editor has confounded Fuller's reference to Isaakson in the preface to the *Abel Redivivus* with the commendatory verses in the Chronology. The editor certainly leaves it doubtful as to the source whence he derived the statement. He adds that Isaakson died about the 7th December, 1657; but this is incorrect, for Fuller in 1655 speaks of him then as "*lately gone to God.*"¹

Of that very voluminous poetical writer FRANCIS QUARLES, an Essex man, who died September, 1644, Fuller has elsewhere remarked that he was a most excellent poet, and had a mind biassed to devotion. "Had he been contemporary with Plato—that great back-friend to poets—he would not only have allowed him to live, but advanced him to an office in his Commonwealth. . . . His visible poetry (I mean his emblems) is excellent, catching therein the eye and fancy at one draught, so that he hath *out-Alciated* Alciat therein, in some men's judgment."² He had been secretary to Ussher until the rebellion. He afterwards lost all his papers and MSS., and, fleeing to Oxford early in 1644, he wrote violently in defence of the King. He is said to have taken this course by his desire to emulate the conduct of some of his clerical friends, especially of Dr. Hammond.—His son, JOHN QUARLES, was born at Romford, Essex. He was a captain in the Royal army, and served the King very zealously. He is the author of an "Elegy" on the death of Ussher, to whom, as he states, he was indebted for his education.

"Let him sweetly take

A full repose, he hath been long awake;
 Tyr'd with the toyle of a most tedious day,
 He sought refreshment; seeking, found the way,
 The way to heaven, and being merry-hearted,
 Shook hands with flesh and blood, and so departed."³

¹ *Church-History*, xi. 127.

² *Worthies*, § Essex, p. 334.

³ A copy of the poem, a small tract of 16 pp. in my hands, was published by John Stafford, who on page 16 advertises "Noo Bookes lately printed," *i.e.*

shortly before March, 1656, viz. (1) "A Collection of [four] Sermons: . . . Together with Notes upon Jonah. By Thomas Fuller;" and (2) "Divine Meditations upon Several Subjects, &c. Written by John Quarles."

John Quarles, who also wrote a verse on Antioch for Fuller's Sermons, 1657, died of the plague in 1665. The contributions of the poets to *Abel Redevivus* are of very unequal merit. Hazlitt remarks that the verses are not copied out of other books.

“MR. HOLLAND” was HENRY, the son of old Philemon, and a bookseller of London. Fuller seems to refer to the memoirs, with portraits, which Holland edited under the title of *Herologia Anglicana*, 1620, the original source of many of the “heads.” Seven of the memoirs are thence taken. Mr. Wm. Nichols added that a large proportion of the Lives “are translations, in an abridged form, from Melchior Adams's *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum*.” This was the source of the lives of the *foreign* divines.

The remaining part of Fuller's preface is taken up by lamenting the sad condition of those days, in which, on account of “our present distractions,” the number of divines was continually decreasing. Able ministers, it was regretted, would be almost drained dry in the kingdom, while the universities were so disturbed, and so many divines were hastening to their grave: “the rather because as the arrow mortally wounded Ahab ‘betwixt the joints of his armour,’ so in the interstitium betwixt two disciplines (and give me leave to term discipline the armour of the church), episcopacy put off, and another government not as yet close buckled on, profaneness and licentiousness have given a great and grievous wound to the Church of God; for the speedy cure whereof join thy prayers with his, who is thy servant in any Christian office, THO. FULLER.”

Fuller's contributions are recognisable without his statement as to authorship. They all have his humour and turns of thought, his oddity¹ of illustration and large-hearted views of character. “Few biographers have ever touched the chief points of a good man's career with a more graceful and instructive pen; while it seems to have been almost impossible for him to restrain the wit and humour, and the faculty of apt illustration, with which he was so happily gifted.” The first life—that of Berengarius—is an admirable piece of reading; his tender treatment of the faults² of the divine insensibly begets a love for the writer. One passage in it is of interest

¹ Many of Fuller's figurative sayings are either such as he had already used in *Pisgah-Sight*, or are from the same sources; a fact partly indicating where his reading lay when he wrote these lives.

² “We that live in this distracted age

know too well how ready men are to cast aspersions on those who differ from them in point of opinion; which should make us more charitable in passing our verdicts on those in former ages which dissented from the received opinions.” (Page 5.)

as having been transferred to modern verse by a master hand. Fuller is palliating the conduct of Berengarius by reference to the age (p. 5): "This I dare bouldly affirme, that if the morning grow so proud as to scorne the dawning of the day, because mixed with darkenesse, Middeday will revenge her Quarrell, and may justly take occasion to conteme the Morning, as in lustre infiriour to herselfe." In an original edition of the *Abel Redevivus* in possession of G. W. Napier, Esq., of Alderley Edge,¹ a former owner of the book, referring to the above citation, has written: "This passage Coleridge has appropriated, without acknowledgment, in his 'Lines suggested by the last words of Berengarius.'" The following is Coleridge's version:—

"The ascending day-star with a bolder eye
Hath lit each dew-drop on our trimmer lawn!
Yet not for this, if wise, shall we decry
The spots and struggles of the timid dawn;
Lest so we tempt th' approaching noon to scorn
The mists and painted vapours of our morn."²

A new edition of the *Abel Redevivus* appeared in 1652, with additions; and there seems to have been one other impression. These early editions are now very rare; for the book has always been eagerly sought after. It has lately been reprinted with notes and woodcut portraits, under the care of Mr. William Nichols, who justly deemed it to be a work which merited a re-issue, remarking that "the whole mass of matter has an intrinsic worth which has been rightly appreciated by the succession of lovers of good books down to the present day."³

On the other hand, Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, noted that the book was "a collection from several authors by that wretched and unfair historian, Thomas Fuller. The collection is chiefly of Englishmen, some few foreigners. Few wrote by Fuller: the fewer the better."⁴

Biography was a walk in which Fuller's pen was always straying; and it is here that he most unquestionably excels as a writer. On this point we quote once more from Mr. Crossley's felicitous essay: "If he was frequently too careless and inaccurate in his facts, it was not from heedlessness as to truth, which no one revered more than he did, but because

¹ I am indebted to that gentleman for this passage, as also for a careful examination of this portion of the chapter.

² These lines are given as printed in the Aldine edition of Coleridge, 1844, vol. ii. p. 80. My edition, Paris, 1829, p. 214, reads, "will we decry."

³ Page iii. The editor, who has moder-

nised the spellings, is guilty of a comical mistake in the note about Bricot and Standish, two opponents of Colet. Poor Bricot is saddled in this fashion (vol. i. 124): "Perhaps an *epithet* derived from the Italian *bricco*, an ass, or *briccone*, a knave, vagabond.—ED."

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Ser., ix. 417.





*The Learned Godly Divine, and Judicious
Historian, M^r. Tho. Fuller Ba of Di*

he considered them but as the rind and outward covering of the more important and more delicious stores of thinking and consideration which they inwardly contained; because he thought life too short to be frittered away in fixing dates and examining registers: what he sought was matter convertible to use, to the great work of the improvement of the human mind, not those more minute and jejune creatures of authenticity, which fools toil in seeking after, and madmen die in elucidating. In this he has been followed by a great biographical writer of the last age, with whom he had more points than one in common. Leaving, therefore, such minor parts of biography for the investigation of others, and seizing only on the principal events, and those distinguishing incidents or anecdotes which mark a character in a moment, and which no one knew better than Fuller to pick out and select, he detailed them with such perspicuity and precision, and commented upon them with such accuracy of discrimination, strength of argument and force of reason, and threw around them such a luminous and lambent halo of sparkling quaintness, shining upon and playing about the matter of his thoughts, and inspirited them with such omnipresent jocularly and humour, that, of all the biographical writers of his age, he is, in our opinion, infinitely the best. After the perusal of the more polished, but certainly not more agreeable biographers of modern times, we always recur with renewed gusto and avidity to the Lives of our excellent author, as to a feast more substantial, without being less delicious."¹

Abel Redeivivus was illustrated with forty-three engraved "heads," which had already been used in previous works.² It had also an engraved emblematic frontispiece by Vaughan of Waltham. But the book derives most of its value from the prefixed three-quarter full-faced portrait of "the Learned Godly Divine and Judicious (*i.e.* judicial) Historian." It is now so rarely to be met with in existing copies, that many good bibliographers believe that it was not inserted in the edition. Mr. B. M. Pickering, of London, through whose hands very many copies have passed, and who knows the work well, believes that the plate formed part of the book, having seen it in copies in the old binding. Its disappearance is perhaps due to disciples of Granger. This curious portrait is here appended, being taken from an original copy. It is not, however, offered as an accurate delineation of the original, but as a literary curiosity. The plate is unsigned, but is said by Hazlitt to be by Vaughan; others, however, attribute it to Cross; both being engravers

¹ *Retrospective Review*, iii. 55.

² See our Bibliography.

of the plates in the *Pisgah-Sight*. The portrait affords a fair representation of the becoming attire of the clergy of that time. The close-buttoned jerkin, tied round the waist by a thick sash, the cloak or gown, and the collar, are quite in keeping with contemporary clerical costumes. The likeness to the original is another matter. The curled hair and the moustache are recognisable as Fuller's, these details being given in the two other portraits in this biography, besides being mentioned in the contemporary notices of Fuller. The slight tufted beard is also common to the other portraits: it is also found in the effigies of Izaak Walton. Traces of humour are perceptible about the mouth; but the attenuated features and the reduction of the "faire bulk," the excessively-hooked nose and the general stiffness of the posture, have spoiled the plate. Milton's happy quotation might be placed under it:—

Γέλᾶτε φαύλου δυσμίμημα ξωγράφου.

The plate seems to have belonged to John Stafford, who perhaps sold many copies of the portrait of the popular Lecturer of St. Bride's among the parishioners. He afterwards registered the plate at Stationers' Hall: "The 31st of March, 1656. John Stafford. Entred for his copies (under the hands of Mr. Norton Warden) Two Cutts or Sculpters in brasse vizt. The Sculpter of James Vsher late Bishop of Armagh [he had died only a few days before] $\frac{1}{2}$ a sheet. The Sculpter of Thomas Ffuller B.D. $\frac{1}{2}$ a sh. 1s. [the registration fees]."

This entry serves to show that the portraits in question were sold as separate prints. It was not uncommon to treat plates thus. Vaughan's portrait of Ben Jonson, *e.g.*, was separately published at first with a different inscription; it was next used for two editions of his works thirty years (or nearly) apart. Fuller's portrait may have been reversed in its uses, *i.e.* first published in the *Abel*, and afterwards as a print.¹ It is curious to notice, that though the *Abel* was dated 1651, and published in that year, it was not entered at Stationers' Hall until 1st September, 1654.²

An adaptation of this portrait in a bust form, and rather the worse for the change as regards poor Fuller's features, was prefixed to Hinton's edition of Fuller's *Thoughts*, published in Oxford in 1810 by I. Bartlett.

Regarding *Abel Redevivus* a curious statement (not referred to in the bibliographies) was in the year following its publication

¹ For this illustration I am indebted to Mr. Pickering.

² On the same day John Stafford en-

tered his copy of "a Booke called *Antheologia*, or the *Speech of Flowers*," without specifying its authorship.

made by Samuel Clarke, pastor of Bennet Fink, London, which greatly annoyed Fuller, who, by implication, was concerned in the charge. In the original (or 1651) edition of Clarke's *Generall Martyrologie* (containing *The Lives of Sundry Modern Divines*), the following note occupied a single page after the contents. "There is lately come forth a book called *Abel Redivivus*, or the *The Lives of Modern Divines*, wherein there are threescore and nine Lives Printed *verbatim* out of my first part of *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History* [1650], and divers more, with very little variation; which I thought fit to give the Reader notice of, that so he may not be deceived in buying the same thing twice."

Fuller's comment on this advertisement will be found in *The Worthies*, where early in the work he cites "Master Samuel Clarke," adding, "I say Master Samuel Clarke, with whose pen mine never did, nor shall interfere. Indeed, as the flocks of Jacob were distanced 'three days' journey' from those of Laban, so (to prevent voluntary or casual commixtures) our styles are set more than a *month's* journey asunder." And, again, near the end of the same work, he has a similar comment: "I say Mr. Clarke, whose books of our 'modern divines' I have perused, as travellers by the Levitical law were permitted to pass thorow other men's vineyards. For they must eat their fill, on conditions [that] they put no grapes up in their vessels. I have been satisfied with reading his works, and informed myself in places and dates of some men's births and deaths. But never did nor will (whatever hath been said of me, or done by others) incorporate any considerable quantity of his works in my own, detesting such felony; God having given me (be it spoken with thanks to Him and humility to man) plenty of my own, without being plagiary to any author whatsoever."¹ A Wood, less scrupulous than Fuller, termed Clarke "a severe Calvinist and a scribbling plagiary."

In 1651, a *fourth* edition of the popular *Holy War* was published by a new "stationer," Philemon Stephens, at the Gilded Lion, in Paul's Churchyard. It was printed by Thomas Buck, one of the printers to the University, he having been joined in the patent with Roger Daniel, who died in 1650. The successor to the latter was John Field.

A pleasing testimony to the charms of Fuller's literary style among his contemporaries, and of the eagerness with

¹ § Cheshire, p. 181; § Montgomeryshire, p. 47. Mr. W. E. A. Axon, of Manchester, pointed out to me Clarke's advertisement.

which his *Church-History* was looked for, was afforded in the year 1651 by Clement Barksdale. This clergyman, who belonged to Oxford, was Master of the Free School at Hereford until the civil war. He was afterwards settled by royal gift in the parsonage of Naunton. Among his works was a volume of odes and addresses to great people, which has the following lines in Part iv. :—

“ IX.—TO DR. FULLER.

Nor *Holy War*, nor yet thy *Holy State*,
Our *Heluoës* Appetite can satiate :
But we expect (not vainly) after all,
Thy *History Ecclesiasticall*.
Some say, 'tis now come out: sure it hath been
Long promised, and 'tis high time 'twere seen,
Yet 'twere *ingrate* to charge Thee with *delay*;
Though slow, yet sure, in weighty *Gold* thou't pay,
And this thy glorious recompence shall be,
Fame shall perpetuate thy *large Memory*.”¹

Fuller in 1652 composed a laudatory poem to be prefixed to a devout manual entitled *Scintillula Altaris*, written by his friend EDWARD SPARKE, a London clergyman who had been Rector of St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, since 1639; but who was ejected by sequestration.² The manual contained reflections “on primitive devotion as to the feasts and fasts of the Christian Church.” It was in its day “of no little esteem among some people,” and it ran through many editions. It connects itself very closely with the efforts of Churchmen to retain the forms of devotion to which they had been accustomed, being an undisguised attempt to revive or keep in memory the abolished Saints' days. Fuller as boldly refers to the subject in his prefatory verses “on the worthy work of my respected friend, Mr. Ed. Sparke.”

“ Dead Saints, dead days now put into their Urne,
See here a sweeter, brighter flame doth burn,
Kindled from holy *Sparkes*.”

He recalls the word “urn :”—

“ For by thy Pen's perfection,
Saints are not buried, but have Resurrection. . . .
Thou really dost from the dust retrieve,
And make not one but All-Saints to revive.

¹ *Nympha Libethris: or, the Cotswold Muse*, ed. 1651, p. 75. (Brydges' reprint of the same, page 81.) It is set forth as presenting “some extempore verses to the meditation of young scholars.” The Oxford antiquary says of him that “he was very conceited and vain, a great pretender to poetry, and writer and

translator of several little tracts, most of which are mere scribbles.” (*Athen. Oxon.* iv. 221.)

² In 1661 Sparke resigned his rectory to become minister of St. James', Clerkenwell; he had afterwards preferment at Walthamstow and Tottenham, dying at the latter place in 1693.

Yea by the pains which thou on them expends,
Easter doth rise, Ascension-day ascends.
Thy Poetry is pleasant, Pictures fine,
Thy Prose profound ; but oh, the Prayers divine."

This first edition of the *Scintillula* contained twelve sets of commendatory poems, among which are, noticeably, one by Isaak Walton "upon the sight of the first sheet" of the book, and another by Dr. R. Dukeson in Latin. To the first edition (but not subsequently) Sparke added *Appendix Sacra: or, Serious Attendants on the Sacred Solemnities*, bearing the quaint motto, taken from an epigram of Martial:

"The Book thou now perusest, Friend, is mine:
But yet if ill thou read'st 'tis so farre thine."

This portion contains poems addressed to Sparke's nearest relations. It has, besides, verses inscribed to Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Featly, Master Symons, &c. Fuller also wrote verses to the second or 1660 edition, which was suggestively issued under the less diminutive word *Scintilla*.¹

In Mr. Grosart's notice of this work² he has a note to the effect that "Fuller's step-mother was daughter to Rob. Sparke," giving as the authority "Fuller's MS. in Jesus College, cited by Baker, MS. vi. 275." This statement requires confirmation. Upon inquiry at Jesus College for the MS. referred to, Dr. Corrie informed me that there were no MSS. in that college that ever belonged to, or were written by, Thomas Fuller. In Baker's MSS., in the Harleian collection (No. 7033), I found the following further particulars:

"Transcripta ex Codice MS: Coll: Jesu Cant: Cl: F: E: 15: Ordine mutato, missisq. nonnullis, quae vel impressa sunt, vel alibi certius et melius habentur.

"Auctor hujus MSⁱ est Tho: Fuller, ut perhibent et uti patet ex Fol. 276, 275, ubi Robertus Tounson Avunculus et Joannes Davenant Avunculus et Dominus Auctoris designatur.

"Plurima tamen adduntur aliâ manu."

This is in Baker's handwriting, and is his heading for the MS. There then follow thirty-six folios (255-290) containing particulars, in Latin, of Cambridge Chancellors, Proctors, &c., with notes of Bishops educated at the various colleges, college-livings, &c. &c. The MS. is described in the Harleian catalogue as "An historical account of the University and Colleges of Cambridge. Latin. Supposed to be written by Dr. Fuller. MS. Coll. Jes. Camb." The Cambridge catalogue of Baker's

¹ See Chap. xx. and the Bibliography.

² Fuller's *Poems, &c.* p. 106.

MSS. indexes it (page 78) as "Dr. Thomas Fuller. Historical account of the University and Colleges." A comparison of some of the pages with Fuller's *History* serves to show that they were undoubtedly the rough notes that he had before him when writing it. Under King's College, at folio 275, where a Thomas Fuller is mentioned, Baker's copy reads as follows:—

"Collegium Regale.

"1521.—Thomas Fuller electus Socius.

"1557.—Rob: Sparke electus Scholaris postea Theol: Bac: Rector de Burbage in comitatu Leycestr: novercae meae (quae tamen amore verissima mater fuit) charissimus pater."¹

Query whether, in reference to Mr. Grosart's conclusion above-mentioned, our Thomas Fuller is alluding to his own family, or whether, as is more likely, this is an addition to his MS. by some other hand. The point could only be settled by a reference to the original, which Baker undoubtedly had seen in Jesus College or elsewhere. There is no trace of the elder Fuller having re-married. Turning to Baker's second reference, folio 276, we find under Queen's College the following particulars, undoubtedly taken from Fuller's original:—

"Collegium Regin.

"1613.—Joh: Davenant Th: D^r et D. Marg: Professor, eligitur M^r.

"1620.—Robertus Tounson ²*avunculus meus* charissimus gubernandae Ecclesiae Sarum assignatur.

"1621.—In cujus demortui locum substituitur Jo: Davenant ²*avunculus meus* et dominus Colendiss."³

The connection of our author with the literature that has been alluded to points to frequent visits to the metropolis. His favourite resort there was the building in London Wall called Sion College, a foundation which he happily termed "a Ramah for the sons of the prophets in London," it having been incorporated in 1623 for the use of the London clergy, who resorted there for lodging and shelter when unprovided elsewhere. The President and Fellows were chosen from the beneficed clergy of the City. It was perhaps as a City Lecturer that Fuller "claimed kindred there and had his claim allowed." A further attraction was the fair and spacious public library, the only collection of the kind within the walls of the City. To it "per-

¹ *Athen. Cantab.* states that Sparke lived 1540—circa 1590. His supposed son Robert, also of King's College, born 1563, was a native of Stamford, Lincolnshire.

² With these two phrases before him, Baker made the following note: "Unde patet Tho. Fuller fuisse Auctorem."

³ Harl. MSS. 7033.

sons of learning" had access six hours a day. It is described as being rich in all sciences and languages, and in MSS.; and there had been added to it in 1647 most of the books from St. Paul's Cathedral. Many of the learned men of the time were benefactors to it. The bulk of the collection, as well as the building itself, perished in the Great Fire. We get a passing glimpse into the old library by means of a casual remark in Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight*, where he alludes to the Hebrew map of the Holy Land, graven at Amsterdam by Abraham Goos—"a map, I can tell you, much valued by many antiquaries, as appears by their difficult procuring, dear purchasing, and careful preserving thereof. And you may find it solemnly set up at the upper end of Zion College Library."¹

At the beginning of the war Sion College came into the possession of the Presbyterians, who continued the course of Presidents. Thus Calamy was President in 1650; and there, doubtless, he often met with Fuller "on the merry pin." It was at Calamy's request that the soldiers had been removed from the building. The military gentlemen were there again in the following year, when, spite of cautions, they made "spoil and havoc" in the college. The Presbyterians made it the place of the meeting of the London Synod, and the old minute-book of their proceedings is still preserved. There, then, it was that Fuller came into contact with the leaders of the Presbyterians, the personal character of some of whom he held in respect, but as to whose system of government he was more familiar than fond.

It was likewise in London that Fuller busied himself in securing that extensive patronage for his *Pisgah-Sight* and other works, a record of which he has himself perpetuated by his dedicatory epistles. "It was an expedient," says the elder D'Israeli, "to procure dedicatory fees; for publishing works by subscription was an art then undiscovered." The numerous patrons that Fuller obtained point to an acquaintance with some of them earlier than 1649. A large proportion of the sixty-four patrons whom he memorialised in the Plate of Arms and the Maps of the *Pisgah* belonged to the City, being merchants, &c.; and that many of them were fast friends of our author, is shown by their subscribing in the same way to the *Church-History*, a few years later. Of some of them mention is made in the note.²

¹ Book v. 153.

² *Sir Roger North*, Knt., was of Mildenhall, Suffolk; and was M.P. for Eye in the Long Parliament, but was disabled for Royalism.—*Sir Thomas Fisher*,

Bart., of St. Giles, Middlesex, also patronised the *Church-History*, where Fuller, in allusion to the hand on his escutcheon, remarks: "Index est summæ tuæ munificentiae, quo nomine me tibi

At the end of December, 1650, we meet with Fuller in attendance at the death-bed in the Heralds' Office of an intimate friend—perhaps a college acquaintance—Mr. EDWARD NORGATE, “a right honest man.” There are some lines upon him, as Clerk of the Signet to the King, in Herrick's *Hesperides*. Among other employments Norgate used to insert the initial letters in the patents of peers, &c. Fuller called him “the best illuminer or limner of our age.” There is a notice of him in the *Worthies*, whence we gather that he was born at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, being the son of the Master. In early life¹ he

devinctissimum confiteor” (xi. 181). Fisher's widow was married to William, second son of Lord Mainard.—*Jonathan Ash*, merchant, belonged to a family settled at Freshford, Kent. To another of the same surname, *Francis Ash*, a rich merchant and a benefactor to Emanuel College, Cambridge, was inscribed sect. viii. of *Hist. Camb.*—*Wm.* and *Thomas Humble* were worthy merchants, the former of whom, afterwards a baronet, supplied Charles II. in exile with £20,000.—*Thomas Williams, Esq.*, was a younger son of Sir Henry Williams, of Gwernevet, and also patronised the *Ch.-History*, where Fuller remarks (iii. 109) that he is not the “happiest man who has the highest friends (too remote to assist him) whilst others lesser might be nearer at his need. My own experience can avouch the truth thereof in relation to your courtesies bestowed upon me.” With Williams, Fuller associates *William Vanbrug* (or *Van Brugs*), who has also a place in the Plate of Arms. He was the son of a Ghent merchant, who fled to London to escape Alva's persecution.—*Mr. Peter Matthews*, also of Dutch extraction, appears as patron of both works (*Ch.-Hist.* xi. 197).—The above are named on the *Pisgah* Plate. Upon the maps are found the names of *Mr. Thomas Bowyer*, of Old Jewry (ii. 100), who also liberally patronised Fuller's *Church-History*—his grandfather preserved Dr. Alexander Nowell when designed for death (*Ch.-Hist.* viii. 16); of *Richard Pigott*, citizen (ii. 88); of *Leonard Gleane*, merchant, a munificent patron (ii. 119); and of *William Allot*, citizen (ii. 205). In the fourth book the following patrons find places: *Mr. Simeon Bonnel*, a merchant of London, who is thus pleasantly reminded that he was little of stature (page 1): “Amico meo in re incerta cer-

tissimo inter minutiores viros (si staturam spectes) sed maximos hujusce operis promotores reponendo, Tabulam hanc dedico.” Afterwards, dedicating to him two pages (1) of his *Church-History* (Bk. i. 15), Fuller, in an epistle of corresponding brevity, says: “It is proportionable to present a century, *short*-in story, to one low in stature, though deservedly high in the estimation of your friend T. F.”—*Mr. Henry Barnard*, another London citizen, is described by Fuller as being a most unassuming gentleman “non minus liberae quam Secretariae inopes largitionis.” (*Pisgah-Sight*, iv. 19.) He afterwards removed into Shropshire. “My pen” (says Fuller, in 1655) “is resolved to follow after and find you out: seeing the hand of your bounty hath had so long a reach, let the legs of my gratitude take as large a stride.” (*Ch.-History*, v. 201.)—*Mr. John Taylor*, and *Mr. John Taylor*, who had the same name, surname, arms, way of life “et prona in me benevolentia, ut huius seculi molestias (quas hæc eremus horrida piis obumbrat) deo duce virtute comite feliciter Superent unice precatur T. F.” (*Pisgah*, iv. 41.) One of these gentlemen was doubtless the churchwarden of Eastcheap, whom we have already met with.—*Mr. James Bovey* is addressed, as one devoted to literature (*Pisgah*, iv. 62; *Ch.-History*, ix. 119). There is an account of one of his name in *Aubrey's Letters*, ii. 246.—The hospitality of *Henry Neville, Esq.* (“dum fas fuit et tempora ferebant”) is extolled by Fuller as if he had experienced it. (*Pisgah*, iv. 74.)

¹ From the relation of his friend, Fuller tells a story, how Norgate, when sent by the Earl of Arundel to buy pictures in Italy, missed, on his return to Marseilles, the receipt of a sum of money. A Frenchman who saw him daily walking

showed a fondness for heraldry, became Bluemantle Pursuivant, and Windsor Herald, to which he was appointed by his patron Thomas, Earl of Arundel. “Exemplary” (says Fuller) “his patience in his sickness (whereof I was an eye-witness), though a complication of diseases, &c. seized upon him.”¹ He was buried on Dec. 23rd, at St. Bennet’s, Paul’s Wharf, a church in which many noblemen and gentlemen worshipped during the Commonwealth, the Rector, Dr. Adams, and the Churchwardens continuing to have the Liturgy constantly used, and the Sacraments administered.

“with swift feet and sad face” before the Exchange, asked the cause of his discontent; and having heard it, advised him to put his needless going and coming into progressive motion, and it would

bring him to his own country; giving him money for that end. “Norgate very cheerfully consented, and footed it” home.

¹ *Worthies*, § Cambridgeshire, p. 161.





CHAPTER XVII.

LECTURER AT LONDON. MINOR WORKS. (1651-4).

FULLER APPOINTED LECTURER AT ST. CLEMENT'S.—SERMONS ON THE TEMPTATION.—VISIT TO CAMBRIDGE, ETC.—SECOND MARRIAGE: THE ROPERS.—FULLER'S CHILDREN.—HIS FRIENDS: JOHN LANGLEY AND SIR ROBERT COOK.—PREACHES "PERFECTION AND PEACE."—HIS TREATISE ON INFANT BAPTISM: ITS PATRONS.—FULLER AND GEORGE FOX: THE DISSENTERS OF WALTHAM.—HOLDS LECTURESHIPS AT MERCERS' CHAPEL, ST. BOTOLPH'S, ETC.—HENRY LAWES.—FULLER EDITS PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES.—HIS "COMMENT ON RUTH," ETC.—LADY NEWTON AND HER FAMILY.—FULLER'S RELATION WITH THE TIMES.—HIS "TRIPLE RECONCILER" OF RELIGIOUS DISPUTES.—SICKNESS OF SIR JOHN D'ANVERS: "LIFE OUT OF DEATH."—"THE SNARE BROKEN."—HENRY D'ANVERS AND HIS FUNERAL SERMON.—MISS ANNE D'ANVERS.—DEATH OF THE REGICIDE.—CHELSEA CHURCH.—THE KERRY FULLERS.—WILLIAM FULLER, THE IMPOSTOR.

"Grand is the difference betwixt an hireling whose mind is merely mercenary, and him that works for his hire." (*Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 277.)

IT was in part to Fuller's extensive patronage by the London merchants and others that his re-appearance as a City Lecturer must be attributed. The Lecturers came into their employment in consequence of the unsettled condition of the parish churches. Evelyn, in 1650, notes that he wandered to divers of the churches, where he found that the pulpits were "full of novices and novelties." But gradually many of the exiled parish clergy began more openly to re-engage in their calling, there being then less fear of interruption; and they were receiving encouragement from their former hearers. Frequent meetings of the clergy also took place in London to adopt measures for the benefit of the Church. It is related that during Faringdon's forced retirement from "the scholars' church," St. Mary Magdalene's, in Milk Street, a friend, appealing on his behalf to the congregation, said that there had been seen in that church those "who were able to create a temple wheresoever they went; men, each of whom singly and alone made up a full congregation." Other assemblies were also formed in many of the City

mansions. The memoir of Dr. George Wilde illustrates the kind of life generally led by the clergy of the time. For some years, says Dr. Mossome, "Wilde hovered, sometimes preaching in the country and sometimes in the City, sometimes in private and sometimes in public, as he found opportunity offered to promote piety and persuade loyalty. At length . . . an house is provided near Fleet Street, in London; and in the house an ὑπερῶον, an upper room is prepared, which upper room becomes an oratory fitted for the preaching of the Word and administering the sacraments, with constant use of the public liturgy of the Church."

Among others, Fuller was finally settled in a stated London pulpit. His biographer, alluding to the ministers who again appeared to exercise their vocation, "through the zeal of some right worthy citizens, who hungred after the true and sincere Word from which they had so long been restrained," adds "among the chief of whom was our good Doctor, being settled Lecturer for a time at St. Clement's Lane, near Lombard Street, where he preached every Wednesday in the afternoon to a very numerous and Christian audience."¹

Fuller's settlement at ST. CLEMENT'S (which was *near* Eastcheap rather than *in* it, being now in St. Clement's Lane, near King William Street) belongs to his *second* appointment there, his first Lectureship, in 1647, having been interrupted, as described page 411, by an inhibition of "the powers that were." There is nothing to show who then succeeded Fuller; but his place had probably been filled by occasional clergymen, towards the payment for whose ministrations it was ordered at a vestry meeting in October, 1648, that, "in the vacancy of a parson, the rent of the parson's house shall be paid, as it is due, towards the payment for preaching during the parishes pleasure."² From the fact that in Spencer's *Things New and Old* there are five references³ to a sermon or sermons by Fuller, preached at this church in 1650, the conclusion might be drawn that he was even in that year also an occasional Lecturer. The parishioners seem to have made their arrangements with their Lecturers about the autumn of each year; and in the arrangements made in the year now under notice (1651) there is a record in the vestry-book which throws an interesting light upon the relations between Fuller and the parish: "The 5th of September, 1651. Item, Whereas it was then declared that Mr. Thomas Fuller, minister, did resolve, according to his promise, to preach his weekly lec-

¹ *Life*, p. 41.

² Vestry Book.

³ Nos. 509, 913, 918, 920, 987 (pp. 128, 234, 235, 236, 256, orig. fo.).

ture in the parish church of St. Clement's: the persons then present did give their free consent (*nemine contradicente*) that hee should preach, and that the churchwardens should provide candells and other necessaries for the said lecture upon the account of the parish. And that the friends and auditors of the said Mr. Fuller may be accommodated with convenient pew-roome, it was then ordered that the present churchwardens should cause to be made two decent and necessary pews of the two seats in the chancell where the youths of the parish doe now sit."¹

Fuller's doctor, Baldwin Hamey, who was connected with the church, and to whom Dr. Pearson inscribed encomiastic Latin verses, may have been concerned in this arrangement. He is mentioned in the *Worthies* as connected with the beautifying or rebuilding of the parochial churches, "amongst which St. Clement's, Eastcheap, is not to be forgotten: the monument of the bounty of Baldwin Hamey, doctor in physic."² The "right worshipful and well-beloved" parishioners are commended in the dedication of *An Exposition of the Creed*, by the celebrated Dr. Pearson, who was Lecturer at the church in the years 1654, 1655, and 1656, he being probably appointed in succession to Fuller.³ The discourses on the Creed were delivered in the years in question or just subsequently, being printed by Roger Daniel and published in 1659 by John Williams under the above well-known title.

The chief discourses preached by Fuller at St. Clement's are his xii. Sermons on the Temptations of Christ. Though these discourses are now little known, they are certainly the most characteristic and finished of his pulpit compositions. They were published in 1652 by a new "stationer," George Eversden. As the best present his condition could then afford, Fuller dedicated the volume to "the truly religious" ISABELLA, the COUNTESS of James the third Earl of NORTHAMPTON, and daughter and co-heiress of Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset. The lady had been married at Clerkenwell Church, July 1647, about

¹ Archdeacon Churton, who copied the above minute in his Edition of the *Minor Theol. Works of Bp. Pearson* (p. cxi.), says that this occasional Lecturer was Thomas Fuller "the jester;" adding that the record seemed to imply that his droll, quaint way made him popular.

² § London, p. 192.

³ "At a Vestry-meeting the 18th of August, 1654, in the Vestry-house of St. Clement's, Eastcheape: Whereas it was declared that Mr. [John] Pearson, Mr.

Hall, and Mr. [Nathanael] Hardy, ministers, would preach a lecturer sermon weekly in the parish church of St. Clements, Eastcheape, it was freely consented unto by the persons then present, and that the churchwardens should provide candells and other necessaries for the said lecturer upon the account of the parish." The entries in the following years are similar, Mr. Hardinge's name being added to the others. (Churton's *Minor Works*, pp. cxi. cxii.)

which time the Earl compounded for his estates. His mother, Mary, the Countess Dowager, was also heavily fined. Fuller, who was very intimate with the family, alludes to his "real respect" and "cordial gratitude" in reference to his patroness; adding that his "meanness is not capable in any other way to deserve the least of those many favours" which the lady had conferred upon him.

In the same book Fuller also addressed "my constant hearers at St. Clement's, Eastcheap," justly remarking that "a sermon preached serveth but an auditory; a sermon printed, auditories; and (if pious in itself), not only the present, but ensuing age may partake of the profit thereof." In reply to the objection that the sermons had been much contracted in printing, having been more enlarged in the delivery, he wittily replies: "Let them know that the hand, when the fist is closed together, is the same with the same hand when the fingers were stretched forth and palm thereof expanded." He speaks of having made "a decoction of sermons into a comment, and therefore boiling them down to a fifth part." He tells his hearers that the sermons were "yours; at first intended for your instruction, delivered to your attention, digested (I hope) by your meditation, and now published for your further edification."

These discourses contain much that is in Fuller's happiest style. The first four are on "Christ's Temptation to Despair." On the doctrine that "solitariness is most advantageous for the devil to tempt us," he says: "Therefore Christ sent always His disciples by twos. . . . And this perchance was one reason why Christ, in the choice of His apostles and disciples, pitched on an even number—twelve of the one and seventy of the other—that if He should have occasion to subdivide them they should fall out into even couples, and no odd one to lack a companion."¹—"The Popish Lent is only an exchange of the shambles for the fish market: they abstain from flesh and feed on fish; which fish is also termed flesh in the language of the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 37, 'another flesh of fishes.'"²—"There is a received fancy, as old as common, false as either, having no footing in Scripture, but founded partly on that licence which painters assume to themselves, partly in the pretended apparitions of ignorant monks, That the devil is horned. The best moral I can make of so fond a conceit is this: the devil's temptations are horned or forked, *bi-cornea argumenta*. So that, chuse which you will, he hopeth to gore the soul," &c.³

In the discussion of the ways by which God wonderfully sup-

¹ Page 9.

² Page 21.

³ Page 50.

ports those who, in want, feed on His promises, the preacher says: "He can, as extend the quantity, so improve the quality of meat, that coarse diet shall cause strength and health as well as dainties; as in the case of Daniel's pulse. 'Show me not the meat, but show me the man,' saith our English proverb. When I behold the children of poor people I perceive a riddle and contradiction between their fare and their faces: lean meat and fat children; small beer and strong bodies; brown bread and fair complexions. Nor can I attribute it to any other cause but this, That the rich folk generally make long meals and short graces, whiles poor men have short meals and long graces: I mean, that they rely more upon God's blessing than their own provisions."¹

The four following sermons are devoted to the discussion of our Saviour's "Second Temptation to Presumption." "Now, seeing the former temptation of Satan was to Despair, this next to Presumption, we learn: The devil will endeavour to make men reel from one extremity to another. The possessed man 'oft fell into the fire and oft into the water.' (Satan's world hath no temperate climate, but either torrid or frozen zone.) Sometimes he casteth men into the fire of ill-tempered zeal, sometimes into the water of Acedia, or a carelessness what becomes of their soul; sometimes into the fire of over-activity, to do nothing just; sometimes into the water of too much idleness, to do just nothing." In illustrating this point, Fuller brings up "the modern Ranters, formerly conceived (if guilty) to offend on the right hand, using too much praying and preaching, even to the neglecting of their calling; and now they are come (be it spoken and heard with sorrow) from living *above* ordinances (as they themselves term it) to live *against* ordinances, accounting blasphemy, adultery, Sabbath-breaking, &c., no sins. Opposite are they to the man out of whom the unclean spirit being gone, 'returned to an house swept and garnished;' whereas these, leaving an house swept and garnished, return to the unclean spirit. The worst I wish such is, to practise the precept prescribed Revel. ii. 5: 'Remember whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy first works.' And let us avoid sin, not only at a great distance, but also with good discretion, lest we sin the other extreme."²

The last four sermons take up the "Third Temptation to Idolatry." Under this division he observes: "Kingdoms are generally the governments wherein most earthly glory and gallantry is visible and conspicuous. Yet I believe there want not

¹ Page 61.

² Pages 82—85.

those who dare maintain that, though Pomp may be more in kingdoms, Pride may be as much in commonwealths."¹

At the end of the sermons Fuller says that he was about for some time "to take my leave of this auditory."² We have perhaps here an indication of one of his numerous journeys, made solely, so far as can be gathered, for antiquarian purposes. Among other journeys, there are traces of a northward visit as far as Lancashire. In May, 1651, he is met with at Cambridge. Among the Tanner MSS.³ is a short correspondence which gives proof of this. Bishop Brounrig, the ejected Master of Catherine Hall, writes (perhaps from his retreat at Sunning), under date of May 27th, 1651, to his friend William Sancroft. The latter, who ultimately became Archbishop of Canterbury, was then Fellow of Emanuel College, where he was residing in daily fear of ejection; which indeed came to pass in June or July of the same year. The letter is as follows:—

"S^r,—I am desirous to heare how you ar dealt withall for yr continuance in Cambridg. I think your criticall moneth is out, so that my hope is you ar forborne or forgotten by them which did pursue you. I have returned to you Forbes his irenicum and Bochartus his Epistle. Mr. Baxtors book⁴ I have retained, and shall send you the price of it when you please to signifie what it must cost. I heare that Mr. Fuller did lately preach at [Great] St. Maries; doeth he intend to commence [*i.e.* for the doctorate degree,] or what occasion brought him thither? If you can spare or any good newes, I pray impart it to us. I hope yr pupill Geves doeth well, to whom I commend my Love, with the very affectionate assurances of it to yr self I rest,

"Yrs. in all Love

"RA. EXON."

Fuller is thus referred to in the draft of Sancroft's reply, dated 29th of the same month: "Mr. Fuller preacht at S. Maries on Whit-sunday [May 18th] in the morning. It was only a piece of courtesy to Dr. Minshull,⁵ and a supply to his course, and for noe other designe, yt I can heare soe much is suggested."

There is also a trace of Fuller at Leicester, where he found the people ready to "load a stranger," especially so curious and comely a stranger as our zealous antiquary, with the old prophecies fulfilled in Henry VII. He is met with, again, in Derbyshire reading Queen Mary's "distick made and written by her own hand on a pane of glass at Buxton Well:—

¹ Page 135.

² Page 186.

³ Vol. liv. fol. 71, Bodleian Library.

⁴ Qy. his *Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church-membership and Baptism*. 1651.

⁵ Minshull was put in as Master of Fuller's old college (Sydney-Sussex), in succession to Dr. Ward. Fuller mentions him under 1643, as Fellow of the Col-

lege, since D.D., and as chosen by the Society into the void place. (*Hist. Camb.* § viii. ¶ 43.) He also speaks of Minshull as the first Master bred in and chosen by the college (the three former had been put in by the foundress' executors), and much meriting thereof by his providence. (§ vii. ¶ 26.) He was Vice-Chancellor in 1653.

' Buxtona quae calidae celebraris¹ nomine Lymphae
Forte mihi posthac non adeunda, vale.'

Buxton who dost with waters warm excell,
By me, perchance, never more seen, farewell."²

His reference to the "spruceness" and "spirits" of the natives of our county, as well as to the good looks of the "witches," could only be penned from personal observation: he speaks, moreover, with commendation of the woodwork in the choir of the cathedral, Manchester, as if he had seen it.³ There is further a reference to his having been in the Auditor's office for the north part of the Duchy.⁴

These journeys were probably connected with the preparation of the *Church-History*, which anxiously looked-for work he was then preparing for the press. A part of it was soon in the hands of Joseph Caryl, one of the Licensers, who having perused it gave the necessary imprimatur; and it was, as a "Tract," accordingly entered by John Stafford on the registers of Stationers' Hall, 9th September, 1652, it being the last of Fuller's works for which the Licenser's consent was required, the signature of a warden after 1652 only being necessary. Circumstances interfered with the immediate appearance of the work, the early portion of which was borrowed and perused by the learned Selden.

Fuller's connection with St. Clement's probably continued until Dr. Pearson went thither. Spencer mentions a sermon preached there by Fuller in 1652,⁵ and another was preached there by him in 1654, "upon a special occasion."

Another City lectureship which he held then, or afterwards, was that at *St. Bride's, Fleet-street*. To it we revert in a succeeding chapter. Lloyd adds that Fuller was also lecturer at *St. Andrew's, Holborn*;⁶ but there are no documents in existence to furnish details. If the fact is correct, the date of appointment would be about 1651 or 1652. It seems probable, however, that Lloyd has confounded Fuller with Dr. Fulwar, the Bishop of Ardfert, who, as we have seen (page 464), was connected with the parish. Hackett, then living at Cheam, Surrey, was the ejected Rector of St. Andrew's; and it is said that his patron, Bishop Williams, gave him the former living for *health*, and the latter for *wealth*.

Spite of our hero's numerous friends, his lectureships, and his literary journeys, we are assured by his biographer that he

¹ So it is in the glass I had in my hand, though it be *celebrare* in *Camb. Brit.* in Derbyshire.—(F.)

² *Ch.-Hist.* ix. 181.

³ *Worthies*, § Lancashire.

⁴ *Ch.-Hist.* vi. 366.

⁵ No. 1353 (p. 473, orig. ed.).

⁶ *Memoires*, p. 524.

continued to discharge the duties of his curacy at Waltham, and chaplaincy to the Earl of Carlisle, "very piously and profitably." He had not, however, been apparently long in his new parsonage home—which now comprised himself a widower ("the second part of a bachelor," as he reminds us), and his young son, the only hope of his old age—before his thoughts turned to marriage. The biographer says: "The Doctor having continued some twelve years [1641-51] a widower, the war finding him so, had the better relisht the loss of his first wife, by how much the freer it rendered him of care and trouble for her in those tumultuous times; so as by degrees it had almost settled in him a persuasion of keeping himself in that state. But now an honourable and advantageous match presenting itself, and being recommended to him by the desires of his noble friends, he consented to the motion."¹ Fuller's friends, the Earl of Carlisle, and members of the Bedford family, are perhaps alluded to.

Fuller's second wife belonged to the family of Ropers, Viscounts Baltinglass, a title then of recent creation, but now extinct. Fuller gives the following account of the founder:—

"SIR THOMAS ROPER, son of Thomas Roper, was born in Friday-street, in London, whose grandfather was a younger son of the House of Heanour in Derbyshire. Indeed *Furieux* was the ancient name of that family until Richard Furieux married Isald the [only] daughter of [John] Roper, of Beighton, in the county of Derby, Esq., and on that consideration was bound to assume the name of Roper by Indenture, dated the seventh of Henry the Sixth. This Sir Thomas going over into the Low Countries became page to Sir John Norrice, and was Captain of a Foot Company at sixteen years of age. What afterwards his martial performances were, to avoid all-suspicion of flattery (to which my relation may incline me), I have transcribed the rest out of the original of his patent." This document terms him a Privy-councillor of the Kingdom of Ireland, refers to his military exploits in that country, at Brest, and in the Low Countries, and creates him Baron of Bauntrie—*i.e.* Bantry, Cork—and Viscount Baltinglass, Wicklow. He married ANNE, daughter of Sir Henry HARRINGTON (who was son of Sir J. Harrington by his wife Lucy Sidney, daughter of Sir Wm. Sidney, of Penhurst, Kent); and he died at Roper's Rest, in February, 1637, and his wife in July, 1639; both being buried in St. John's Church, in Dublin.²

¹ Page 42.

² *Worthies*, § London, pp. 213, 214; Burke's *Extinct Peerages*, &c. (ed. 1846), p. 694; Pedigree of J. F. Fuller, Esq.

The Viscount was succeeded by his son THOMAS. To the wife of the latter, "the Right Honourable and truly virtuous lady, Anne Viscountess Baltinglasse," Fuller shortly after his own marriage dedicated his *Triple Reconciler*. She was the daughter of Sir Peter Temple, of Stowe, 2nd Bart. (M.P. for Bucks. in the Short and Long Parliament), by Anne, daughter of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, of Paulerspury, co. Northampton. In the epistle Fuller likens his book to an olive-branch, and requests his patroness to put forth her hand to "receive it into the ark of your protection." He concludes: "The Lord bless your Honour with your noble Consort, and sanctify your former sufferings, which a national calamity hath cast upon you, that your last days may be your best days."¹

Of the four other brothers of the Roper family, one, John, had been slain at Marston Moor, and another, Cary, succeeded his brother in 1665. Ruth, the eldest sister, married Sir Edward Denny, of Tralee, co. Kerry, Knt., who in 1639 was M.P. for that county. MARY, a younger sister, became the wife of Fuller. She was grandchild² to James Pilkington, the first Protestant Bishop of Durham, who has a conspicuous place in Fuller's gallery of Lancashire Worthies. When the Bishop's daughter was married to Sir Henry Harrington, of Exton, he gave her a fortune equal to that possessed by the princesses Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and Eleanor, Duchess of Cumberland, nieces of Henry VIII.; conduct which enraged Queen Elizabeth to such a degree that she took £1,000 a year from the income of the See, and gave it to the town of Berwick for garrison expenses.

Fuller is referring to his wife when, in a dedication in his *Church-History* to Clement Throckmorton the elder, of Haseley, co. Warwick, Esq., he says that "a principal consideration which doth and ever shall command my respect unto your person, is your faithful and cordial friendship in matters of highest concernment (whatever be the success thereof) to the best of my relations, which I conceived myself obliged publicly to confess."³ The Throckmortons (who suffered for their adhesion to Charles I.) were connected with the Ropers; and a Sir Baynham Throckmorton of Tortworth, co. Gloucester, married a sister of Lord Hopton.

One is curious to know where, and how, Fuller was married.

¹ "The Animadvertor [Heylyn] may allow me knowing in his [Bp. Pilkington's] family, my wife being grandchild to his eldest daughter, married to Sir Henry Harrington." (*Appeal*, ii. 475.)

² See "The Fate and Narrative of the Sufferings of the Lord and Lady Baltinglasse, by the unjust Proceedings of Sir Peter and Sir Richard Temple," two sheets, fo. (*n. d.*)
³ iii. 89.

There is no record of it in the Register at Waltham Abbey. There can be little doubt that the ceremony was performed in the old way; but it would be quite in keeping with Fuller's character to find him among the number of some he speaks of, who, "in *majorem* cautelam, twisted the Liturgy and Directory together; as since some have joined to both [these ceremonies], marriage by a Justice of Peace, that so a three-fold cord might not be broken."¹ The Barebones Parliament decreed that marriages were to be solemnized before Justices of the Peace (29 Sept. 1653), and this was the law till 1656, when a marriage in a church was declared legal.

The early portion of Fuller's married life was chequered by alternate brief joys and long sorrows. The Registers² of Waltham Abbey give silent but suggestive testimony to this effect. Shortly before the end of December, the eldest son, "James Ffuller, sone to Mr. Thomas Ffuller," saw the light; and he was baptised on Monday, 27th December, 1652, being named, apparently, after Fuller's patron, the Earl of Carlisle. Eighteen months had scarcely elapsed when he sickened and died, his burial being notified on Thursday, 20th of July, 1654: "James Ffuller, sonn to Mr. Thomas Ffuller, Minister, as also to Mrs. Marie, buried in the chancell." Only a few months ere this little grave was dug, a daughter had been born: "Anne, daughter to Mr. Thomas, and to Mrs. Marie Ffuller was borne [Thursday] the 17th November, 1653:" she was named after her maternal grandmother, the patroness of Fuller's *Triple Reconciler*, or after Fuller's sister. Anne, too, had a short existence, a notice of her burial occurring on Thursday, 19th April, 1655. Not many days after this sad event occurred the birth (Monday, 7th May, 1655) of a son, who received the name of his father and grandfather—a name which has since continued to be attached to the family. This Thomas Fuller the younger most probably grew up to perpetuate the name. Very little is known of him: the only direct mention of him is that made by

¹ *Appeal*, iii. 644. Heylyn speaks of Stephen Marshall of Finchingfield, Essex, "that great bell-wether (for a time) of the Presbyterians," "who, having had a chief hand in compiling the Directory, did, notwithstanding, marry his own daughter by the form prescribed in the Common Prayer Book, and having so done, paid down £5 immediately to the Churchwardens of the Parish, as the fine." (*Appeal*, iii. 643.) Clement Walker (*History of Independency*) corroborates the fact mentioned by Heylyn in these words

(pt. i. p. 80): "This Priest married his own daughter with the Book of Commons Prayer and a ring, and gave for reason, 'that the Statute establishing that Liturgy was not yet repealed, and he was loath to have his daughter . . . turned back upon him for want of a legal marriage.' Yet he can declare against all use of it by others."

² The following particulars were communicated by J. F. Fuller, Esq., who obtained them from Mr. W. Winters, of the Churchyard, Waltham.

Fuller's anonymous biographer, who speaks of him as "now [1661] six years old, a very hopeful youth."¹

Meanwhile, in 1653, Fuller's *eldest* son, John, being then about eleven years old, became a scholar, or "Pigeon," of Paul's School. Of this foundation our author has two or three kindly notices, especially commending its shrewd founder, Colet, for placing it under the Mercers' Company instead of ecclesiastics. At the date in question it was under MR. JOHN LANGLEY, the friend of Selden. Langley is described as being "an excellent linguist, grammarian, historian, cosmographer, and artist; as also a most judicious divine, and great antiquary." Fuller terms him "my judicious friend;" and incidentally records that the school was "flourishing as much as ever" under the care of its "able and religious schoolmaster." There is no record left of John Fuller's admission. Langley, who "had a very awful presence and speech," died in September, 1657; and his scholars, who loved as well as feared him, were present at his funeral, "walking before the corpse (hung with verses instead of escutcheons) from the school through Cheapside, with white gloves on, to Mercers' Chapel." Bishop Reynolds, who preached the funeral sermon, averred that "Pausanias was not more accurate in the description of Greece than he of England. And I have heard that he had sometimes in his thoughts to have published something in this kind." Langley would thus be interested, and mayhap consulted, in Fuller's projected *Worthies*, which deals largely with topography. He informed Fuller that woad grew naturally in Somersetshire, "especially about Glassenbury: insomuch that a learned critic and my worthy good friend had almost persuaded me that from this *glastum* that town taketh its denomination."² At Langley's request, the Mercers appointed Mr. Cromleholme his successor.

As to Fuller's domestic life, his biographer avers that if there was any felicity or delight which he could be said truly to have had, it was, in the first place, in his relations. "Certainly," says he, "no man was more a tender, more indulgent a husband and a father; his conjugal love in both matches being equally blest with the same issue, kept a constant tenor in both marriages, which he so improved, that the harmony of his affections stilled all discord and charmed the noise of passion. Towards the education of his children he was exceeding

¹ *Life*, p. 42. He is supposed to have settled in Ireland. (See the Note A appended to this chapter).

² *Church-History*, ix. 111; v. (168); Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 324; *Worthies*,

§ Somersetshire, p. 18. Under the Act of 1643, Langley had been appointed one of the Censors of the press, his name, e.g., being attached to May's *History of the Parliament*.

careful, allowing them anything conducing to that end, beyond the present measure of his estate; which it is well hoped will be returned to the memory of so good a father, in their early imitation of him in all those good qualities and literature to which they have now such an hereditary claim."¹

About April (1653), Fuller was the guest of SIR ROBERT COOK (or Coke) at his seat at Dyrdans, near Epsom, in whose chapel ("in the juncture of the old and new year") he preached the sermon entitled *Perfection and Peace*, published the same year. Fuller's patron was the second son of the eminent lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, who died 1633. Sir Robert and his brother, Henry Coke, Esq., of Thurrington, Suffolk, were Royalists, for they were concerned with the Committee of Sequestrations, in 1646-7; but they managed to escape loss. Only a few months after the delivery of Fuller's sermon, the baronet died (19th July, 1653), aged 67, and was buried at Epsom, where his monument was erected by Lord Berkeley.² The famous Dr. Pearson was the Knight's chaplain: he had been beneficed (by Henry Coke, above-mentioned) at Thurrington; and he said that with him the memory of Sir Edward Coke was "most precious, in relation to himself while he lived, and to his sons since his death."³ Sir Robert Cook was devoted to literature, he having collected the library of seven hundred volumes which Lord Berkeley (the first Earl) gave to Sion College, "for the use of the London clergy in the troublesome times."⁴ Cook was connected with the Berkeley family, having married the only daughter of Thomas Lord Berkeley, the father of George Lord Berkeley, who died in 1658, and who was at once both the patron of Fuller and of Pearson. It was to the last-mentioned nobleman's only son, afterwards the first Earl, that Fuller dedicated the sermon under notice, this patron being also, with Fuller, the guest of Sir Robert Cook, when it was preached. The dedication refers to the family arms as evincing its devotion⁵ in darker days, "the mitre showing your ancestors' actions in Peace; the cross their achievement in the Holy war: the mitre their doings at home, the cross their darings abroad." He adds that the coat was still worthily borne; "the mitre speaking you a patron of learning, the crosses a practiser of religion; qualities which

¹ *Life*, pp. 72, 73.

² Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, ii. 617.

³ *No Necessity of Reformation*, p. 198 (Churton's edit.).

⁴ Vellum Register, Sion Coll.

⁵ One of the old Lords, Thomas, Lord

Berkeley, the patron of John de Trevisa, had the Apocalypse in Latin and French written on the roof and walls of his chapel at Berkeley; "which not long since (viz. anno 1622) so remained as not much defaced." (*Ch.-Hist.* iv. 151.)

encouraged me to present this small treatise unto you." The sermon, which was suggested by Berkeley, is said to be "so long in coming, so short when come."

The subjects of the sermon, which was on the text, "Mark the Perfect, behold the Upright; for the end of that man is Peace" (Ps. xxxvii. 37), were favourite themes with Fuller. The verse furnished the description of the dead, and the direction to the living. The preacher seems most of all enraptured by the amiableness of peace, "especially to us who have so long prayed for it, and payed for it, and sought for it, and fought for it, and yet as yet in England have not attained it. For the tragedy of our war is not ended, but the scene thereof removed, and the element only altered from earth unto water." This is in allusion to the Dutch war, not yet at an end. "Surely had we practised David's precept, Psalm xxxiv. 14, 'Eschew evil and do good, seek peace and ensue it,' before this time we had obtained our desire. It is to be feared that we have been too earnest prosecutors of the last, and too slow performers of the first part of the verse; great have been our desires, but small our deeds for peace."¹

To his position with regard to a form of government of which he was a staunch opponent, he says: "All men ought to have a public spirit for the general good of our nation, the success whereof we leave to the all-managing Providence of the God of heaven and earth. But I hope it will be no treason against our state (and I am sure it will be safe for us who are but private persons) to provide for the securing of our souls, and to build a little cock-boat² or small vessel of a *quiet conscience* in our own hearts, thereby to escape to the haven of our own happiness? We wish well to the great ship of our whole nation, and will never desert it so, but that our best prayers and desires shall go with it. But however providence shall dispose thereof, we will stick to the petty pinnace of peace in our own consciences. Sure I am, no soldiers will be able to cut the cables."³

¹ Page 21.

² Taylor, in the dedication to his *Liberty of Prophesying*, uses these images: "In this great storm which hath dashed the vessel of the church all to pieces, I have been cast on the coast of Wales; and, in a little boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness, which in England, in a greater, I could not hope for. Here I cast anchor, and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous a violence that it

broke a cable, and I lost my anchor." Taylor then alludes to the courtesies he had received from friend and foe alike, and quotes the verse, Acts xxviii. 2, *Ὁ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρέιχον κ.τ.λ.* Upon this passage Heber remarks: "By the way those generous enemies whom he praises, had they understood it, would have scarcely thanked him;"—a comment which lacks both charity and scholarship.

³ Page 22.

Alluding to the wish of Balaam, "Let me die," &c., he says, "He would commence *per saltum*, take the degree of Happiness, without that of Holiness, like those who will *live* Papists, that they may sin the more freely, and *die* Protestants that they may be saved the more certainly. But know that it is an impossibility to graft a peaceable death upon any other stock but that of a pious life."¹

By May of the year 1653, Fuller passed through the press a little volume which has a touching relation to the domestic events just narrated. This was *The Infants Advocate*, being a defence of the baptizing of children. Its motto was: "Your little ones shall enter into covenant with the Lord your God." The subject had come into notice by the publication of such works as *The Dippers Dipt*, by Featly. The most prolific writer on the Anabaptist side was John Tombes, who assailed the rite as unlawful. He had at Bewdley publicly discussed the matter with Baxter, who afterwards wrote a *Plain Scripture Proof* of it. Divines, both of the new and old order of things, also combated Tombes, whose *Anti-pædo-baptism*, 1654 and 1657, does not seem to mention Fuller, although A Wood implies that Fuller is noticed.² The ablest of the advocates for the baptism of children was Stephen Marshall, whose sermon on the subject in 1644 is termed by Archbishop Lawrence "a masterly defence of infant baptism upon the prevailing principles of the day against the Anabaptists."³

In the book under notice, Fuller, after explaining circumcision, shows by a series of reasons that baptism succeeded to its essentials. He then dwells on the antiquity and "generality" of the rite, answers objections to it, and discusses whether children of profane persons, bastards, &c., should receive it. He concludes with historical observations on the two early adversaries of infant baptism. His remarks extend over twenty chapters, and are as much distinguished by their logical acumen as by controversial fairness. He dwells on the fact that "the generality of our opposers are unlearned;" and on this account he conceived it his duty to "decline all difficult words and phrases," that all might easily perceive the truth.

This little book illustrates Fuller's love of "pegging" people with dedications. He addressed it in the first place to the Earl of Carlisle, "my most bountiful patron," and to the Earl of Middlesex, "my noble parishioner." He remarks on the incongruity of his selection, "one of you being childless, and

¹ Page 18.

² *Athen. Oxon.* iii. 1065.

³ *Doct. of the Ch. of Eng. upon the Efficacy of Baptism*, note, p. 85.

the other not as yet married;" but he reminds them that they might in the future be interested in the subject of his treatise, "both of you being the sole surviving males of your families."

A second dedication is "to the Right worshipful Edward Palmer, Henry Wollaston, and Matthew Gilly, Esquires; John Vavasour, Francis Bointon, Gent[lemen]; with all the rest of my loving parishioners in Waltham Holy-Cross." Fuller says that he is justly ashamed that his "weak endeavours should be born" in a place of such literary celebrity as Waltham. "Shall my unworthy pamphlet," he concludes, "presume to follow such able works from the same place? However, seeing my public promise is solemnly past to you to print the same (hoping some profit may thence arise to you and others), let it, as a page at due distance, wait upon the works of those most eminent authors." He states that some eight months had elapsed since he made the promise to publish the book.

We thus see that Fuller originally discussed the subject in the form of sermons delivered to his parishioners in the Abbey. It incidentally reveals his diligence in regard to his flock, from whom he was receiving that attention which a year or two later he proudly commended. We may in fancy hear the good parson addressing his rustic audiences, his portly presence and good-humoured features commending his words: "What remains, dear parishioners, but that I pray that my weak preaching may be powerful and profitable unto you, that you may do and suffer cheerfully according to the will of God. Remember the addition of the name of your parish, *Holy Crosse*; it matters not though *Crosse* be the surname if *holy* be the Christian name of our sufferings; whilst that God who sendeth them sanctifyeth them unto us, which is the daily prayer of your unworthy pastor in Jesus Christ."

Following this dedication there is an address "to the Christian reader," in which the writer alludes to the attention which the subject of infant baptism had received. "Great," says he, "is the multitude of pleaders who have undertook this cause;" but he bemoans that "the *counsel* cannot agree amongst themselves how to manage their *clients* cause." He laments that they were not content to prefer and advance their own opinions "except also they decry and destroy, confute and confound the arguments of others."

There appear to have been in the town of Waltham many Anabaptists who bitterly opposed Fuller on this subject, and who probably forced his public attention to it. The kindly spirit with which he dealt with his opponents may be seen by the following citations:—

“ But as for difference in affection, seeing we conceive your error not such as intrencheth on Salvation (because not denying, but deferring baptism), and only in the out-limbs (not vitals) of religion, wherein a latitude may and must be allowed to dissenting brethren, we desire that herein the measure of our love may be without measure unto you. Lightning often works wonders when it breaketh the sword, yet doth not so much as bruise the scabbard : charity is a more heavenly fire, and therefore may be more miraculous in its operations. You shall see that our love to you, as it doth detest and desires to destroy your errors, so it will at the same time, safely keep and preserve your erroneous persons.”¹

And he thus concluded : “ For mine own particular, because I have been challenged (how justly God and my own conscience knoweth) for some moroseness in my behaviour towards some dissenting brethren in my Parish ; this I do promise, and God giving me grace I will perform it. Suppose there be one *hundred* paces betwixt me and them in point of affection, I will go *ninety-nine* of them on condition they will stir the one odd pace, to give them an amicable meeting. But if the Legs of their soul be so lame, or lazy, or sullen, as not to move that one pace towards our mutual love, we then must come to new propositions. Let them but promise to stand still and make good their station ; let them not go backward and be more embittered against me than they have been, and of the *hundred paces* in point of affection, God willing, I’ll go *twice fifty* to meet them. As for matter of judgment, I shall patiently and hopefully expect the performance of God’s promise in my text, when to those which are otherwise minded in the matter of Infants baptism, God will reveal even this unto them. Amen.”²

Besides these Anabaptists in the parish, it also contained followers of “ the holy, tender-hearted, much enduring GEORGE Fox.” About the time of the Quaker’s famous interview with Cromwell (1654 ?), he was, as he himself relates, in the keeping of some officers at Charing Cross, one of whom, Colonel Packer, who had “ a light, chaffy mind,” was a Baptist ; “ and he and the Ranters bowed and scraped to one another very much ; for it was the manner of the Ranters to be exceedingly complimentary (as they call it).” The Colonel lived near Waltham, at Theobald’s, which he and some other officers had purchased. There, he “ set up ” a great meeting of Baptists. “ They were,” continued Fox, “ exceedingly high, and railed against Friends and truth, and threatened to apprehend me

¹ Page 37, chap. xxi.

² Page 39, chap. xxi.

with their warrants if ever I came there. Yet after I was set at liberty I was moved by the Lord God to go down to Theobald's." Fox held his meeting there, and was unmolested. "Then I went to Waltham hard by him, and had a meeting there; but the people were very rude, and gathered about the house, and broke the windows. Whereupon I went out to them, with the Bible in my hand, and desired them to come in; and told them, I would show them scripture both for our principles and practices. And when I had done so, I showed them also, that their teachers were in the steps of such as the prophets, and Christ, and the Apostles cried against. Then I directed them to the Light of Christ. . . . The meeting being ended they went away quieted and satisfied, and a meeting hath since been settled in that town. But this [viz. a stated meeting-place] was some time after I was set at liberty by Oliver Cromwell."¹ The chapel was in a lane leading out of Sewardstone-street, and still called Quakers-lane.

Fuller derived a very unfavourable impression from his Quaker neighbours, who perhaps gave him much annoyance, ministers being to them, as he said, "Cains and Balaams, and Dogs and Devils." He did not conceal the views he formed of them, for in his *Church-History* he censures their "practises no less ridiculous than erroneous." He writes chiefly against their casting off their clothes, and their use of *Thou* and *Thee*. Fuller maintains that "*Thou* from superiors to inferiors is proper as a sign of command; from equals to equals is passable as a note of familiarity; but from inferiors to superiors, if proceeding from ignorance, hath a smack of clownishness; if from affectation a tang of contempt." He combats at length their appeal to scripture; and adds the wish that they might seasonably be suppressed, remarking that it was suspicious that "such as now introduce *Thou* and *Thee*, will (if they can) expel *Mine* and *Thine*."²

Twelve years after the appearance of Fuller's attack on the principles and practice of the early Quakers, and six years after his death, George Fox penned a reply in a quarto pamphlet which had an involved and interminable title, beginning: "Something in ANSWER to Lodowick Muggleton's³ Book,

¹ Fox's *Journal*, ed. Leeds, vol. i. pp. 267, 268.

² *Dedication* to Francis Grevill, Baron Broke, Bk. viii. Baxter (i. 77) says of the Quakers: "One while divers of them went naked through divers chief towns and cities of the land, as a propheticall act."

³ Muggleton was a journeyman tailor. He and a companion professed to be the two last witnesses spoken of in the Revelation. They were averse to persecution, and opposed the received notion of the Trinity. *The Neck of the Quakers broken* was printed at Amsterdam in 1663. Muggleton was pilloried and fined for writing it.

which he calls *The Quakers Neck Broken*. Wherein in Judging others he hath Judged himself," &c.; and ending: "ALSO something in answer to *Thomas Fuller*, in his *Church-History*, to that which he writes to *Barron Brook*, wherein he Rayles against the *Quakers*. AND something in answer to *Samuel Clarke*, who calls himself a Pastor. . . . By G. F. London, Printed in the year 1667." (4to. pp. 36.) The portion relating to Fuller occupiess pp. 33—35. As there is both novelty and interest attaching to what the Quaker thought of the Divine, we cite the passage here:—

"*First*, He saith, 'They cast off their Clothes, until the Cold converted them to more Civility.' *Answ.* This doth not become Thomas to record Lyes. For the People that are in scorn called *Quakers*, it was not the Cold that converted them. And why dost not thou record *Isaiah*, and judge him that went naked and barefoot three years together, as one of them (thou in scorn callest *Quakers*) did, being moved of the Lord? which was a sign or figure of all your nakedness, and the rest of them.

"*Secondly*, Thomas is offended because the People, which he in scorn calleth *Quakers*, say to one single person, *Thee*, and *Thou*. *Answ.* If Thomas had not showed himself ignorant of the Scriptures, and forgotten his Accidence and Grammar he learned (if any), he would have seen in the Scriptures, from the highest to the lowest, that the People of God used the word, *thee* and *thou*. And if he had spoken *you*, when he should have spoken *thou* in Latine, his Master would have gon near to have whipt him. And then Thomas falls a begging to the (then present) Powers, like unto the Jewes against the Apostle, 'Help men of Israel,' to Persecution. And Thomas his envy hath so choaked him that he hath forgotten what is said in the Lord's Prayer, viz. *thy* and *thee*, &c.

"And he saith also, because they use the word *thou*, &c., 'They speak evil against Dignities, and against Ordinances of God, &c.,' and saith, 'God grant that they may be seasonably suppressed.' *A.* Here thy envy and malice is seen again, Balaam-like, for it was the language of the Righteous, and no man found fault with it, to Superiour or Inferiour (as *thou* and *thee*), and God's Ordinances they do not deny. And whereas thou callest upon God for the suppressing of them who inventest lyes, and then criest for help against them. But the living God, whom we serve, hears not the prayers of the Persecutor nor Lyar.

"And Thomas saith, because they use the word *thou* to a Superiour, Here their Honours lye at the mercy of men's mouthes; so if they grow numerous, hereafter they will question the wealth of others, and condemn them for covetousness.' *A.* If all Thomas his History be like this, tis worth little to be credited, who begged Persecution of O. Cromwel, and when the King came in, turned to his Surplice. And if the honour due to Superiours lye in giving the word *you* to a single person, then thou mayest find fault with the Apostles and the Prophets, who said *thou* and *thee* to them; and so did the Prophets. But why doth not Thomas find fault with the Accidence and Grammar, and with them that translated the Scriptures, which did translate them Singular and Plural. See the *Quakers Battledore*,¹ given forth for you to learn in.

¹ "A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural; *You* to *Many*, and *Thou* to *One*: Singular, *One*, *Thou*; Plural, *Many*, *You*. Wherein is

A. As for your outward wealth we seek it not ; but covetousness is re-
proved by the Spirit of Truth.¹ And whereas thou art afraid we should grow
numerous ; we tell thee that God will spread his Truth abroad, and gather
his Elect from the four Corners of the Earth. And the honour that all men
are to be honoured withall, even Superiours, is not the word *you* to a single
person, but to esteem every man, and those that rule well, to have double
esteem, and this is the true Honour, and such as do so will hurt no man.
And Thomas is angry because they tremble at the Word of God ; he therein
shows his ignorance of the Scriptures, and of the holy men of God, and
such as be regarded of the Lord, who saith, ' This is the man I do regard,
who is of a contrite and broken spirit, and trembleth at my Word,' as in
Isaiah may be read. And thou art like the persecuting Jewes, that despised
them that trembled at God's Word ; but such the Lord often cutts off, and
shortneth their dayes for the Elects sake."¹

Appended to the *Infants Advocate*, and forming Chapter xxi.
(the paging being recommenced), is a sermon which illustrates
the spirit which animated Fuller in his dealings with the dis-
senter. It is from the text " If in anything ye be otherwise
minded, God shall reveal even this unto you " (Phil. iii. 15).
The discourse is entitled, " How we ought to behave our selves
to those of a different judgment herein, in order to reclaim
them ;" and it is in the best spirit of the kindly and pious
preacher, one of whose sayings is, " I had rather subscribe
than engage in a controversy not worth the contending for."
He alludes to the dissensions in the early Church, " which ever
since have too truly been copied out ;" the words " with one
accord " in the Acts of the Apostles being among Christians
changed to " with many discords." The subject was therefore
seasonable. The text, he said, contained the unhappiness, and
the happiness, of the servants of God. The " doctrine " of the
text was, that godly men, as long as they live in the world, will
dissent in many matters of religion. " The reason is because
none know either *perfectly* or *equally* in this life. Not perfectly,
1 Cor. xiii. 12, ' Now we know in part.' Not equally, for
though men understood imperfectly in this life, yet if all under-
stood equally imperfectly, upon the supposition of equal in-
geniousness to their ingenuity (that is, that they would readily
embrace what appears true unto them), all would be of the
same judgment. But, alas! as none sees clearly, so scarce any
two see equally ; some are thick-sighted, some short-sighted,
some purblind, some half-blind, and the worst of them (blessed
be God !) better than stark-blind. These different degrees of
sight cause the difference of judgment amongst Christians. A

showed forth by Grammar or Scripture
examples how several Nations and People
have made a distinction between *Singular*
and *Plural*." (Fo. Lond. 1660, 57 sheets.)

¹ Pp. 33—35. My thanks are due to
Mr. John Taylor, of Northampton, for
the loan of this pamphlet, and for other
favours.

sad instance hereof we have in the differences about the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. What by divine goodness was intended and instituted to unite and conjoin Christians, hath by man's frailty and Satan's subtilty been abused to make many rents and divisions—about the time when, the parties on whom, the manner how, Baptism is to be administered. But where Baptism hath divided her thousands, the Lord's Supper hath divided her ten thousands."

He then deals with the question of additional revelations, which are, he says, of two sorts: "One doth *revelare credenda*, reveal those things which we are to believe; the other doth make us *credere revelatis*, more quickly and firmly assent to what hath formerly been delivered in the Scripture. The first sort are ceased in this age. As for the second, we may look for them, pray for them, and labour for them, as which God hath promised to bestow, and which the godly daily receive." He treats of the preparation of the heart for such revelations. "Say not all such preparations are useless. The Dove of the Spirit will not build in a nest of this making, but in one of her own providing." After counselling his auditors in the matter, he gives instructions to those who have abandoned their errors; showing how Christians generally ought to give their assistance in reclaiming their brethren, by not using "opprobrious language" or widening "the wound betwixt us to make it worse than it is."

This discourse, which is pervaded by the same fraternal views which were advanced by Davenant and Dury, was delivered Sunday, February 6, 1652-3, in a City pulpit not hitherto noticed in connection with Fuller; viz. that of MERCERS CHAPEL,¹ Ironmonger-lane, where the witty preacher was no stranger. "The Honourable Company of Mercers of London" appear as patrons of Fuller's *Church-History*,² where the author says that it would be a sin of omission in him, "so much obliged to your society," should no share of his work be allowed to them. There is no hint as to whether Fuller's obligation was due to his being a Lecturer to the Company, or whether it concerned the admission of his son to Paul's School. His intercourse with these "prime chapmen," who had the precedence of all the other companies, was renewed about six or seven years afterwards.

Fuller, again one of the most popular of ministers, is found preaching in other London parishes; for spite of his country livings—which he did not however neglect—he was so often in

¹ *Infants Advocate*, chap. xxi. p. 1.

² Bk. ix. p. 165.

the metropolis that he is mentioned in contemporary notices as "an eminent *London* divine,"¹ There is an incidental notice of his presence at ST. BOTOLPH'S, BISHOPSGATE, in 1653, where he seems to have preached the sermon which he afterwards called *The Grand Assizes*, published 1654, an extract out of which, entitled, "Curious inquisitors into God's secrets deservedly punished," is in Spencer's folio.² The paragraph, however, varies so widely from the passage as Fuller printed it,³ that it is evident it was either excerpted by Spencer from another MS. sermon of Fuller's, or taken down on the occasion *viva voce*. At St. Botolph's, John Fuller (page 463) was pastor; but that he is not intended by Spencer as the author of the extract is shown by the general similarity of the two passages.

Not the least pleasant of the literary friendships of our author was his intercourse with HENRY LAWES,

"Whose tuneful and well-measured song
First taught our English music how to span
Words, with just note and accent."

Their acquaintance may have begun at Salisbury Cathedral, where the musician's father, Thomas, was vicar-choral. Henry and his brother William were educated at the expense of William Earl of Hertford. Henry, in 1625, became "Epistoller" of the Royal Chapel, and court-musician to Charles I.; and he lived to write the coronation anthem of Charles II. To his *Ayres and Dialogues for one, two, and three Voyces*, 1653, Fuller contributed a Latin poem, called "An Eccho" (p. 36), being formed on the model of one of Erasmus' *Colloquies*. The poetic geniuses of the time also contributed to this musical volume. The following names occur: Edmund Waller, Robert Herrick, Col. Lovelace, Francis Quarles, Thomas Randolph, Sir William Davenant, &c. Among the other names are John, Earl of Bristol, Sir Edward Deering, and the Phillips family. Poems by Jonson, Carew, and John Fletcher are also set to fitting music. The book was dedicated to two of the musician's scholars, viz. Lady Vaughan and Carberry (the "Lady" of *Comus*), and Lady Herbert of Cherbury,—both daughters to John Earl of Bridgwater. The two brothers composed airs for the most eminent poets of their time, William being by the King called the Father of Music. They were addressed in verse in the *Cotswold Muse*; and they have a fitting place in the portrait-gallery of Fuller, who remarks that there was no difference

¹ See Echard's *Hist. of Eng.* iii. 71.

² *Kaiva kai palatia*, No. 1605, page 554: "T. Fuller, *Sermon at S. Botolph-*

Bishops-gate, Lond. 1653."

³ Page 74 in the vol. entitled *Comment on Ruth*.

between them "either in eminency, affection, or otherwise considerable, save that the one is deceased and the other still surviving." William lost his life at the siege of Chester, at the same time that Lord Bernard Stuart was slain.¹

Passages in Fuller's writings evince a keen appreciation of music. He grumbled very audibly at the disfavour with which it was regarded during the interregnum. In the *Pisgah-Sight*, he dwells on the sociableness of music, and on its being a means for heightening devotion.² The subject occupies a chapter in *The Worthies*, where he quotes Hooker's sober and stately defence of its ecclesiastical use. "Right glad I am," says he, "that when music was lately shut out of our churches (on what default of hers I dare not to enquire), it hath since been harboured and welcomed in the halls, parlours, and chambers of the primest persons of this nation. Sure I am it could not enter into my head to surmise that music would have been so much discouraged by such who turned our kingdom into a commonwealth, seeing they prided themselves in the arms thereof, an impaled harp being moiety of the same." And he thanked God that he had lived to see music come into request, since the nation came "into right tune."³

Though thus appreciating harmonious sounds, Fuller, according to his own account, had a voice by no means musical. "My voice by nature is harsh and untuneable, and it is vain to lavish any art to better it. . . . Hadst Thou given me a better voice, I would have praised Thee with a better voice. Now, what my music wants in sweetness, let it have in sense."⁴ So his last dialogue in his *Cause and Cure*,—"Whether it be lawful to pray for, or pray against, or to praise God for a wounded conscience,"—concludes with the following beautiful and much-admired sentiment: "Music is sweetest near or over rivers, where the echo thereof is best rebounded by the water. Praise for pensiveness, thanks for tears, and blessing God over the floods of affliction, makes the most melodious music in the ear of heaven."⁵

Towards the end of the year 1653, John Williams, in conjunction with another publisher, induced Fuller to edit a collection of Parliamentary speeches and transactions of the two important sessions beginning March 17th, 1627-8, and January 20th, 1628-9, respectively; sessions which, as Fuller says, were "fundamental to the history of our times." The Parliament

¹ *Worthies*, § Wilts, p. 157.

² iii. 397 (chap. x.).

³ Chap. x. p. 28.

⁴ *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Pers.*

Med. No. v. He passed a favourable judgment on Sternhold and Hopkins, *Worthies*, § Hants.

⁵ Page 159.

in question was the last for eleven years; and hence Fuller remarked that "what valiant pen soever dare undertake" the writing of the history of the Civil War period, "it must lay its groundwork and take its rise from this Parliament." The book was entitled, *Ephemeris Parliamentaria; or a Faithful Register, &c.* 1654. It bore Fuller's motto: *Lege historias, ne fias historia.* The preface, which is signed "T. F.," is the most valuable part of the volume, being characterised by the biographer of the patriotic Sir John Eliot as "one of the best prefaces ever written to the very worst book ever compiled."¹ Fuller discusses the advantages of history, particularly of English history, censuring those who, "sharp-sighted abroad, are little better than blinded at home; know the way from Paris to Lyons better than from London to York. . . . A very preposterous knowledge, seeing history, like unto good men's charity, is (though not to end, yet) to begin *at home*, and thence to make its methodical progress into foreign parts." Of all English history, the greatest shame (says he) was to be "ignorant in the accidents of our own age." This induced him to set forth the work. In it he sought to be faithful rather than industrious, for in those days writings would appear rather *pleadings* than *reports*. "What by general error is falsely told of the Jews, that they are always *crook-backed*, will be found most true of authors of this age; that they are *crook-sided*, warped, and bowed to the right or to the left; so hard it will be to find a straight, upright, and unbiassed historian." He could profess his integrity in the work: "I have had no occasion, nor opportunity to express my own inclinations, who have no commission to be an author, but a transcriber." He hopes in conclusion that readers of all sorts might profit by the compilation. "Such young folks whose short capacities as yet are unable to reach the policy and state part in these pieces, may better themselves by the very *language* and *expressions* therein."

Of this Parliament he observes that although the two parties (upholders of the royal prerogative, and assertors of the subjects' liberties) were then plainly to be discovered, "the judicious reader will observe that there was as yet less eagerness and more moderation in either party; matters not being then heightened with such mutual animosities as since we have beheld." Only such speeches are given as were "set, studied, and premeditated." He alludes to the care he took to get

¹ Forster's *Sir John Eliot*, i. 540. Ample evidence of the serviceableness of the *Ephemeris* to the historian is supplied by that work.

exact copies of the speeches, which were collated with others. Some of the speakers, he states, lent their copies to their friends, who took transcripts; and the originals being in some cases lost, he mentions it as a common occurrence that the speakers were indebted to their friends for means to complete the report of their own speeches: "so that the fountain (as I may say) being dried up, hath fetcht this water from the channel." His judgment on the speakers themselves is as follows:—"Nor can any true patriot ever desire that men more honourable, more knowing and able in all faculties of policy, law, and general learning, I may add also more loving to or beloved of their countries, ever should meet in Parliament; who hence may take their pattern of many worthy and excellent virtues in statist[s] [statesmen]. But oh, let them far exceed this in happiness; the abrupt end whereof was the beginning of all our miseries." Not the least noteworthy matter in this preface is the commendation of those who, though no speech-makers, yet "retrieved long debates" by quick returns or short answers. "For sometimes a stiletto blow may give a more deep and deadly wound than the point and edge of the sharpest sword, which requireth more time and room for the managing thereof; yea, many a discreet gentleman who, after long traversing of matters, judiciously bestowed his *yea* or *nay* in the right scale, . . . might return to his country with satisfaction to his conscience that he had well deserved thereof."

In the *Ephemeris* was first printed, at page 254, that speech of Cromwell in the second session, in which he complained that Dr. Alabaster—the friend of the elder Fuller—had "preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross." Fuller's work thus came under the notice of Carlyle, who, in a cursory way, speaks of it as "professing to be compiled by Thomas Fuller; and actually containing a preface recognisable as his, but nothing else that we can so recognise: for 'quaint old Fuller' is a man of talent; and this Book looks as if compiled by some spiritual Nightmare, rather than a rational Man. Probably some greedy Printer's compilation; to whom Thomas, in ill hour, had sold his name."¹ This insinuation is utterly disproved by all that the reader now knows of Fuller. Fuller's stationer, Williams, was known for his probity.

The *Ephemeris* was a successful book, for it was reprinted in 1657, 1658, and 1660, under the new title of *The Sovereigns Prerogative and the Subjects Privelege, &c.* Only the last edition contains Fuller's name in full, it being said to be "collected by

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, i. 56.

Thomas Fuller, B.D." As if to cancel this, another edition in the same year (1660) was issued, in which Fuller's name was removed, and his motto, *Lege Historias, ne fias Historia*, inserted in its place; and a new title was given: *The Parliament of the third and fourth years of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the first, &c.*¹

To the year 1654 (about June) belongs the publication of Fuller's *Comment on Ruth*, being the substance of his sermons to his Cambridge parishioners, as noticed at page 143 *ante*. He fitly dedicated the small volume to his patroness, LADY ANN ARCHER, of Tamworth, whom, amidst "the bounty of many my worthy benefactors," he eminently singled out as "a grand encourager of my studies." He mentions her "religious husband," whose munificence to literature is elsewhere acknowledged by Fuller, as also by Dugdale. Of this *Comment* Mr. Nichols, the editor of a recent edition, has said: "Between the delivery of the Lectures and their publication as a Comment, the government of England had undergone a radical change; and it is one amongst the many proofs of Cromwell's wise moderation that Fuller could thus openly retain the fervent expressions of his youthful loyalty; as where he recounts among special mercies the preservation of Charles on his trip to Spain, &c. There was a certain amount of courage in printing such a passage as the following, which, however palatable to the heads of church and state when originally delivered, might easily have given offence to a powerful party under the Protectorate: With regard to 'some, who leap from the loom to the pulpit, I must confess, an ass's head was good food in a famine; coarse meat is dainty when no better can be had.'"²

In the same volume Fuller added two sermons which were dedicated "to the worshipful and deservedly honoured the LADY ELIZABETH NEWTON, of Charleton, in Kent," who, with her family, was intimate with Fuller. Referring to St. Paul's promise to the Thessalonians, that he would have come unto them once again, but Satan hindered him (ii. 18), Fuller says: "I may make use of the former part of his expression, applying it to my frequent intention to visit the place of your abode, and bestow some spiritual pains therein. But I must not play Satan with Satan—be a false accuser to charge on him the frustrating of my design (though generally he be a back-friend to all good desires), but must justly impute it to my own manifold avocations." These sermons are what he intended to deliver; "the first for your fore-noon's, the latter for your afternoon's repast."

¹ See the Bibliography.

² Preface, p. 4.

Lady Newton was the daughter of Thomas Murray, Esq., the lay Provost of Eton. Fuller's introduction to the family, perhaps, belongs to his college days, when we find "Henricus Newton, Bart.," the husband of our author's patroness, contributing verses, along with Fuller's, to the Cambridge collection of verses entitled *Rex Redux*, 1633. To their eldest son, Henry Puckering-Newton, Fuller in 1655 inscribed a section of his *Church-History*, saying that "no gentleman in this nation is more advantaged to be a born scholar than yourself. You may be free of the city of the Muses by the copy of your grandfathers." It seems that one grandfather, Sir Adam Newton, Dean of Durham, 1606, was tutor to Prince Henry; the other, above-mentioned as Provost of Eton (to which he had been appointed by James I.), was tutor to Prince Charles. Sir Henry Newton, who was of the Priory, Warwick, and who took the surname of Puckering on succeeding to the estates of Sir John Puckering, his wife's father, fought for the King at Edge-hill; was a member of the Parliament which recalled Charles II.; and is said to have been distinguished as a generous benefactor to those poor Cavaliers whose services were neglected by "the merry monarch." Fuller's patron, Henry Puckering-Newton, died in the lifetime of his father; and at the death of the latter the baronetcy became extinct.¹

The first sermon, "teaching how to live well," is entitled *Comfort in Calamity*; and was preached "upon a special occasion in St. Clement's church." His text is, "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?" (Ps. xi.3). Counsel, he says, "good in itself, and good at this time." He sees in it "(1) a sad case supposed; (2) a sad question propounded; and (3) a sad answer implied."

Here he gives advice "how people should behave themselves if God should for their sins condemn them to live in a time and place wherein the *Foundations of Religion* (so far as they are destroyable) should be destroyed. Be it here premised that nothing herein is spoken out of reflection to the present time, to fill the heads or hearts of people with jealousies of any design, as if intended at the present to blow up the 'foundations of religion.' And yet give me leave to say, that some months since had we gone on the same pace we began, a few steps farther would have brought all to a sad condition; so that the Lawyers might even have drawn up the will of expiring Divinity, and the Divines performed the funerals of dying Law in this nation. But blessed be God, that since that time

¹ Burke's *Extinct Baronetage*; *Church-Hist.* bk. xi. § 8, p. 165.

'Confusion is confounded,' and some hopes given of a better condition."¹

His first caution explains his own carriage as to the times: "*Enter a Silent Protestation in the Court of heaven of thine own integrity as to this particular, That thou hast not willingly consented to the destroying of the foundations of religion.*" "Nothing," he says, is "more difficult than in dangerous Times for Innocence itself to draw up a protestation with all due caution, so as to give her adversaries no advantage against her. If it be laid too low, the Protestor destroys his own innocence, and may be accessory to the robbing himself of his due, and so may die *felo-de-se* of his own integrity. If it be drawn up too high, with swelling expressions, the protestor may expose himself to just censure as a Libeller against that authority before which he entreth his protestation. We cannot, therefore, be too wary and too cautious in the making thereof to observe the Golden Mean betwixt both extremes."²

His second counsel is yet more in accord with his principles: "*Keep up the destroyed foundations in thine own house.*" He finally reminds his hearers that notwithstanding that "this his Temple is profaned and unhallowed, levelled in the dignity thereof to ordinary places," God is not un-Lorded, un-Templed; adding, that "notwithstanding all wicked men's endeavours to 'destroy the foundations,' 'the Lord is in His holy Temple.'"³

The second sermon, entitled *The Grand Assizes*, on "the books were opened" (Rev. xx. 12), was "preached at St. Mary's, in Cambridge," but the date of its delivery is not given. It was most probably an assize sermon. He sees in the text five doctrines, "all which, like links in a chain, depend one upon another. (1) God writes down and records all actions of men on earth; (2) Actions thus written are not trusted in loose papers, but bound up; (3) Actions thus bound up amount not only to one, but many books; (4) Books thus made are not presently opened, but for a time kept secret and concealed; (5) Books thus concealed shall not be concealed for ever, but in due time shall be opened."⁴ This is the sermon which, according to his title-page, "minds how to die well." Russell, who has an abstract of it, says that the little treatise "discovers the reverence and holy modesty of its ingenious author; his unwillingness to define and decide where Scripture itself is silent, or where only probable reasons can be urged. . . . The unfeigned piety and practical spirit of the preacher are

¹ Page 27.² Page 29.³ Page 43.⁴ Page 51.

exemplified in his warning against the commission of what men term *small sins*.”¹

Fuller, affected at this time with the itch of writing, but still beneficially using his gift, put forth about the autumn of 1654 a small volume relating to the religious controversies of the time, entitled *A Triple Reconciler*, published by Williams. The matter was apparently delivered in the first place as sermons in London or elsewhere. The first of the three topics was, Whether ministers had an exclusive power of debarring communicants from the Lord's Supper. His discussion on the subject is introduced from Lev. xiii. 3 (“And the priest shall look on him and pronounce him unclean”), which occupies the first sermon, dealing at length with the corporal condition of the lepers. He takes occasion to remark upon the moral and sanitary state of the London of his day.

In regard to the controversy, he says that he is a *chooser* as were the Eclectics, who picked and chose what they conceived sound and solid in the opinions of the other sects. “Grand the difference,” says he, “betwixt a *Chooser*, and a *Seeker* of our age: the former is positive, the latter sceptical, hovering over all, settling on nothing. I know no reason why we are bound to take one and all in any persuasion. Three great Interests may be named in England, one that was the *Prelatical*; one that is the *Presbyterian*; one that would be the *Independent*. I shall embrace what I find in any of their practices commendable, and consonant to God's word, making use of my Christian liberty to leave the rest which in my weak judgement may seem subject to just exception.”²

Fuller animadverts on the complaint of those whose report with him was above exception, on the frivolous questions asked by ministers of intending communicants, as, “where the soul of Lazarus was in the three days' interval, whilst his body lay in the grave”—“a question which he who propounded it, I believe was as ignorant of, as the party to whom it was propounded. Others have been too stern and morose in not accepting true and pertinent answers, if not coming to the very top of what was demanded. Thus when one was asked what God was, the party no less modestly than truly replied, ‘God is a Spirit;’ to whom the minister returned, ‘And so is the Devil too;’ enough to dash and daunt a softly spirit which rather deserved encouragement.”³

Fuller's opinion was that a single examination of communicants should suffice, and this position he defends. He passes

¹ *Memorials of Fuller*, pp. 208—213.

² Page 13.

³ Pages 25, 26.

a censure, on the other hand, upon those who were over-remiss in administering the Sacrament, "requiring no more than the general profession of Christianity, a reverend posture of the body, and a hand reached out to receive."¹

He objects to the rigid manner in which the Presbyterians observed the Sacrament, but throws out the following caution: "Here let none think, that out of the spirit of frowardness, I wilfully oppose their opinions, or that out of anger or discontent I may favour some modern licentious extravagancies. I remember a story of the Lady Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, which may be applied to my occasions. When every lady at an entertainment was to choose whom she loved best, and so place themselves, the Duchess, because not allowed to choose her own husband (as against the laws of the feast), took Stephen Gardiner by the hand, whom she perfectly hated, with these words: 'If I may not sit down with him whom I love best, I have chosen him I love worst.'" And he adds: "Not to dissemble in the sight of God and man, I do ingenuously protest that I affect the Episcopal Government (as it was constituted in its self, abating some corruptions which time hath contracted) best of any other, as conceiving it most consonant to the word of God and practice of the primitive Church. But seeing it hath pleased God to set by Episcopacy for the present (whether or no *animo resumendi* to Him alone is known), far be it from me to close with such, whom I confess I love the worse; those practicers of so much liberty in the church that it tendeth directly to confusion, and whose disorderly order deserves not the name of any discipline." He then alludes to the countries in which the Presbyterian system was acknowledged; to the many "worthy champions of the truth" brought up under it; and to learned and moderate English divines who had allowed it to be sound and perfect in all essentials necessary to salvation. "If therefore denied my first desire to live under that Church-Government I best affected, I will contentedly conform to the Presbyterian Government, and endeavour to deport myself quietly and comfortably under the same."²

He says that re-examination before each celebration had kept many from the Sacrament, and brought the ordinance into disuse. "For ten years, I dare boldly say, some parishes in this city have fasted from the Sacrament. . . . I know not what hard shift such people have made (perchance privately in their houses, or else in other parishes) to be clandestine communicants, as I term them, what running meals they have made I

¹ Page 28.

² Pages 34—36.

know not, sure I am they have not sat down at God's board in their own parish for many years,—a wonder indeed if well considered.”¹

He states that in many large parishes a *monthly* communion was formerly the commendable practice, “and still is the just desire of many ministers.”² In conclusion, he compares the first high-acting of the Presbyterians to men who in a race must either over-run the goal, or else never can come at it. The racer having got beyond the mark, returned to it again, to show that that place and no further was the intended end of his endeavours. “Whilest you contested with Episcopacy, your corrival, and were seven years since in the height and heat of your contention, therewith much may be pleaded for your passion, if it transported you in some actions beyond the just standard and proportion of your judgements. But seeing now that it hath pleased God that you have run your adversary quite out of distance, and have attained that you strove for, it will be no shame, nay it will be your honour to abate and remit of your former eagerness, and coolly and calmly to return to the place which you overshot in the paroxysm of that contest. This is the humble advice and desire of him who hath no private ends therein, but the advancement of God's glory, and the good of his Church.”³ In his *Mixt Contemplations*, in 1660, he again referred to this simile, urging moderate men to “recede a title.”⁴

At the close of this “first reconciler” there is added, as a tailpiece, an anchor with that posy which is found in autograph in some of Charles the First's books, particularly in his copy of Shakespeare (the 2nd fol. ed.)—*Dum spiro, spero*. We are told by the King's attendant, Herbert, that it was Charles's favourite motto.

Our “Controversial Divine” enters upon his *second* topic, Whether any person unordained might lawfully preach, by the aid of Acts xiii. 15. Fuller's views on this point have already been expressed (see page 374) in no measured terms; for he would say that those troublesome times afforded more *preachers* than *professors*. He here introduces other subjects of interest. In regard to military matters, *e.g.*, he humbly yet pertinently conceives, with due respect to the profession, that it may be plainly proved out of Scripture that “*soldiery* and *ministry* were such distinct callings that they met not in one and the same profession. For the apostle, being to prove the equity and right of ministers' maintenance, fetcheth an argument of 1 Cor. ix. 7: ‘Who goeth to warfare at any time on his

¹ Page 38.² Page 46.³ Page 50.⁴ xxxvii. p. 60.

own charges?' and thence concludeth verse 14: 'Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel.' Which words if perused with impartial eyes, they set up a partition betwixt the two callings as not then concurring in the same persons.

"And here take notice of a strange and incredible alteration within this last ten years in England, that either men are suddenly grown more able than before, or else the ministry is become more easy than in former ages. Some ten years since, when those of the clergy were excluded the Commission of the peace,¹ this principal reason is rendered in the act why ministers should not be admitted Justices of the Peace: because preaching of the word is enough to take up the whole man, so that they must be wanting to the calling of their ministerial function if attending at the same time another employment. And yet see now on a sudden some conceive themselves able sufficiently to follow a manual trade all the week, and also qualified for preaching on the Lord's-day after. I say again, either men in our age are mounted on a sudden to be more dexterous and knowing; or the ministry is stooped to be more facile and obvious; or (which I fear is the truest) men are grown more daring, impudent and profane than in the days of our fathers."²

"And now," he concludes, "I trust that none can take just exception at what I have freely, but without spleen or malice, spoken of the blameworthy practices of such who intrude themselves into our profession, having unpartially reprov'd even myself and those of my own function: and thus my sword having equally cut on both sides, I now put it up into the sheath, never to be drawn in this place or quarrel again."³ Yet afterwards, in his *Alarum* (1659), remarking on the heavy national taxes, he said that though some of the soldiers would preach *gratis*, yet none would fight at so cheap a rate!

The *third Reconciler* is devoted to a vindication of the Lord's Prayer, the use of which some in that age, following Milton in his *Eikonoklastes* (chap. xvi.), condemned. Fuller answers the various cavils which had been devised against the prayer, terming the matter "a subject not unnecessary in our days," but unprecedented in former ages, "which maintained a constant reverence and esteem thereof, as *the Lord's prayer* and *Lord of Prayers*."⁴ He thought they were out of charity with the prayer because there was so much charity in it. The cavils

¹ They had been put in the Commission of the Peace by the influence of Laud, that being one of his schemes for making the Church triumphant.

² Page 102.

³ Page 107.

⁴ Page 123.

which he refutes were—(1) That it is a set form of prayer; (2) That it was not a prayer of itself, but a *pattern*; (3) That Christ made it in His minority; (4) That there is nothing of the Saviour in it; (5) That it is too short, and not comprehensive enough; (6) That it had been abused by the Papists to superstition. The Prayer was not *exclusively* to be used to shut out all others, yet it was eminently to be preferred before the rest. He concludes: "What metals soever the ring of thy devotions be made of, the Lord's prayer is a good diamond to close and conclude with: of what wood soever the *shaft* of the darts of thy prayers doth consist, the Lord's prayer is the best sharp *pile* to pierce heaven, and to be put on at the end of thy own devotions."¹ Meric Casaubon is the author of *A Vindication of the Lord's Prayer*, 1660.

Apart from the boldness evinced in the expression of hostile, or unpopular opinions, the *Triple Reconciler* exemplifies the author's moderation, which sprang from Christian principle. Fuller was emphatically a "moderator in Divinity;" and of all earnest theologians who in his time advocated "unity in religion adjusted with a view to preserve the peace of the church," he seems to take a very foremost place. The title of his work fully harmonises with his character. In his address to his patroness Lady Baltinglass—an epistle which, in common with the work itself, places the writer far from the spirit of the mere "controversial divine"—he thus spoke: "This my book addresseth it self to you as once the dove to Noah in the ark, bringing an olive branch with three sprigs in the mouth thereof. It is of a peaceable nature, and desires to be a peacemaker betwixt the opposite parties in the three controversies handled therein. . . . I know what success commonly attends all umpires and arbitrators, that often they lose one, and sometimes both of their friends betwixt whom they intercede. Meek Moses could not escape in this kind, but when seeking to atone² two striving Israelites, the party who did the wrong fell with foul language upon him. I expect the like fate from that side which doth the most injury, and am prepared to undergo their censure."

Thrown against his will amidst the religious contentions of a contentious age, Fuller, like Hooker before him, became weary of the debates that he was drawn into, "God and nature" not intending him, in common with the "judicious"

¹ Page 140.

² *Atone*, i.e. *reconcile*, quasi to make opposing persons "at one." So, also in

the same sense, in *Pisgah-Sight*, iv. 92, of Moses venturing "to atone two Israelites at variance."

opponent of Travers, "for contentions, but for study and quietness." Each longed for a retreat for the quiet preparation of their great works, their meaning being not to provoke any, but to satisfy all tender consciences; "and I shall never be able to do this," said Hooker, "but when I may study and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth and eat my own bread without oppositions."¹ Fuller's biographer tells us that his hero was wont to call the common arguments against the Church of England, "with the answers and refutation thereof, *ἡμερόβια*, things of a day's life and of no permanency, the Church being built upon a rock; as no storms could shake or move it, so needed it not any defences of art or learning, being of the same mind with Sir Henry Wotton, 'Disputandi pruritus, scabies Ecclesiae.'"²

Shortly before August in the same year (1654), Sir John D'Anvers, being of great age, was visited with "a long and dangerous sickness," from which his friends never anticipated a recovery. The knight was, however, miraculously restored to convalescence. He in consequence requested Fuller, who was in attendance upon him, to preach a sermon on the occasion of his thanksgiving. Fuller complied, and delivered the discourse called *Life out of Death* at Chelsea Church, where the service was held. The same sermon had already done service upon a similar occasion in the household of the Countess of Rutland,³ who, however, was not referred to in the printed copy, it being stated on the title-page as referring to the recovery of "an honourable person," *i.e.* Sir John D'Anvers. The discourse, which is dated 1655, and published by Williams, was dedicated to one of the Knight's daughters, "the virtuous and worthy gentlewoman, M^{rs} [mistress: *i.e.* Miss] ANNE DANVERS," — "the first virgin of your sex (and probably may be the last), to whom my pen hath addressed itself by way of dedication." He adds that she might challenge a just interest in this sermon, because "with that exemplary atten-

¹ Walton's *Life of Hooker*.

² *Life*, p. 87.

³ The sermon is thus entered at Stationers' Hall: "John Stafford. 2^d October, 1654. Entred for his copy A Sermon preached at the Recovery of the Countesse of Rutland from childbed and at S^r In^o Davers Recovery from Sicknes 27 Aug^t 1650 [*sic*] at Chelsey upon 38th Esaiah 9th by Mr. Fuller." The Earl of Rutland was usually resident at his town house near Ivy-bridge, in the Strand,

where some of his children were born. Mary, the youngest of his eleven children, was born in 1652. The baptisms of some of the children are noted in the registers of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The eldest surviving son, John, born at Boughton in 1638, was a patron of the *Pisgah-Sight*. He in 1658 married Lady Anne Pierrepont, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry, Marquess of Dorchester. Lord Ros became Earl in 1679, and Duke in 1703.

tion you always use in God's house," she heard it preached; and because she shared deeply in the welcome occasion of it—"the recovery of your worthy father." He then writes a paragraph in flattery of her (which he explains in the next sentence is not flattery but commendation), making allusion to her namesakes in the Bible. "The assiduity of your daily devotion to God, dutifulness to your parents, and general goodness to all, raiseth me to a great assurance [that] you will imitate such worthy precedents." In conclusion he expresses himself sure that she would "endeavour to justify and exceed this your character here presented, for the performance whereof you shall never want the prayers of him who is an indebted servant to the root and branches of your honourable extraction."

The text is taken from Is. xxxviii. 9, *The writing of Hezekiah King of Juda when he had been sick and was recovered of his sickness*: words, the preacher said, which presented them "with Hezekiah in a double condition: Hezekiah sick, Hezekiah sound; Hezekiah dying, Hezekiah living;" and in this order he deals with the subject. "The main doctrine in the text is this: neither grace nor greatness can privilege any from sickness, and, by consequence, from death. . . . Sickness was no whit afraid of the greatness of Hezekiah's Porter, of the grimness of his Guard, at the gallantry of his Pensioners, at the greatness, at the goodness of his person; but boldly seized upon him."¹

He lays down rules how persons should demean themselves in the time of sickness, "providing to entertain, what is impossible to avoid. These lessons must be learned now, and practised hereafter. Sickness is a time to suffer, not to do in. Patients are like bees in winter—no flying abroad to find fresh flowers, either they must starve or live on that stock of honey which they have provided in the summer time. Let us not have our oil to buy when we should have it to burn, but treasure up good counsels whilst we are at ease and [in] health, to be put in use when God's prisoners on our beds of sickness."²

Fuller points out in what a sick person might desire a longer life. His third head is, "to see an establishment in the Church of God of these fluctuating times, to behold the same fixed to His honour and the advantages of true religion."³

He introduces some motives to patience with this preface: 'Oh that it were as easy to *practise* them as to preach them! How facile it is for us here (by God's goodness in perfect health) magisterially to dictate to others what they should do;

but God knoweth how hard we should find it to practise these precepts if in sickness ourselves. . . . We ministers ought to try upon our own selves those doctrines which we impose on others; which should make us more to sympathise with the weakness of our people."

Here he describes consumption as "a certain messenger of death; but know that of all the bailiffs sent to arrest us for the debt of nature, none useth his prisoners with more civility and courtesy than the Consumption; though too often an ill use is made thereof for the prisoners to flatter themselves into a possibility of an escape." So Toothache (!): "A grievous disease of all that are not mortal. But, blessed be God! it hath raised many from their beds; it hath sent few to their graves: often hindred sleep, seldom caused death. But know, if we had our due, it is not the aching of the teeth, but 'knashing of the teeth' which we deserve."¹

He then, in conclusion, makes the following reference to his patron: "There is a person, honourably extracted, present in this place, to whom I may joyfully and comfortably say (as Nathan to David in a different case), 'Thou art the man!' God hath dealt with him as with Hezekiah, and hath made his recovery a comment upon my text, so that this day 'this Scripture is fulfilled in our ears,' who hear and behold it, and I hope, in his heart, who is thankfully sensible thereof. He was visited with a long and dangerous sickness, meeting with his declined age past possibility of recovery in the expectation of his nearest friends. Had this shepherd been smitten, how soon had the sheep of his relations, and many of us who taste of his bounty, been scattered abroad. But, blessed be God! who hath restored him far above our hopes and according to our desires." He thus refers to Sir John's wife and the "Physitian:"—"God hath crowned the endeavours of a most loving and careful consort, and the directions of a most able and knowing Physitian, as instrumental to the accomplishing of this His great mercy to this His revived servant, who here tendereth the first fruits of his resurrection to God in his Church to receive the Eucharist, that is, the thanksgiving, as for all other mercies in Christ bestowed upon him, so for this the last and freshest in the memory conferred on him 'who hath been sick and is recovered of his sickness.'"² The physician here alluded to was probably Dr. Hamey, who practised at Chelsea.

On the anniversary of the Powder Plot this year (1654),

¹ Page 21.

² Page 27.

which fell on Sunday, Fuller preached a sermon bearing upon the occasion. The discourse was, two years later, printed under the title *The Snare Broken*, being based upon the text, "O my soul, come not into their secret" (Gen. xlix. 6). The preacher divided wicked men into two sorts,—“those that call people into their secrets, and those that come into their secrets when called.”¹ As to the anniversary itself, he remarked that some wished the day might not be kept, but forgot; “and methinks,” he adds, “it looks with a paler colour in the almanack than it use to do; but next year [*i.e.*, 1655] it will be a full jubilee—fifty years since the contrivance thereof.” He urged his parishioners to keep in their minds the memorial of so great a blessing, and to preserve the memory of it. “For what principles of false doctrine had infected the land had this plot taken effect! And therefore it shall be my prayer, that God will write thankfulness in your hearts to a continual remembrance of the same.”²

About three months after the recovery of Sir John D'Anvers from sickness, a fatal circumstance happened in his family. His son Henry, to Fuller's great sorrow, died, November 19th, 1654. The disease which carried him off was the small-pox, which had proved fatal to two other members of D'Anvers' family, who had died twenty years before at the same house at Charing Cross where Henry sickened and died. It is not known whether Fuller was present at the death-bed of his young patron; but in all probability he followed the body to its final resting-place at West Lavington, in Wilts, where it was interred, December 2nd. The deceased was twenty-one years old, “wanting two weeks,” adds Aubrey—exact for once. Hence Fuller said that he was “snatched away (before fully of age), to the great grief of all good men.” Writing in the year 1655, he further describes him as “a most glorious saint.”³ His will, which was hurriedly made, left his sister Anne “heir to the whole estate in his power,” as his monument states. He seems to have had ample means at his disposal (by the bequest of his uncle), even when his father was in comparative straits.

In reference to Henry D'Anvers, Aubrey has the following note: “[Fuller] scripsit *Holy Warre, Holy State, Pisgah-Sight, England's Worthies*, several Sermons; among others a Funerall Sermon on Hen. Danvers, Esq., the eldest son of S^r John Danvers (and only [surviving son] by his second wife Darteby

¹ Page 11.² Page 23.³ *Worthies*, § Wilts, p. 154; *Ch.-Hist.*bk. ix. § 3; Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, § Local Fatality.

[Dautesey]) brother to H. E. of Danby, preached at Lavington, in Wilts. Obijt 19^o Novemb.”¹ One might perforce conclude, from this particular mention of the funeral sermon, that Aubrey, who prided himself on being a kinsman of the D’Anvers’, must be correct. But the discourse in question has been most carefully looked for and inquired after (particularly by the late Rev. E. Wilton, M.A., of West Lavington, Wilts.) in the libraries of Cambridge, Oxford, and London, as well as in the private collections of Fuller’s tracts, &c., but it has never come to light; and no additional proof has been found that such a sermon was either preached or printed. If the sermon was actually printed it belongs to those pamphlets which Fuller has himself described: “for their cheapness and smallness men for the present neglect to buy, presuming they may procure them at pleasure; which small books, their first and last edition being past (like some spirits that appear but once) cannot afterwards with any price or pains be recovered.”²

It should be noted that the list of Fuller’s writings, as given by Aubrey, is singularly meagre and incorrect; and it would be reasonable to infer that he is in fault in regard to a funeral sermon on Henry D’Anvers’. Fuller may have preached a sermon at West Lavington; but it may be questioned whether it was ever printed. Unless the discourse comes to light, it must be supposed that Aubrey has confounded it either with the sermon called *The Just Man’s Funeral*, or with *Life out of Death* (alraedy mentioned, page 540), preached before Henry’s father, the regicide. As to Aubrey’s “kinship” with the D’Anvers’ family, and the consequent probability of his being correct in this matter, there are plain evidences of inaccuracies in his MSS., perhaps through haste. There are also frequent notes of further inquiries to be made, and references to Lady Purbeck, the regicide’s eldest daughter, some of whose information is very questionable. Still, the discovery of an actual sermon would be interesting, not only on account of the pleasing character of Henry D’Anvers (which begets a desire for a closer acquaintance), but also on account of the connection of his father with Fuller.

The knight’s recovery proved delusive. He soon had a relapse, and expired April 20th, 1655. He was conveyed a few days afterwards to Wilts. for interment at Dautesey.³ Bate’s

¹ *Letters*, &c. ii. 354.

² *Worthius*, § Hertfordsh.

³ Tradition states that at the Restoration the corpse was removed to some place in the church unknown, that no

indignity might be offered to the remains. At any rate when the grave was searched the coffin was found broken open and the body gone.

notice of the circumstance in his somewhat untrustworthy book, *The Lives, Actions, and Execution of the prime Actors, and principal Contrivers of that horrid Murder of our late pious and sacred Sovereign King Charles the first*, published as "an observer of those transactions," would tend to show that Fuller was present on the occasion of Sir John's death, although the sermon, *Life out of Death*, may be Bate's sole authority. In any case, Bate writes from hearsay. The regicide, he states, lived "some years in his sin without repentance. But, 'drawing near to his death,' I have cause to believe that he repented of the wickednesse of his Life; for that, then Mr. Thomas (now [1661] Dr.) Fuller, was conversant in his Family and preached severall times at Sir John Danver's desire in Chelsey Church, where I am sure, all (that frequented that Congregation) will say he was instructed to repent of his misguided and wicked Consultations in having to doe with the murder of that just Man [the King.] He died, (but how I cannot give an account) and hath no Question received his Judgement."¹

All Sir John's real and personal estates were confiscated in 1661. A warrant is extant ordering his house to be searched for certain clocks and time-keepers, the property of his late Majesty; but nothing is known as to what was found.²

Many years afterwards Echard, in that part of his history in which he treats of the growth of Popery in England, and of the joy of the Papists at the death of the King, related "another particular very little known, namely, That one of the most inveterate of the King's Judges, Sir John Danvers, was at that time a *profess'd Papist*, and so continued to the day of his death, as his own daughter has sufficiently attested."³ This improbable statement was repeated some years ago in *Notes and Queries*, where a conclusive reply was made by the Rev. E. Wilton, M.A., who showed that the charge was disproved by the connection of D'Anvers with Fuller, who may have attended upon him up to the very last. The knight's daughter, whose relation Echard followed, was Elizabeth, the wife of Lady Purbeck's illegitimate son, who at that time passed under the name of Villiers, Viscount Purbeck. The lady is known to have been most inveterate against all her family, giving them all the annoyance in her power, out of a revengeful feeling for bringing that charge against her husband which resulted in his being disennobled as to his issue. The proceedings in reference to Purbeck's title and final extinction of his nobility contain particulars of his opinions, which point to the supposition that

¹ Page 134.

² Burke's *Patrician*, vi. 54, 55.

³ *History of England*, ii. 647.

Echard's remarks apply to him rather than to his father-in-law the regicide. Purbeck was said in the House (he sat as member for Westbury in 1659) to have been a Papist. He not only renounced the name of Villiers, but also levied a fine to be excused taking the title of Purbeck, and was known as Robert Danvers, assuming his wife's maiden name. The wretchedness and poverty which marked their course are plainly gathered from some old letters of the steward of the Lavington estate. This property was divided between the daughters of the regicide as coheiresses of their mother, Elizabeth Dautesey, viz. Elizabeth, wife of the above Robert Danvers, and Anne, wife of Sir Henry Lee.

With respect to Anne D'Anvers, Fuller did not forget to give her a place in his *Church-History*, which was in the press when he inscribed *Life out of Death* to her. To her he dedicates the third section of the reign of Elizabeth. He says that a portion of the book was designed for her late brother, but "falls of course to you, with his goods and chattels, as his sole executrix. If any Latin letters occur in this section, I doubt not that God will seasonably provide you with such a consort who (amongst his many other virtues) will change you to a happy wife, and translate them to your understanding."¹ The young gentleman here glanced at, whose visits to Chelsea Fuller perhaps knew something about, was Sir Henry Lee, of Dytchley, Oxon, third Bart. Very soon after Sir John D'Anvers's death, viz. on the 4th June this year (1655), Anne was married at Dytchley; and no doubt found in her husband, who was then eighteen, the necessary assistance for understanding the Latin in Mr. Fuller's folio. Four years later Sir Henry was returned M.P. for Malmesbury, but died in March (1659). His lady was cousin of Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon. There were two daughters coheiresses, Eleanor and Anne. The elder, Eleanor, (who died 31st May, 1691), married Lord Abingdon, in whose family the Dautesey and Danvers estates rested till they were sold by the descendants of the Earl of Abingdon.²

Fuller's intimacy with the D'Anvers family explains his frequent visits to the little water-side village of Chelsea. There many of the nobility had their residences, intercourse with the metropolis being mainly carried on by water. The church (St. Luke's), where Fuller occasionally preached, has been often altered. It is now a brick edifice, and is a rectory in the diocese of London and the archdeaconry of Westminster. In

¹ Bk. ix. p. 101.

² *The Records of Bucks*, § The Lees of Quarrendon, vol. iii. p. 248.

Fuller's time it contained two chapels founded by the Lawrence family and Sir Thomas More respectively, forming part of the north and south aisles; the latter chapel belonging to the Earl of Middlesex, who also owned More's house. The many extensive monuments still remaining afford testimony to the former splendour of the church. Nothing can be gathered from the registers or other local records in explanation of the nature of Fuller's connection with the church. Besides Dr. Hamey, who is characterised by Aubrey as a pious good man,¹ at least another of Fuller's patrons dwelt there, viz. MR. JOSEPH ALSTON, who is commemorated upon the *Pisgah* plate of arms. He was the brother to Sir Edward Alston, Knt., of London, M.D., President of the College of Surgeons, who became a Baronet in 1681. The daughter of Sir Edward, Mary, was the wife of SIR JAMES LANGHAM, 2nd Baronet, of Cottesbrook in Northamptonshire, who having, as Fuller says, a "laetum ingenium," readily patronised the *Church-History*.² Sir James was M.P. for Northampton 1656—1661. His father Sir John, who was made a Baronet in 1660, had twice been imprisoned for his devotion to the King.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVII.

(A.) THE FULLERS OF KERRY, &c.

THE FULLERS were settled in Kerry at a very early date. The name of John Fuller appears in the Desmond Survey (*temp.* Elizabeth) as possessor of large tracts of land in the neighbourhood of Dingle. The family was also established in the district of Toragh, where they continued until their large property passed into the hands of the Blennerhassetts, the first members of which family came into Ireland about the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Fuller family had property also near the celebrated caves of Ballybunion. They are said by Burke to have been a family of great respectability and opulence (*Commoners*, 1838, vol. iv. 538, *note*). There are traces of Fullers in other parts of Ireland from the end of the sixteenth century. Thus in the *Annals of Ireland* by The Four Masters, mention is made of a *Captain Fulhart* as doing military service in Fermanagh; and at a later period a *William Fuller* appears as an original patentee for 1,500 acres of land in Moyglasse, in the precinct of Macheroboy, co. Fermanagh, taken by attainder from the MacGuires, Princes of Fermanagh, and their relatives, the MacManuses, of Seanadh-mic-Maghnusa: this particular holding passing before 1619 into the possession of Sir John Humes. This allotment was made to William Fuller as one of the "Scotch undertakers." (See MacNevin's *Confiscation*

¹ *Miscellanies*, § Dreams. Upon one of the bells in the church is the following happy inscription: DIVO LUCÆ MEDICO

EVANGELICO BALDUINUS HAMEY PHIL-
EVANGELICUS MEDICUS D.D.

² Bk. ii. 123.

of Ulster, p. 182, and Mr. Charles Sotheran's *Genealogical Memoranda relating to the Family of Sotheron and Sept of MacManus*, p. 88). The descendants of the Kerry family, however, claim descent from Thomas, the second son of Dr. Thomas Fuller, according to the annexed pedigree. The present representative of this branch of the family, J. F. Fuller, Esq., F.S.A., of Dublin, who has made diligent research into the family genealogies, &c., informs me that the late Archdeacon Rowan, the industrious collector of the genealogies of Kerry, asserted that the Fullers of Kerry were so derived. The connecting link is Thomas Fuller, junior, who, it is maintained, emigrating to Ireland, settled in Kerry. His reasons for so doing, as given by Mr. Fuller in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1866, are as follows: (1) Dr. Fuller's wife, the Hon. Mary Roper, was sister to Lady Denny, the estates of whose family were in Kerry; (2) Sir Peter Courthope was governor of Munster, and the Courthopes were related to the Fullers (see the pedigree p. 46, and p. 316); (3) William Fuller was Bishop of the diocese. Another curious coincidence was that Edward Davenant, a brother of the Bishop of Sarum, married Ann Symmes. Now the Symmes family intermarried with the Paynes (Barbara Payne, sister of the Secretary to James II., married Jeremiah Symmes); and the Paynes intermarried with the Fullers (a daughter of William Fuller, of Kerry, by his wife Miss Harnett, married a Payne).¹ There is a lease (on record in Dublin) dated Sept. 25, 1733, from Col. Denny, of Tralee, to this William Fuller, Gent., of West Kerries (from whom Mr. J. F. Fuller derives), co. Kerry, whereby Denny demised to Fuller lands, consisting of "195 Plantⁿ Acres as then held and enjoyed by said William Fuller," &c. parish of Cloherbrien, for lives of said Fuller and Jane his wife, and also of John his son, with renewal for ever. There is also on record in Crown Office, Tralee, an assault case—William Fuller *v.* Sir Edward Denny—from which it would appear that the two families did not long agree. As to the wife of Thomas, the youngest son of the author of *The Worthies*, Mr. J. F. Fuller says that at present the authority is not satisfactory; it rests on a letter from one of his correspondents, who cannot refer to the source from which he derived it. The supposed wife, Miss Herbert, is evidently the lady falsely referred to by William Fuller, the Jacobite impostor, as his mother, and the wife of his father, Robert. (See Note B, page 550).

From George Fuller, who occurs in the Pedigree, and who married a Miss Austen (whose mother was a Miss Dawnt), Mr. J. F. Fuller is of opinion that the Fuller branch in Canada, represented by the Venerable Thomas Fuller, D.D., Archdeacon of Toronto, derives. There is another family of the name, possessing property in King's Co. (whose founder was a member of the Society of Friends), represented by Dr. Abraham S. Fuller, Rector of St. Mark's Church, Dublin.

Since the printing of page 14, containing Mr. J. F. Fuller's arms, that gentleman, having doubts as to their accuracy, directed search to be made by Ulster King at Arms, who has declared the coat to be, as now registered in Ulster office, "argent three bars gules, on a canton of the last a mullet or." This coat without the mullet (which differenceth the Irish branch) is the same as that borne by the Douse Fuller branch, and also by Bishop William Fuller. The crest of Mr. Fuller's coat, a horse pp^t., is also charged with the mullet.

¹ The first husband of Dr. Fuller's mother, *née* Judith Davenant, was a Stephen Payne. (See the Pedigree at p. 46).

DR. THOS. FULLER. = HON'BLE MARY ROPER.

THOMAS FULLER. = Miss Herbert, of Montgomeryshire (?)

WILLIAM FULLER. = Jane Harnett, dau. of William Harnett, of Bally Henry, co. Kerry,
of West Kerry. sister of James Harnett, of Sunday's Well, Cork, and of Catherine, wife of Robert Hilliard.

THOMAS FULLER, of Lee = Ann Purcell,
Mount, Treasurer of Cork. of Gurtenuard.

John Fuller, George Fuller, mar.
ob. s. p. and had issue.

A dau. marr. Wm. Payne.

A dau. marr. Bernard.

Ann.* Wm. Fuller, ancestor
of Capt. Jno. Crosbie
Harnett, now living.

Elizabeth Blennerhasset, dau. of Rev. John =
Blennerhasset, Rector of Tralee, by Louisa
his wife, dau. of Capt. Thomas Goddard (by
his wife Mary de Moleyns, of Burnham,
co. Kerry, sister of the first Lord Ventry).

Mary Fuller, who =
marr. Counsellor James Fuller, assumed
name of Harnett (line
of Harnett extinct).
ob. s. p. Falvey, of Cork,

John Fuller (assumed = Mary Rogers, of
the name of Harnett). Lota, Cork.

Noblet Rogers Fuller Harnett, ob. s. p. = Fanny L'Estrange, dau. of Col. L'Estrange, of Moystown.

Fanny Diana Bland, dau. of Francis Christopher =
Bland, D. L., of Derriquin Castle, co. Kerry, by THOMAS
Lucinda Herbert his wife, dau. of Arthur East- HARNETT
able Herbert, and great-grand-daughter of FULLER.
Maurice Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, by his wife
Elizabeth Crosbie, sister of first Lord Brandon.

Bessie = Sir Arthur Helps, K. C. B.
Fuller. (Clerk of the Privy Coun-
cil).

Edward Goddard Fuller, ob. s. p.
John Blennerhasset Fuller, s. p.
Ann = Ven. Nathaniel Bland,
Archdeacon of Aghadoe, s. p.
Louisa Fuller, ob. s. p.

JAMES FRANKLIN = Helen, dau. of the late Joseph
FULLER. Prosperé Guivier, and grand-dau.
of Baron Prosperé Guivier (of Cor-
sica), who served under Napoleon
and fell in the retreat from Moscow.

Louisa Fuller, marr. Arthur,
son of Frederick Hyde, J. P.,
of Holywood, by whom a
son, Arthur Hyde.

William Stone, M. P., of = Melicent Other
Leigh Park, Portsmouth, Helps. issue.
and has issue.

Franklin Bland Fuller. Harnett John Fuller. May Florence. Adela Bessie. Evelyn Melicent.

* "Died near Cork, in Ireland, Miss Fuller,
authoress of several interesting and ingenious
novels."—*Gentleman's Magazine, July 1790.*

PEDIGREE

OF THE

Fullers of Kerry.

(B.) WILLIAM FULLER, THE INFORMER AND IMPOSTOR.

A NOTICE of this individual (1670 to *circa* 1718), the most notorious rascal of his time, will be found in Macaulay, chap. xviii. He has himself left conflicting accounts of his birth and parentage; and in the passage in his *Whole Life*, 1703, "impartially writ by himself," he seems to lay claim to belong to the blood of Thomas Fuller. He says: "By reason of the various false Reports concerning my Parents, I shall begin with an Account of their Descent, viz. My Father's Name was *Robert Fuller*, the Second son of *Dr. Thomas Fuller*, and was born at Oxford in the Year 1634 [1644], and in the Time of the civil Wars: He had his abode with his Mother's Brother, *James Harplet*, Gent. of Ashe, in the county of Kent; where my Father was instructed in the Buying and Selling of Cattle, and had an Estate of about Two hundred Pounds *per annum*, left him by his said Uncle, after whose decease, he lived some time in London, where my Mother fell in love with him, and without the knowledge of any of her Relations or Friends, was married to him. She was the daughter of the Honourable Charles Herbert, Esq., of Montgomeryshire in Wales, and Cousin-German to the late Marquis of Powis. Her Father, at the time of her Birth, had an Estate of more than Two thousand Pounds *per annum*, which fell, by Inheritance, to my Uncle Charles Herbert, Esq. my Mother's only Brother; altho' the Family suffered great Persecutions in Oliver the Protector's time, being all of them Roman Catholics and faithful in their Duty and Allegiance to the King and Royal Family. It was during this time of their Misfortunes that my Mother was married to my Father. She was a Widow, having been married only fourteen Months to a Gentleman of her own Name and Family; by whom she had one Daughter, who is now living, and enjoys the whole estate." (Pp. 1—2.)

In his *Further Confirmation*, 1696, he has another "short narrative of my Life," stating that he was born at Milton, near Sittingborne, in Kent, in the year 1671. "My father's name was Robert Fuller, and my mother's was Catherine Herbert." (Pp. 17—18.)

Another account gives the following particulars of him: "He was the son of Richard Fuller of Milton, near Sitingburne in Kent, by occupation a butcher. His father (now many years deceased) had the misfortune to break, and died a prisoner in the King's Bench, his calamities being in a great measure imputed to his wife (our sharper's mother, daughter of one Sandys, an ordinary farmer), who was too gay a dame for a butcher's wife." (Pp. 1—2 of "The Life and Unaccountable Actions of William Fuller, *alias* Esq., Fuller, *alias* Colonel, *alias* Sir William, *alias* William Baron Fuller, the notorious English cheat. Giving a true . . . account . . . how he impos'd, not only on particular Persons, but on both Houses of Parliament," London—(no date). There was a continuation of this, entitled "The Second Part of the Life of William Fuller, *alias* Fulle, Al^r Fowler, Al^r Elleson, Conney-Wool-Cutter, &c. London. Printed to prevent his further imposing on the Public." 1701, 8vo.

Hearne, in one of his diaries now in the Bodleian Library, has the following entry under date of "1726, May 14, Saturday":—"Mr. Allen [a Non-Juror] told me that Fuller the Informer was born at Milton a Market Town in Kent, being bastard son to one Harplet, by which Harplet he was sent to betray K. James at St. Germain's."

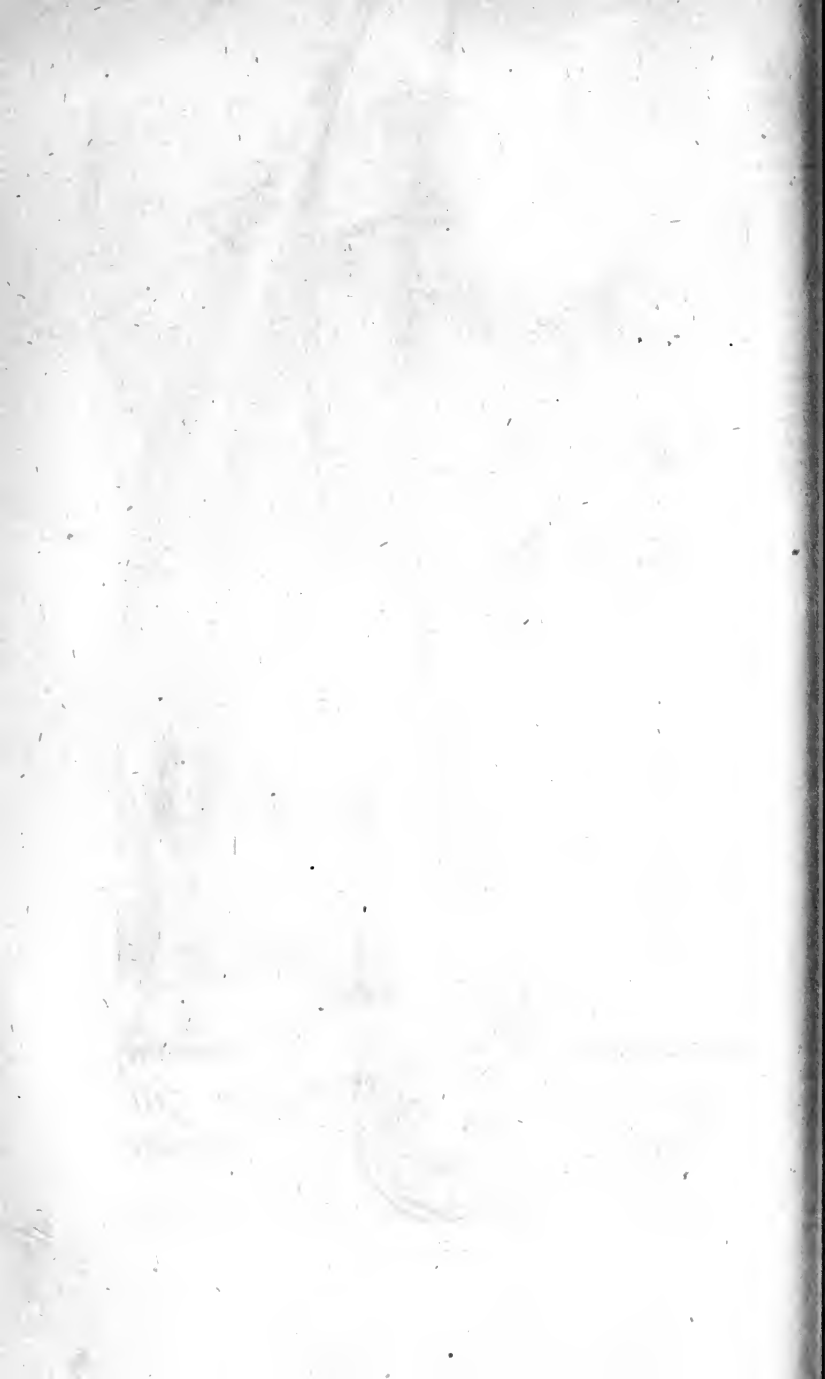
William Fuller wrote the following tracts: (1) *Compleat Hist. of the Pretended Prince of Wales, &c.*, Lond. 1696; (2) *A Brief Discovery of the true Mother of the Pretended Prince of Wales, &c.* 1696; (3) *A Further Confirmation that Mary Grey was the true Mother, &c.* 1696; (4) *A Plain*



William
Born. 20th.
1670.



Fuller gent
of September
Aged 32.



Proof of the true Father and Mother of the Pretended Prince of Wales, &c. 1700; (5) *Mr. Fuller's Answer to the Jacobites.* Lond. 8vo.; (6) *A Full Demonstration, &c.* 1701. In this year Fuller was questioned and punished by the Houses of Parliament. He is referred to in the following letter written by one of the members for the University of Oxford (Ballard MSS. vol. xxxviii. p. 75, Bodl.):—

“ Westminster, Jan. 20, 1701.

“ Sr

If anything extraordinary had occurred here worth communicating, besides w^t the votes contain, you should have heard from me before this time. And now I have little to adde to this excuse for my silence more than to tell you that the famous or rather infamous Mr. Fuller has not been able to produce to the L^{ds} any of his 26 Deponents, nor can tell before whom the Depositions were taken, nor could he produce Mr. Tho. Jones, neither could he name any Person, besides himself, that knew him; upon the whole I believe no Person doubts his villany, and that the Contents of his Books are False and Scandalous. He has stood once in the Pillory upon a Prosecution directed by y^e H. of C.; what will be his next punishment I cannot tell: I fear our Laws are so defective he will not yet have his Desert.

“ If I can serve you in anything, I hope you'l favour with y^r comānds.

S^r,

Your obliged humble servant,

W. BROMLEY.”

“ To the Rev^d D^r Charlet, Master of
University College in Oxford.”

Fuller now wrote: (7) *Life of William Fuller, Gent., written by his own hand.* Lond. 1701, 8vo. In this pamphlet there is nothing said as to his descent from Dr. Thomas Fuller; (8) *The Second Part.* Lond. 1701, 8vo.; (9) *Fuller's Non-recantation to the Jacobites, by William Fuller, Gent.* Lond. 1701, 8vo.; (10) *A Trip to Hampshire and Flanders.* 8vo., 1701. Fuller continued the publication of his libels: (11) *Original Letters of the late King,* 1702; (12) *Twenty-Six Depositions of Persons of Quality,* 1702; (13) *Letter to John Tutchin.*

In June, 1703, Fuller, “ Cheat-Master General of England,” was convicted by the Court of Queen's Bench for publishing Nos. 6 and 7 above-mentioned; and he was fined, pilloried, and imprisoned. His imprisonment gave him the opportunity for writing an amusing narrative, (14) *The Whole Life of Mr. William Fuller, &c.* 1703. Some existing copies of this autobiography contain his portrait (as here copied in photo-lithography), exhibiting his arms quartering three lions for Herbert, and the Fuller coat; but other copies are without this heraldic distinction. He also wrote (15) *Mr. William Fuller's Trip to Bridewell, with a true Account of his barbarous Usage in the Pillory. The Characters of the several People who came to see him beat Hemp, &c. Written by his own Hand,* 1703. In this pamphlet, which is not mentioned in the bibliographies, he refers to his two former narratives of his “ unhappy life.” Two other pamphlets are ascribed to him: (16) *Sincere and Hearty Confession,* 1704; (17) *Letter to the Earl of Oxford, in the Tower,* 1716. (Lowndes, p. 849; Watt, 392; Hone's *Year Book*, vol. iv. 734. There are other tracts relating to Fuller in the Bodleian Library.)



CHAPTER XVIII.

"THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN." (1655.)

HISTORY OF THE PROJECT.—POPULAR EXPECTATION OF THE "HISTORY."—ITS DESIGN TWICE EXTENDED.—AN HISTORIAN'S DUTY.—THE "HISTORY" IMPARTIAL AND LOYAL.—ITS CONTEMPORARY VALUE.—FULLER'S TEMPERANCE OF MIND.—FULLER'S CHRONOLOGY: HIS STRENGTH OF MEMORY.—THE HISTORY AN "ENDEAVOUR."—ITS ARRANGEMENT.—THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND OTHER NOBLE PATRONS.—"LITERARY MENDICITY."—FULLER'S DEDICATIONS.—HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE LORD KEEPER FIENNES.—THE HERALDRY OF THE WORK.—THE SUPPLEMENTARY HISTORIES.—THE SOURCES OF THE "CHURCH-HISTORY."—FULLER'S ANTIQUARIAN FRIENDS.—PRESERVATION OF STATE-PAPERS IN THE "HISTORY."—ITS WIT: WALTON AND FULLER.—ITS PROVERBIAL SENTENCES.—ITS DIGRESSIONS.—CONTEMPORARY COMMENDATIONS AND CENSURES.

"Were it in my power I would have built a church where I only made my *Church-History*." (*Appeal*, pt. i. p. 51.)



THE publication of the *Church-History* soon after March, 1655, was the great literary event of Fuller's life, it being unquestionably his greatest work. The smaller histories and biographies which he had already issued, make it clear that the bias of his mind was towards ecclesiastical story. There is reason to believe that the design of an adequate national History of the Church was conceived by Fuller at an early period in life. By 1642 he had surveyed the whole project, and thenceforward he regarded it as a life-work. In the year named he made prayerful promise that if he fell on better days, it would "then encourage me to count it freedom to serve two apprenticeships (God spinning out the thick thread of my life so long) in writing the *Ecclesiastical History* from Christ's time to our days, if I shall from remoter parts be so planted as to enjoy the benefit of walking and standing libraries, without which advantages the best vigilancy doth but vainly dream to undertake such a task."¹ His unsettled life during the succeeding eight or ten years, when (as

¹ *Holy State* : To the Reader.

he put it) he had rather to study to live than live to study, freed him, in his view, from the self-imposed obligation. "I had ever since," he says, "quitted all thoughts of writing any church-history." His gradual collection of materials shows, however, that he had never wholly laid aside the favourite project, at which at first he only worked fitfully. Two inducements urged him to complete his task. He had, firstly, created an expectation which was not to be easily allayed. The Muse of the Cotswold Hills and the Principal of a Scotch University¹ had already given expression to a general feeling. Moreover, about the time of its publication, the author was again reminded of the work, already long over due, in the following punning lines:—

"Vpon Mr. Fullers Booke called Pisgah-sight.

Fuller of wish, than hope, methinks it is,
 For me to expect a fuller work than this,
 Fuller of matter, fuller of rich sense,
 Fuller of Art, fuller of Eloquence ;
 Yet dare I not be bold, to intitle this
 The fullest work ; the Author fuller is,
 Who, though he empty not himself, can fill
 Another fuller, yet continue still
 Fuller himself, and so the Reader be
 Always in hope a fuller work to see."²

There was, secondly, room for an adequate work of the kind ; for although, as Fuller pointed out in 1660, our land since the Reformation had yielded ecclesiastical historians "of as tall parts and large performances as any nation in Christendom,"³ a native Eusebius had not yet appeared as the predecessor of Strype, Collier, and Milner, in the succeeding centuries. Many English scholars, during their long leisure in the troubles, made attempts to supply what was a felt want. Among others, Bishop Mountagu, the author of *Apello Caesarem*, laboured at such a project, 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."⁴ Elsewhere Fuller regretted that, through the civil distempers, English historians were seldom

¹ See pp. 492 and 502.

² Page 62 of *Choyce Drollery : Songs and Sonnets. Being a collection of divers excellent pieces of Poetry, of severall eminent Authors. Never before printed. London. Printed by J. G. for Robert*

Pollard, at the Ben Johnson's head behind the Exchange, and John Sweeting, at the Angel in Popes-head Alley. 1656. (Bodl. Lib.)

³ *Worthies*, chap. x. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.* § Bucks, p. 132.

apprehended truly and candidly, "save of such of their own persuasion."¹

Under such circumstances Fuller kept to his task of writing a sober, pleasant, and impartial history; now answering the remonstrances of his friends by witty excuses, now feeding their hopes by further promises. He often quoted, against his friends, the proverb, "All Church-work is slow."² Heylyn, who jeered him for his "starts for recreation in the Holy Land" (referring to the *Pisgah-Sight*), was answered that that book, indeed, was no part of church building, yet it was "the clearing of the floor or foundation thereof, by presenting the performances of Christ and His apostles in Palestine!"³ Fuller further said, in the *Pisgah-Sight*, that notwithstanding the difficulties still in his way of completion (1651), he hoped in God to effect his purpose in competent time, "might my endeavours meet with a quiet residence, and proportionable encouragement for such undertakings;" and in the third book he said that in God's due time he was in some hope to finish it by His assistance.⁴ When the *Pisgah* was off his hands, if not before (see *Appeal*, iii. 629), he began more steadily to prepare the *Church-History* for the press; and from that time he worked at it with a diligence that would seem remarkable, were the author regarded apart from other well-nigh super-human literary workers of his days. Allusions in the work,⁵ as

¹ *Appeal*, pt. i, chap. i, p. 1 (284).

Up to this point the modern edition of this entertaining work has been used. Henceforth the passages are quoted from the original folio, H. H. Gibbs, Esq., of St. Dunstan's, London, having lent me his very fine copy. The corresponding page of Nichols' ed. is added, as above, in brackets.

² *Church-Hist.*: To the Reader. Fuller elsewhere quotes this proverb: "The mention of St. Mary's [Camb.] mindeth me of church-work indeed, so long it was from the founding to the finishing thereof." (*Hist. of Camb.* sect. vi. § 2.) "This siege [of Tyre, A.D. 1187] was church-work, and therefore went on slowly." (*Holy Warre*, iii. III.) "The Old Knight [Sir Roger de Coverley] turning about his Head twice or thrice to take a Survey of this great Metropolis, bid me observe how thick the City was set with churches, and that there was scarce a single steeple on this side Temple Bar. *A most heathenish Sight!* says Sir Roger; *There is no Religion at this end*

the Town. The fifty new churches will very much mend the prospect; but Church-Work is slow—Church-Work is slow!" (*Spectator*, No. 383.)

³ *Appeal*, pt. i. 317.

⁴ "To the Reader." Book iii. p. 432.

⁵ Fuller had in view a more modern date than when, under the year 1254, he wrote thus: "England began now to surfeit of more than thirty years' peace and plenty, which produced no better effects than *ingratitude* to God and *mur-muring* at their king. Many active spirits, whose minds were above their means, offended that others beneath them (as they thought) in *merit*, were above them in *employment*, cavilled at many errors in the King's Government, being State-Donatists, maintaining, 'the perfection of a Commonwealth might and ought to be attained.' A thing easy in the *theory*, impossible in the *practice*, to conform the actions of men's corrupted natures to the exact ideas in men's imaginations." (iii. 66.) He had the conduct of the Londoners during the civil war in his mind when writing his

well as occasional actual dates,¹ indicate a lengthened period of compilation; and they enable us to judge that Fuller began to prepare it for the press about 1648—a date corresponding to his entering upon his "quiet residence" at Waltham Abbey. He himself says that the first three books, which extend to the year 1370, were mainly written "in the reign of the late King, as appeareth by the passages then proper for the government;" and that the other nine were made "since Monarchy was turned into a State." By 1652 it was so far advanced that on the 9th of September, John Stafford entered it at Stationers' Hall as "a Tract called *The Church Historie of Brittain*," it being licensed by Mr. Joseph Caryl. For some reason the publication of it was interrupted. It was re-entered by Williams (who actually published it) under its full title on the 14th of January, 1655-6. Fuller says himself that, though late, it was "brought with much difficulty to an end."

In connection with its long preparation he records a pleasant anecdote in the brief address to the reader, "An ingenious gentleman, some months since, in jest-earnest advised me to make haste with my history of the Church of England, for fear (said he) lest the Church of England be ended before the history thereof!" This witty gentleman was said by Oldys² to have been EDWARD WATERHOUSE, ESQ., the author (*inter alia*) of *A Short Narrative of the late dreadful Fire in London, 1667*, where he speaks of the "ingenious Dr. Fuller, who will be more valued in after ages, as most are, than in their own." He contributed to Fuller's *Worthies* the account of Sir Edward Waterhouse; in which the author says, "Reader, I doubt not but thou art sensible of the alteration and improvement of my language in this character, owing both my intelligence and expressions unto Edward Waterhouse, now [1661] of Sion College, Esq., who, to revive the memory of his namesake and great uncle, furnished me with these instructions."³

Despondent as Fuller occasionally seems as to the condition of the Church and the Clergy, he was not without hope of an ultimate restoration. He hesitates not to say, on almost the first page of his book, "Blessed be God, the Church of England is still (and long may it be) in being, though disturbed, distempered, distracted: God help and heal her most sad condition." And on the engraved plate of the wreck of Lichfield Cathedral,

Hist. Camb. (1655), and making allusion to a charter to Cambridge in which London was not prejudiced, he said: "So careful were our kings always of that city; but whether that city reciprocally

of them, let others enquire." (Sect. i. § 32.)

¹ 1651, 1652, 1654, &c.

² *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2060.

³ *Worthies*, § Hartfordsh. p. 22.

he has written under the arms of the See the significant prophecy—RESVRGAM.¹

One cause of the delay in publication arose from the extension of his plan. Originally he intended to stop at the death of King James.² When, indeed, he had ended the reign of Elizabeth, some dissuaded him (as he states) from advancing further, on the plea that the story of modern times must not be written by any living. Fuller combats this opinion (in the admirable dedicatory epistle to the tenth book), deeming it both disgraceful to historians, and prejudicial to posterity. Under the latter head he says that such intentions, long delayed, are at last defeated; and instances the young Greek, who, when moved by his mother to marry, returned that, as yet, it was *too soon*; and some years after pleaded that then it was *too late*. "So some say, Truth is not ripe enough to be written in the age we live in; which proveth rotten too much for the next generation faithfully to report, when the impresses of memorable matters are almost worn out; the histories then written having more of the author's hand than footsteps of truth therein. Sure I am, the most informative histories to posterity, and such as are most highly prized by the judicious, are such as were written by the eye-witnesses thereof,—as Thucydides, the reporter of the Peloponesian war."³ Fuller likens contemporary historians to the two messengers, Ahimaaz and Cushai, who carried tidings to David. He proceeds:—

"*Ahimaaz* is imitated by such historians who leave that unwritten which they suspect will be unwelcome. These follow the rule *Summa lex salus authoris*; when they meet with any necessary but dangerous truth, pass it over with a blank, flourished up with some ingenious evasion. Such writers succeed to plain *Cushai* in their relations, who give a true account of actions, and, to avoid all exasperating terms (which may make a bad matter worse in relating it), use the most lenitive language in expressing distasteful matter, adventuring with their own danger to procure the information of others" (*i.e.* that others may be informed). After referring to a just fear that records were not so carefully kept in "these so many and sudden changes," as in former ages, he gives his views as to

¹ Bk. iv. 174.

² Bk. x. p. 90.

³ So also he had said in *Holy Warre*: "Tyrius, our author, is above exception; for being both a politic statesman and pious prelate, no doubt his pen striketh the true and even stroke betwixt King and Patriarch. Besides, he might well

see the truth of this matter, writing in a well-proportioned distance of time from it. Those who live too near the stories they write, oftentimes willingly mistake through partiality; and those who live too far off, are mistaken by uncertainties, the footsteps of truth being almost worn out with time." (Bk. ii. 50.)

the duty of an historian: "I know Machiavel was wont to say, That he who undertakes to write a history, must be of no religion: if so, he himself was the best qualified of any in his age to be a good historian. But I believe his *meaning* was much better than his *words*, intending therein that a writer of histories must not discover his inclination in religion to the prejudice of truth: Levi-like, who said to his father and mother, 'I have not seen them,' owning no acquaintance of any relations. This I have endeavoured to my utmost in this book [The Reign of King James]; knowing, as that oil is adjudged the best that hath no taste at all, so that historian is preferred who hath the least tangle of partial reflections.¹ However, some candour of course is due to such historians (wherein the courtesy not so great in *giving* as the injury in *detaining* it) which run the chiding of these present times in hope that after ages may excuse them. And I am confident that these my labours shall find the same favour (which may be in mere men, should be in all gentlemen, must be in true Christians), the rather because this book appeareth patronised by a dedication to your honour," viz. Lord Bruce, son to the first Earl of Elgin.

In the spirit of these opinions, which do honour to Fuller's historic genius, he deals with many debateable topics. Thus, of the Lambeth Articles (1595): "I perceive I must tread tenderly because I go not, as before, on men's graves, but am ready to touch the quick of some yet alive. I know how dangerous it is to follow Truth too near to the heels; yet better it is that the teeth of an historian be struck out of his head for writing the Truth, than that they remain still and rot in his jaws, by feeding too much on the sweetmeats of flattery."²

In spite of the author's exercise of sound critical principles, and of his manifest attempts to act up to their spirit, his critic, Dr. Heylyn (who is about to come into notice from his connection with this work), fastening on that passage in which Fuller has indicated the portion written in the reign of the King, misrepresented its meaning, and drew from it an uncharitable conclusion. But Fuller did not allow his history to serve the time; and never forgot his historic dignity in giving judgment upon public matters: whether it was monarchy or state, the truth did not suffer at his hands. "Not to urge that he has said too much on the other side," says a critic, "to justify such a supposition [as that Fuller's candour was a

¹ He had said in his *Holy Warre* that "a true historian should be neither party, advocate or judge, but a bare witness." (Bk. ii. chap. 44.)

² Bk. ix. 232.

peace-offering to the men in power], his whole manner is that of an honest man, striving to be impartial, even if not always successful. Had he been the unprincipled time-server this calumny would represent him, he would have suppressed a little more.¹ One of Heylyn's inferences, *e.g.*, was that Fuller had in the latter part conformed his language to the new State doctrine by which the making and unmaking of kings is vested in the people. "My language," said Fuller, "forbeareth such personal passages on the King and his posterity, which in his lifetime were as consistent with my loyalty, as, since, inconsistent with my safety;" and he instances his assertion that King John's offspring should flourish in full and free power when the Chair of Pestilence should be burnt to ashes. He adds that if Heylyn could in the last nine books discover a syllable sounding to the disparagement of the King's person or power, to any impartial ear, "let me, who so long fed on the King's large diet, be justly famished for my unthankfulness."² There are many passages in the History in which the author's devotion to the King and monarchy is very plainly expressed. Such is the case in the well-known passage in which Fuller treats on the "usurpation" of Stephen. Under it he represents the people as having a "reservation of their loyalty; and, erecting a throne in their hearts, with their prayers and tears mounted Queen Maud on the same."³ Upon Fuller's account of Stephen's reign, his editor, Mr. Nichols, made the following pertinent observations:—

"To those who recollect that this *Church-History* was published in 1655, when Cromwell's Major-Generals were rampant in power, it is unnecessary to point out the fine combination of true courage and prudence which is exhibited in these ten paragraphs [30–39 of Cent. xii. Bk. iii.]. Though the reasoning in this discussion ostensibly referred only to the usurpation of Stephen, it was then generally and tacitly interpreted to be appropriate to the case of all usurpers, but especially to that of Cromwell. In 1689 these passages were perused and quoted with lively interest by another generation: both the conforming and the nonjuring clergy and laity viewed Fuller as having here depicted, if not predicted, with the practised hand of a master, the different motives by which they felt themselves severally swayed,—either in conscientious adhesion to the abdicated monarch, or in equally conscientious compliance with the new government of King William."⁴

¹ Professor Rogers, p. 49.

² *Appeal*, iii. 6 (560).

³ Bk. iii. 26.

⁴ Nichols's 1868 ed. of *Ch.-Hist.* i. 353. This passage is not in the first ed.

Partly anticipating the adverse criticisms which he foresaw the more recent part of his history would provoke, and being convinced that for his own comfort it was (as he put it) "high time to knock off," he was nevertheless ultimately urged "by importunity" to continue it even beyond the reign of James I.; and he therefore appropriately closed it, with an air of solemnity, at the death of Charles I.

It is much to our advantage that the author made these final extensions: Waterhouse's opinion that Fuller would be valued by after-ages has in this respect proved true. Leaving out of the question the valuable documents which are quoted, these last historically-important books afford a *contemporary picture* of a deeply interesting period of English history from an authoritative pen, on the nib of which (as our author happily expresses it) he had not leaned heavily. His views on the disputed topics of his time, and his sketches of the chief historical personages, are remarkably free from that prejudice and passion which is found more or less in nearly all our Church-historians. As regards his opinions generally, he was (to quote here his words in reference to the Sabbath question) "of the judgement of moderate men, as I have clearly and largely stated in my *Church-History*, and desire to die in the maintenance thereof."¹ Thus we derive from him candid accounts of the Hampton Court Conference, "with a very vivid picture of the British Solomon in all his glory presiding at a theological tournament;" of the Convocation of 1640; of the riots at Westminster Abbey on Dec. 26 of the same year; of the efforts to save the Church when the Long Parliament met; besides very many anecdotic details that also threw a charm over the other great work of the garrulous author. The portraits of eminent men are likewise drawn by a very faithful hand, being taken either from life, or the relation of his friends; and they have as neat and artistic a setting as those of Clarendon. The sketch of *Laud*, and the account of his administration, are especially just: as regards which Fuller said afterwards, in reply to the carpings of his critic, that he had written as much as he durst in *Laud's* due praise, "and though less than his friends expected, more than I am thanked for." He was equally judicial in what he has said of *Williams*, who represented the opposite school of Churchmanship. A very honourable spirit of fairness characterises his sketches of the more famous Puritans, as, e.g., *John Dod* (see page 43). While his notices of these three representative men are neither eulogies nor censures, they

¹ *Appeal*, ii. 525.

well exhibit his impartiality. To the leading Puritans, indeed, Fuller at least attributes conscientiousness, commending them "not for their nonconformity, but other qualities of piety, &c." His words often show a downright love for them: minded like Luther in this respect, he might give for his motto: *In quo aliquid Christi video, illum diligo*. His treatment of them and of the other parties to whom ecclesiastically he was opposed is thus in marked contrast with the determined partisanship to be found among writers of his own class and time. The other portions of his history reveal the like sobriety of judgment, and his opinions on important and disputed topics are characterised by a marked soundness. Russell, who devoted four chapters in *Memorials of Fuller* to a criticism of the History, said that nothing could "more clearly prove the impartial spirit of Fuller than his delineation of Wickliffe and his doctrines: nothing can more clearly evince the Romish tendencies of the school of Laud than Heylyn's uncandid reflections on this part of the *Church-History*."¹ Coleridge thus comments on the passage, "Let no foreigner insult on the infelicity of our land in bearing this monster (Pelagius), Bk. i. c. v.": "It raises, or ought to raise, our estimation of Fuller's good sense and the general temperance of his mind, when we see the heavy weight of prejudices, the universal code of his age, incumbent on his judgment, and which nevertheless left sanity of opinion the general character of his writings: this remark was suggested by the term 'monster' attached to the worthy Cambrian Pelagius—the teacher *Arminianismi ante Arminium*."²

The printing of the great volume was an undertaking too large for one publisher to engage in, and it was accordingly given to three or four. This distribution of the work explains the want of uniformity in the typography, the irregular paging, and the errors which arose as well on this account as through Fuller's residence in the country. We gather from the *Appeal* that during the printing of the book it was his custom to take journeys to London to watch its progress; for, apologising for an error, he states: "Here I will truly acquaint the reader with the state of this matter. The posting press, which, with the time and tide, will stay for no man, mistaking my copy complete, and not attending my coming to London that morning from Waltham, clapt it up imperfect. I must, therefore, deservedly take all the blame and shame thereof on myself, and here *in this sheet* do public penance for the same, promising amendment to the full, God willing, in the next edition."³

¹ Page 242.² *Notes on Eng. Divines*, i. 124.³ Pt. i. 49 (341).

As to Fuller's dates, which were said to have been often misplaced in consequence of his elaborate columnar arrangement, his editor, Mr. Brewer, who made it his business to authenticate them, was not well rewarded for his pains; for in dates Fuller was always singularly exact.¹ And though Mr. Brewer found more errors arising from other sources, he vouches for his author's general care and accuracy. Fuller was also shown to be exact in his transcripts of the important documents which were first published in the book. The author himself claimed for these papers (mainly transcribed by his own hand) that they were "most critically exact." Similar is Mr. Brewer's testimony: "A careful examination of Fuller's authorities with the statements made in his narrative, has ended in a result favourable to his industry, judgment, and accuracy." But ever since the time of Heylyn and Nicolson, Fuller's History has been regarded as incorrect and untrustworthy. The latter prelate, himself a good antiquary, said, with a strange disregard of truth and charity, that *The Worthies* was sent abroad to apologise for the mistakes in the *Church-History*!

It might have been expected that errors should occur in a volume which was made up to a great degree of personal recollections, and the reading of former days. The author's gift of memory does not seem to have always faithfully served him. Yet another accomplished editor has thus spoken of him: "To me, indeed, the matter of highest wonder is, that the points are, comparatively, so few on which subsequent historians show him to have been mistaken: and, after all the collateral aids which he received, I give him full credit for a goodly portion of that compass and strength of memory for which he is celebrated in English story, and which in this extensive work must have been severely taxed." It is very clear that Fuller's errors have been magnified by the critics. Some of the defects were courteously pointed out to the historian by his friends.

It appears that the author was once in doubt as to the exact form in which he should cast the abundant literary materials that he had at command. He projected, *e.g.*, a history of Oxford; and he had in view a wider outline for the History than that which was finally taken, *viz.* the comprehension of foreign Churches. From this latter project "a bitter critic" deterred

¹ Fuller used to say that without chronology history was but a heap of tales. He termed chronology "a surly, churlish cur," which had "bit many a man's fingers who had causelessly meddled therewith." (*Pisgah-Sight*, iii. 414.) "I may truly say with Pererius that we ought

liberally to pardon those whose feet have failed them in the slippery ways of chronology, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedless reckoning." (*Raleigh's Hist. World*, bk. iii. cap. I, § 6.)

him. His book, like his other great folio, was thus essentially English; being written, as he himself said, to confute that accusation "commonly charged on Englishmen, that they are very knowing in foreign parts, but ignorant in their own country." He even omitted the ecclesiastical history of both Ireland and Scotland. For the latter country he had a deep but good-humoured hatred, and often gave quaint expression to his aversion. In one place, having traced one of James the First's progresses up to the Border, he left the monarch to the Scotch historians: for might his pen be plundered by the Borderers or moss-troopers if offering to cross the Tweed into another country! Elsewhere he said that none would pity him if he pricked his fingers with meddling with a thistle; and heartily hoped that the principles of Buchanan, if attempting to cross the Tweed, might be drowned in the passage! When arguing in favour of Duns Scotus being born in England, he used the curious argument, that it was no validity to prove him Scotch from his name, it being "a common sir-name amongst us; as, some four years since, *when the Scotch were enjoined to depart this land*, one Mr. English, in London, was then the most considerable merchant of the Scotch nation."¹

All Fuller's critics overlooked the modesty of the title-page of his folio, which said that he "endeavoured" the history. Many more works of less value have been ushered in with larger pretensions. Fuller, who especially directed Heylyn's attention to this word, makes a division of mankind into three ranks—*intenders*, to whom he assigns the lowest form; *performers*, who take the highest; and *endeavourers*, who are made to occupy the middle form. As the latter place best suited his nature, he sat down on it, as though he were aware of his own imperfections. "Let the reader consider with himself," says he, "whether he did not expect what I never promised: who, being unwilling to be cast by the verdict of the ingenuous, for laying my own action too high, have not farced the first page of my book, (like a mountebank's bill,) pretending no higher but to *endeavour*."² No less ingenuous are the reasons which encouraged him in his task:—

"First: I did hope that what was acceptable to God would not be contemptible to good men; having read, 'If there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not,' 2 Cor. viii. 12. Secondly: seeing this my willingness was attended with a competency of books, records, friends, intelligence, strength, health, and leisure (be all spoken, not to my praise, but God's glory), I did hope something worth the reader's acceptance might be produced. Lastly: though failing

¹ Bk. xi. 164; *Appeal*, iii. 6 (560); *Ch.-Hist.* iii. 97. ² *Appeal*, chap. iv. 4 (289).

in what I undertook, I hoped to perform what might be useful and advantageous to abler pens undertaking the same task, and—to use my own (as who should forbid?) expression—my beams might be scaffolds, my corner-filling-stones for his more beautiful building."¹

The *Church-History* contained above one thousand pages. The way in which this mass of matter is portioned out is very curious. The preface indicates that there are twelve books; but the actual history comprised only eleven. The early books are each subdivided into "centuries," but the later into "sections;" and both are composed of numbered paragraphs. The arrangement is not confusing, for one cannot read any portion of it without feeling that all is most methodically ordered. But "his method," as one of his admirers has said, "consists—if we may be allowed such an abuse of language—in a contempt of all method. He has so constructed his works as to secure himself the indulgence of perpetual digression; of harbouring and protecting every vagrant story that may ask shelter in his pages; of rambling hither and thither as the fit takes him; and of introducing all sorts of things where, when, and how he pleases. To this end he cut up his *histories* into little paragraphs or sections which often have as little connection with each other as with the general subject. . . . The little spaces which divide his sections from one another, like those between the compartments in a cabinet of curiosities, are thought sufficient lines of demarcation between the oddest incongruities."²

Fuller dedicated the first portion to the chief patron of his last folio, viz. ESME STUART, Duke of Richmond, then a boy of five years, the death of the father in the prime of life being then recent (30th March, 1655). Fuller was well known to the elder nobleman, whom he greatly respected. The intimacy of his relation is illustrated by the reference to him in the dedication before us:—

"Wicked men," says Fuller, "think this world too good, God knows it too bad, for His servants to live in. Henceforward I shall not wonder that good men die so soon, but that they live so long; seeing wicked men desire their room here on earth, and God their company in heaven. No wonder then if your good father was so soon translated to happiness, and his *grace* advanced into *glory*. He was pleased to give me a text some weeks before his death, of the words of our Saviour to the probationer convert, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven,' Mark xii. 34; that is, as the words there import, from the state of salvation. But before my sermon could be, his life was, finished, and he, in the real acceptance thereof, possessed of heaven and happiness. Thus was I disappointed (O that this were the greatest loss by the death of so worthy person!) of a patron to whom I intended the dedication of this first part of my history. I after was entered

¹ *Appeal*, chap. iv. 4 (p. 289).

² Rogers, p. 41.

on a resolution to dedicate it to his memory, presuming to defend the innocency and harmlessness of such a dedication by precedents of unquestioned antiquity. But I intended also to surround the pages of the dedication with black, not improper, as to his relation, so expressive of the present sad condition of our distracted Church. But seasonably remembering how the altar Ed (only erected for commemoration) was misinterpreted by the other tribes for superstition, Joshua xxii. 11, I conceived it best to cut off all occasions of cavil from captious persons, and dedicate it to you his son and heir. Let not your Grace be offended that I make you a patron at second-hand, for though I confess you are my refuge in relation to your deceased father, you are my choice in reference to the surviving nobility. God sanctify your tender years with true grace, that in time you may be a comfort to your mother, credit to your kindred, and honour to your nation."

The Duke, shortly after the execution of the King, his kinsman, had retired to private life, "where," says Lloyd, "he was guessed at, not known; where he saw the world unseen, where he made yielding, conquest; where, cheerful and unconcerned in expectation, he provided for the worst, and hoped for the best, in the constant exercise of that religion which he and his maintained more effectually with their examples than with their sword; doing as much good in encouraging the orthodox by his presence, as in relieving them by his bounty." Lloyd adds in a note, that the Duke "allowed £500 a year for that purpose; besides that he invited Mr. Thruscrosse, &c., to accept of an honourable salary, to take the freedom of his house and the advantage of his protection." "He pined away in his house, mourning for his Majesty's person, whom he would have died for, and when that could not be, died with his innocent temper, having rendered him the King's bosom friend, as his conscience made him his good subject."¹ Heylyn adds that the Duke's extremity of grief cast him into a fever, and that fever cast him into his grave.

As has been hinted, this is not the *only* dedication. Each *book* is inscribed at length to other noble patrons; and every century, or section, has also a short dedication prefixed. There are thus no less than seventy-five dedicatory epistles addressed to eighty-five patrons and patronesses—a circumstance which evidences Fuller's popularity and a wide acquaintance. Perhaps no writer has transmitted so prominently to posterity so long a list of patrons. Such an example had been set before, but on a far smaller scale, by Chapman and Spencer. Swift, in after days, censured Dryden for dedicating a work to *three* patrons: but our author wrote dedications to three times ten times three! Fuller tells us that "many, if not most, of my patrons

¹ *Memoires*, 336.

invited themselves purposely to encourage my endeavours:” we fear, however, that spite of this the elder D’Israeli would characterise it as “carrying literary mendicity pretty high.” Once only did Fuller think it necessary to comment on these troops of patrons: alluding to Henry the Seventh’s law as to retainers, he is right glad that there was no law to prevent any author of a book from multiplying patrons “sans number” as driving on no hurtful design, but only the protection of his own endeavours.¹ He seems to have begun the History with the intention of assigning his patrons to the sections in alphabetical order, but soon changed that method, for we find him telling a neighbour, one of his patrons, in allusion to Arthur’s round table, “Nihil interest quo ordine Patroni mei collocentur, cum in circulari formâ inter *primum* et *unum* nihil sit discriminis.”² For each patron he has a ready compliment; but one may indulge the hope that his sentiments are more sincere than might be inferred from his early saying that epitaphs and dedications are credited alike.

These dedications form an interesting and distinct feature of the book. Their great *biographical* value is elsewhere commented upon. The chief dedications (*viz.* those to the Books) are eleven in number. In each he discusses some special subject, such as the period of conversion, worldly honour, &c. They form short essays, and are not so well known as they deserve to be.

Fuller’s patrons are in the main chosen from those families who were noted for their eminent loyalty to the King, or who showed their devotion to the Church, at a time when the cause of both seemed hopeless. The list utterly disproves the charge afterwards brought up by Heylyn, and repeated by Nicolson and others, that the book was intended to gain the favour of the ruling powers. Stout “Church-and-king men” themselves, they vouch for Fuller’s loyalty. Mr. Brewer, after stating that when the History was printed, the power and influence of the Republicans were at their greatest height, “yet so far was he from seeking favour with the uppermost party, or shrinking, like many others, from the avowal of his sentiments, that there is scarcely one among those whom he has thus recorded as his friends, who had not suffered in his person or his property for adherence to the royal party.”³ It must be said, however,

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* iv. 155.

² *Ibid.* x. 44.

³ *Preface to Ch.-Hist.* The second book is dedicated to HENRY, MARQUESS OF DORCHESTER and (second) Earl of

Kingston. Fuller here deals with the low-ness of learning among the old nobility, in order to assure his Lordship that he is a “real refutation of that scandalous position which some maintain, that such

that there are in the epistles occasional passages unworthy of the character of a divine. But this mode of address was a characteristic of his time; and something of it is due, as a critic has pointed out, to "the gratitude or necessities of the author"—certainly the former rather than the latter, in the case of Fuller, who was in good circumstances when he wrote them. "But that any author," continues the critic, "even an hungry one, should be brought to write them, is a wonder; that any patron could, either with or without a blush, appropriate them, is a still greater one."

Far more variety and amusement are to be found in the minor dedications, which, addressed to representatives of every

who are generally seen in *all* arts, cannot be eminently skilful in any *one*." This nobleman, who had been one of the King's Commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, was highly esteemed for his abilities both as a scholar and an author.—The *third* book is inscribed to another child-patron, LORD WM. BEAUCHAMP (see page 301).

—As his "obliged servant and chaplain," Fuller dedicated book iv. to the EARL OF CARLISLE. — The author's friendship with the EARL OF MIDDLESEX is commemorated in the *fifth* book, where that nobleman's splendid donation of books is gratefully acknowledged.—The next book, which formed the history of the English Abbeys, was likewise inscribed to a child-patron, WILLIAM, heir to James COMPTON, third Earl of Northampton. Fuller alluded in the dedication to his former defence of the literary patronage of infants, and said that his patron was selected for that particular book because he had had an ancestor in the esteem of Henry VIII. who yet had no share of the Church lands. "And now," adds Fuller, pleasantly, "let me make your lordship smile a little, acquainting you with a passage in the legend of *Nicholas*, a popish saint: they report of him, that when an infant, hanging on his mother's breast, he fasted Wednesdays and Fridays, and could not be urged to suck more than once a-day. But, good my lord, be not so ceremonious, or rather superstitious, to imitate his example: wean not yourself until you be weaned, and let all days be alike to your honour. I dare assure you, no spark of sanctity the less for a drop of milk the more. A good case is no hindrance to a precious jewel, and a healthful body no

abasement to a holy soul. And when your lordship shall arrive at riper years, consult your own extraction, as the best remembrancer of worthy behaviour."—The reign of Queen Elizabeth (Bk. ix.) falls to the lot of GEORGE BERKELEY, son to George, Lord Berkeley, to whom he had already alluded as "the paramount Mecaenas of my studies" (Bk. iii. 142). He adds in the dedication: "As your eminent bounty to me may justly challenge the choicest of my best endeavours, so the particular motive inducing me to dedicate this book to your honour, is because it containeth the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to whom you are so nearly related." These and other expressions indicate a considerable amount of intimacy between the nobleman and his future chaplain.—The reign of King James (Bk. x.) is dedicated to ROBERT LORD BRUCE, son of Thomas, first Earl of Elgin. He was distinguished for his loyalty to the King during the troubles. He afterwards became Earl of Aylesbury, and was one of the Lords sent to the Hague to welcome Charles II. Fuller, who selected him for this particular book because his grandfather had been Privy Councillor to King James, was intimate with him: "When I communicated my design [of *The Worthies*] to him, he offered this grand objection against it—that no industry could be so circumspect, or intelligence so comprehensive, but that many memorable persons would escape his observation." (*Worthies*, chap. xxv.) He was created a baron in 1664.—Finally, King Charles's reign is inscribed to the eldest son of LORD MOUNTAGU (see chap. xxi.). He played an important part in the Restoration.

station in life, and composed with more freedom, are replete with all Fuller's spirit and mannerisms. Some are admirable specimens of such compositions. Our ready writer is at no loss for sentiments appropriate to the particular patron addressed; for it is his careful desire “fitly to suit my dedications to my respective patrons.” A difficult matter, sometimes, even to Fuller, who, equal to the occasion, brings about an ingenious and laughable fitness that would appear forced in the case of another author. Having hit upon some odd turn of thought, he expresses it briefly and quaintly; and his fertility of invention has kept him from being classed among the “unhappy authors” that Southey spoke of when he said that “a dedication has often caused a greater consumption of thumb and finger-nail than the whole book besides.”

Several of Fuller's characteristic letters are quoted *passim*. We need only add here the following:—

“To the Right Worshipful, SIR RICHARD SHUGBOROUGH,¹ of Shugborough, in Warwickshire.—Master Haward returned this answer to Queen Mary (demanding the causes of his coming to Court), that it was partly to see her Highness, and partly that her Highness should see him;—an answer which, though more witty than court-like, yea more blunt than witty, she took in good part. You will not be offended at this my dedication, partly that I may know you, partly that I may be known unto you. Besides, being informed that you love to have your hospital table handsomely attended with ancient servitors, I presumed that this section, containing much of memorable antiquity, would not be unwelcome unto you.”²

The tenth century he has taken care to dedicate to JAMES LANGHAM, ESQ., because “numerus Denarius semper aliquid augustum sonet. Sic in Papicolarum Globulus, quibus preculas suas numerant decimus (ut *Decurio*) aliis magnitudine praestat.”³

He occasionally addresses two or three persons in a single dedication. Thus, *Mr. Peter Moroloys* and *Mr. Thomas Rowse*, merchants, London, are associated together here as in *Pisgah-Sight*. Both were settlers from Holland; and Fuller says, that as their fathers “found safety amongst the English, some of the English, to my knowledge, have felt bounty from their children.”⁴ *William* and *Robert Christmas* are also connected.

¹ He was knight of the shire for Warwick, 1641; but taking an active part in the war, he was disabled for sitting. On one occasion he was left for dead after an engagement on a hill which he had fortified in his estate. He was kept prisoner, but purchased his freedom at a high price. He died in 1656.—THE THOMAS SHUGBOROUGH, of Byrdenbury,

in Warwickshire, Esq., to whom Fuller dedicates another section (Bk. x. 105), and whose “bounty to public books” is commended, may have been the younger brother of Sir Richard. Sir Thomas is referred to in the *Worthies*.

² Bk. v. p. (189).

³ Book ii. 123.

⁴ Book x. 81.

Giles Vandepit, [Edward] *Clegat*, and *Peter Matthews*, are put together with the remark that a three-fold cord is not easily broken. Mr. Clegat, it seems, was an Englishman, the others being Dutchmen, and in the order of their names Fuller sees the "emblem of the late agreement, which God long continue."¹ He tells two other of his patrons that they are placed together "that the small stock of my history [he has reached Book ix.] may hold out the better amongst my many friends and neighbours. And this my joint-dedication is the more proper because you live in the same city, are of the same profession, and (if not formerly) this may minister the welcome occasion of your future acquaintance."² The two gentlemen thus quaintly introduced were *Mr. Hamond Ward* and *Mr. Richard Fuller*, merchants.

Many of the dedications (*all but one in the History of Cambridge*) are written in Latin, in which language Fuller was eminently skilled. One of these was to his intimate friend GR. B., who is said by Russell to have been Gregory Browne, ancestor of Sir Robert Browne, M.P. for Ilchester, who died 1760. Of this epistle S. T. Coleridge said: "This Latin dedication is remarkably pleasing and elegant. Milton, in his classical youth, the æra of *Lycidas*, might have written it—only he would have given it in Latin verse."³

In this work we come upon fresh groups of patrons who in Bishop Nicolson's eyes were such as were most likely to make Fuller their due acknowledgments. The names affixed to the earliest sections (which were printed a few years before the latest), are apparently his chief personal friends, and as such we have recorded them.⁴

¹ Book xi. 197.

² Book ix. 189. See also *ante*, p. 17.

³ See *Ch.-Hist.* bk. ii. 59; Russell's *Memorials*, p. 65; *Notes on Eng. Divines*, i. 126.

⁴ Of the patrons yet to be noticed are the following:—*Theophilus Biddulph, Esq.*, whose favours are said to have been "so great unto your thankful friend (i. 17). He was among the citizens of London deputed to attend the King from the Hague to London in 1660, and was made a Bart. soon afterwards.—*Thomas Bide, Esq.*, of London, whose delight in mathematics Fuller had particularly observed (i. 27).—*Mr. Wm.* and *Mr. Robt. Christmas*, merchants, of London, "both brethren by birth, and by your joint bounty on my endeavours" (ii. 107). To one of them Fuller again alludes in *The Worthies* (§ Essex, p. 346), as "a great

promoter of my former and present endeavours." William Christmas married in 1653 a daughter of Thomas Adams, Esq., Dr. Nathaniel Hardy (afterwards Dean of Rochester), preaching the wedding sermon.—*Mr. John Robinson*, of London, who was related to Archbishop Laud, befriended Fuller in common with other loyal clergymen (iii. 47). Lloyd states that he saved Anthony Farindon from starving. The latter dedicated his collected sermons to Robinson, saying that they might "at least be a witness or manifesto of my deep apprehension of your many noble favours and great charity to me and mine, when the sharpness of the weather, and the roughness of the times, had blown all from us and well-nigh left us naked." Fuller, in his address, quotes a passage from Theophylact to the effect that the good deeds of benefactors should be pro-

In looking over this great array of dedications, we may see that it was not without reason that Dr. Heylyn ridiculed the writer for presenting his books “like the prayers of some old mendicants at the doors of their good masters and dames.”¹ Elsewhere the same author laughs at Fuller’s “good husbandry of raising a nursery” of patrons, the plan of which Fuller “had let us into.” He declared, moreover, that Fuller had in this way made the book bigger by forty pages at least; and that he was so ambitious of the number of his patrons that having but four leaves at the end of his history he discovers a particular benefactress to inscribe them to! This was Lady Eleanor Roe, whom Heylyn humorously compares to Roscius Regulus, the consul of half a day! South’s ridicule is noticed in Chap. xix.

Bishop Nicolson called in question Fuller’s motives in these dedications, saying that the “infant lords” and “rich aldermen” were not the only people whom he designed to flatter. If we may trust to the accuracy of the relation which follows,

claimed, though they be unwilling. “On which account I safely may, and justly must, publicly acknowledge your bounty to me.” Robinson, in 1660, was Lieutenant of the Tower, and was made Bart. in consideration of services to the monarchy. — Fuller also addresses *John Ferrars, Esq.*, of Tamworth Castle, in a mere midnight, “utterly unknowing you, and unknown to you,” but knowing that he was inclined by his extraction to be generous, “as I have found by one of your nearest relations” (iv. 195), *i.e.*, most likely, Lady Ann Archer; *Clifford Clifton, Esq.* (v. 226), who belonged to the Clifton family of Nottinghamshire, but who was heir to estates in Derbyshire and neighbouring counties; *Ralph Sadleir, Esq.*, of Stanton, to whom, as well as to his “other self,” “Anne, his virtuous consort” (she was the daughter of Lord Chief Justice Coke), the motto of the Inn-holders of London (“I was a stranger, and ye took me in”) was more properly applicable, “whose house is so the Inn-general to all poor people that the neighbourhood of a great and good common is not so advantageous as their vicinity thereunto” (vi. 282). He is casually mentioned in Walton’s *Angler*. — *Thomas Dockwray*, of Beds., Esq., whose “bountiful hand hath been a great sharer in advancing of this Church history” (vi. 361). — *Charles Cheney*, of Bucks., Esq., a most liberal patron, whose wife, alluded to by Fuller, was daughter to William, Mar-

quess of Newcastle (vii. 415). — *Edward Lloyd, Esq.*, who conferred “private courtesies” on Fuller (x. 60). — *John Cary*, of Stanstead, Herts., Esq., who “left the court before it left you; not deserting your attendance on your master” (xi. 135). The last section of all is inscribed to the *Lady Elianor Roe*, of whom he says: “I believe none of your sex in our nation hath travelled farther than yourself.” In his dedication Fuller alludes to his namesake, the pilot, who circumnavigated the world in the ship *Desire*: “Far be it from me to compare these my weak undertakings to his great adventures. Yet I may term this my book the *Desire*, as wherein I desire to please and profit all, justly to displease none. Many rocks and storms have I passed, by God’s blessing, and now am glad of so firm an anchorage as a dedication to your ladyship” (xi. 231 and p. 8 *ante*). — Lady Roe was the wife of “the truly honourable and well experienced statesman and traveller” Sir Thomas Roe, who spent the greater part of his life in endeavouring to bring about a Protestant alliance with the Reformed Churches. He was of an Essex family. Fuller has four other lady patronesses in this work, who have all been mentioned except *Lady Mary Fountaine*, of whom he says: “Your family, though not a nunnery, may be a religious house, seeing God hath multiplied you into a whole convent” (vi. 305).

¹ *Letter Combate*, 338.

Fuller sought out patrons for his great folio *after* its publication as well as *before*. Barnard, the author of the life of Dr. Heylyn, prefixed to the edition of Heylyn's *Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts* (1681), relates an incident to the point in the following highly exaggerated manner:—

“When monarchy and Episcopacy was trodden under foot, then did Heylyn stand up a champion in defence of both, and feared not to publish *The Stumblingblock of Disobedience* [1658] and his *Certamen Epistolare* [1659]; in which Mr. Baxter fled the field, because there was *impar congressus* betwixt him, and (as I may say) an old soldier of the King's, who had been used to fiercer combats with more famous Goliaths. Also Mr. Thomas Fuller was sufficiently chastised for his *Church-History*, as he deserved a most sharp correction, because he had been a son of the Church of England in the time of her prosperity, and now deserted her in her adverse fortune, and took to the Adversary's side: and it was then my hap, having some business with Mr. Taylor, my fellow-collegian in Lincoln College, then chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, to see Mr. Fuller make a fawning address to my Lord,¹ with his great Book of *Church-History* hugged under his arm, which he presented to the Keeper after an uncouth manner, as Horace describeth:

Sub ala

Fasciculum portas librorum ut rusticus agnum.—Epis. I. xiii. 13.²

The many falsities, defects, and mistakes of that book the Doctor [Heylyn] discovered and refuted.”³

Nathaniel Fiennes, M.P. for Banbury in the Long Parliament, was the second son of “Old Subtlety,” first Lord Say and Sele. Nathaniel, “a shrewd man,” and “of good parts and learning,” had been a Colonel in the army of the Parliament, and Speaker in the House of Lords. According to the act in *Scobell*, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for visiting the University

¹ “Whatever Fuller's inconsistencies may have been, Barnard was not a person from whom any aspersions of this sort could come with a good grace.” (Robertson's ed. of *Ecclesia Restaurata*, i. p. clviii.) “Certainly *not*,” says a MS. commentator in my copy. Barnard was of Queen's Coll. Camb., but going to Oxford, he took his Bachelor's degree “in the Pembrokean creation,” and was made a Fellow of Lincoln, 1648. In 1651 he took his degrees in Arts, and preached in and about Oxford. He married the daughter of Heylyn, then living at

Abingdon. He became owner of the wealthy rectory of Waddington, co. Lincoln, and conformed at the Restoration. (*Ath. Oxon.*)

² “Tuck beneath your arm these precious gifts, [she lifts,]
(As drunken Pyrrha does the wool
As rustics do a lamb.”—CONINGTON.

³ Robertson's ed. p. clviii.; the *Life* prefixed to the *Tracts*, p. xx., where the sentence about Mr. Taylor reads: “Fellow of Lincoln College in Oxon, and then,” &c.; adding after uncouth “rustical.”

of Oxford, 2nd Sept., 1654; and it was, mayhap, on the occasion of his visit immediately afterwards that Fuller saw him. In the spring of the year 1655, Fiennes, being a great favourite with the Protector, was made one of the Keepers of the Great Seal, which office he held at the Restoration.

In nearly every case Fuller gives the *armorial bearings* of his patrons, which are ingeniously incorporated with the initial letters of each chapter. These large cuts were the work of Fuller's kinsman, *Richard Seymere*, whose assistance the former has acknowledged, debating whether it were better that Seymer should be his friend or kinsman.¹ There is another mention of Seymer upon the plate of the Arms of the Mitred Abbeyes, upon which are engraved the shields of five of his patrons, omitted near the beginning and end of the work. “Know, reader,” he says, “the cutter in wood being sick, and the Press not staying his recovery, the arms of my Patrons, omitted in the body of the book, are supplied in these quarters.” Three of his patrons' shields are still, however, left vacant.

Fuller's essay called *The Good Herald*, in part explains the lavish Display of Heraldry in his works. Appended to the essay in question was a eulogy of Camden, “that most exact antiquary,” whose “pen for the main is sincere and impartial; and they who complain that Grantham steeple stands awry, will not set a straighter by it.”² Fuller's skill in the science (which, in common with Dr. Sanderson, he took pleasure in as a recreation) is acknowledged by Heylyn. One chapter in Book ii. of his history—*The Roll of Battle Abbey*, which he declares is not a deviation from his *Church-History*, and is inserted “by way of recreation of the reader”—is entirely devoted to heraldic matters, and it is illustrated by a double-paged plate of the arms of the “knights joined by the monks of Ely by William the Conqueror.” He says of this chapter:—

“If any say that I have gone too far³ in this subject who am no Herald by Profession, but only κήρυξ, *praeco*, a Crier, in the spiritual acception of

¹ Bk. iii. 101. See also p. 170 *anted.*

² *The Holy State*, page 137. Archbishop Trench quotes this saying (against certain who disparaged one whose excellencies they would have found it very difficult to imitate), as an instance of Fuller's skill in making a proverb-like saying sound like a proverb. (*Lect. on Proverbs*, iv. 77, 78.) “'Twas well said of Cleave-land, 'tis height makes Grantham Steeple stand awry.” (*Pope's Life of Ward*, chap. vii.)

³ In allusion to the Norman names, he says in his *Worthies* that he “so largely” had referred to them “that some have taxed me for tediousness therein, and I will not add a new obstinacy to my old error.” (Chap. xxiv.) Chap. xvi. in the same work is on heraldry. See also Fuller's remarks on “a rich bearing indeed,”—“a cross proper carried by Simon for our Saviour.” (*Pisgah*, iii. 344.) He has a description of the arms of the abbeyes in *Ch.-Hist.* vi. 321.

the office ; yea, that this savours of revenge ; as if, because so many in this age invade my calling, I in requital have made incursion into other men's professions, like men that take *Letters of Mart*, not caring whom they wrong so they repair themselves : let such know that I venture on Heraldry, not as a calling, but as an accessory quality for recreation. And, in evidence of my loyalty to the *King of Arms*, I submit what here I have written to their censure and correction, who have obliged me unto them with their many and great civilities."¹

Appended to the *History* was the account of the University of Cambridge, which Fuller regarded as the twelfth book. Nicolson, commenting on the author's thus annexing it to the history of the churches of Britain, adds, "most people think they ought not to be separated."² The author undertook this section of the work from the laudable desire to do honour to that seat of learning which bred him. It is often mentioned in the general history, in which he has embodied the earlier notices of Cambridge, as if he had not then intended to edit a separate work. On the other hand, he did propose to compile a History of the University of Oxford, and made promises to that effect.³ He is cautious not to make comparisons between the two Universities, remarking that he was sure that no pains need be taken to regulate their places, they having better learnt humility from the precept "In honour preferring one another." "Wherefore, I presume my Aunt Oxford will not be justly offended if in this book I give my own Mother the upper hand, and first begin with her history. Thus desiring God to pour His blessing on both, that neither may want milk for their children, or children for their milk, we proceed to the business." Dr. Wilkins afforded Fuller considerable help in this section of the work.

So well has Fuller accomplished his task, that his History—the first account of the University written in English—has continued to be an authority down to our own day, and has besides been the groundwork of other similar compilations. The lover of good old reading finds in it all the engaging qualities of the *Church-History* ; for it contains many incidental anecdotes and authentic particulars of the condition of the University as the writer knew it. Appended was a plan of Cambridge, dated 1634, and dedicated to BAPTIST NOEL, (third) VISCOUNT CAMDEN.⁴ The History itself was inscribed to BANISTER MAYNARD,

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* ii. 170.

² *Eng. Hist. Lib.* (ed. 1696), p. 222.

³ The project was not carried out, the defective accounts of the Oxford colleges being inserted in the body of the History. He excuses himself on the ground that he was no Oxford man, and

"Oxford was not that Oxford wherewith ten years since I was acquainted." (*Hist. Camb.* § ix. ¶ 48 ; and see *Ch.-Hist.* iii. 67, and x. 59.)

⁴ This nobleman raised troops and fought in the Royal cause. His princely residence at Campden was burnt down

Esq., the son of Lord Maynard, who also was Fuller's patron. The dedication combats the opinions of “a late generation of people, professed enemies to all humane learning,” who accounted its use in divinity no better than the barren fig-tree.

The last part of the folio contains the History of Waltham Abbey, which he issued partly in the hope that his “endeavours herein may prove exemplary to others (who dwell in the sight of remarkable monasteries), to do the like, and rescue the observables of their habitations from the teeth of time and oblivion.” Elsewhere he pleads for the publication of such works, on the ground of the swiftly-decreasing number of church-monuments, &c. His chief authority was “Waltham Ledger Book,” then in the possession of the Earl of Carlisle. It was written by a namesake, Robert Fuller, its last Lord Abbot. “The book (as appears by many inscriptions in the initial text-letters) was made by himself, having as happy an hand in fair and fast writing as some of his surname since have been defective therein.”¹ The ledger contained 436 folio pages, all (except the last two charters of his alienation of Copt Hall to Henry VIII.) in the Abbot's hand. He has ingeniously written his own name on scrolls down the back-strokes of letters nine times.

The extraordinary care and activity of the author is best seen from the following list of the sources whence he derived the materials for the *Church-History*—a statement which is due to a curious insinuation on the part of Heylyn that Fuller had been slothful:—

“I. All passages of Church-concernment from the reign of Henry III. until King Henry VI., I got exactly written and attested out of the Records in the Tower.” These records are called by Fuller “the author of authors for English history.” He hoped that they might long be safely preserved “in defiance of barbarous anarchy, which otherwise would make a bonfire, or new light, of those precious documents.” He introduces them as pleasant and profitable reading. They were in the custody of Fuller's good friend MR. WILLIAM RYLEY, the elder, Norroy King of Arms, a Lancashire man, whose attestation they bear. Fuller says that like a prince indeed, Ryley gave him his pains, “which I commend to the reader his thankful notice, because otherwise I must have charged the cost on his

by the Royal army to prevent it being made a garrison for the enemy. He compounded for his estates at a large price. His fourth wife was Lady Elizabeth Bertie, daughter of Montagu, second

Earl of Lindsey; and one of his daughters married James, Earl of Northampton. Fuller terms his patron his most worthy Mecaenas by far.

¹ *Hist. Walth. Abbey*, p. 7.

account, raising the rate of my book, to make myself a saver thereby." ¹

"2. *The most material transactions in all Convocations since the Reformation till the time of Queen Elizabeth (save that sometimes the Journals be very defective, which was no fault of mine) I transcribed out of the Registers of Canterbury.*" WM. SOMNER, "my good friend, and great antiquary of Canterbury," afforded Fuller ready access to these documents. Fuller again alludes to his "worthy friend" in *The Worthies* as having written *justum volumen* of the antiquities of Canterbury, adding: "I hope others by his example will undertake their respective counties; it being now with our age the third and last time of asking the banns whether or no we may be wedded to skill in this kind, seeing now 'use, or for ever hold your pens;' all church monuments leading to knowledge in that nature being daily irrecoverably imbezzled."² Somner is said to have given Fuller advice in regard to the wit in the *Church-History*. Bp. Kennet, in his life of the former, thus refers to the intimacy between the friends: "Dr. Thomas Fuller, who laboured for the reputation of an historian and antiquary, courted the friendship of our author: and, had he been more guided by him, would never have defiled his writings with puns and tales."³

"3. *I have by much labour procured many Letters and other rarities, which formerly never did see the light, out of the Library of SIR THOMAS COTTON and others.*" Fuller, with many other scholars, has acknowledged the courtesy with which Sir Thomas, who was the son of the antiquary, Sir Robert, placed his valuable literary stores—"our English Vatican for MSS."—at his disposal. "Give me leave," says he in a capacious niche in the *Worthies*, "to register myself amongst the meanest of those who, through the favour of Sir Thomas Cotton (inheriting as well the courtesy as estate of his father Sir Robert) have had admittance into that worthy treasury." The library, largely increased by Sir Thomas and his son, was at Westminster, and was celebrated (says Fuller) for its rarity, variety, method, and "favourable access thereunto for such as bring any competency of skill with them and leave thankfulness behind them."⁴ Permission to obtain access to

¹ *Worthies*, § Lancashire, p. 110; *Hist. Camb.* § i. ¶ 56; *Ch.-Hist.* iii. 55. Shortly before the breaking out of the war, "Mr. Riley, a clerk belonging to the Records in the Tower, was committed for intelligence with Oxford"—a fault for which he would not suffer in Fuller's estimation. (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, 79.)

² *Ch.-Hist.* bk. iv. 287; § Cant., p. 100.

³ *A Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent*, by Wm. Somner. . . . To which is prefixt the Life of Mr. Somner, Oxon. 1693, p. 114. See also *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2063.

⁴ § Huntingdonsh. p. 52. See *Church-Hist.* bk. vii. 397.

the private libraries was always a matter of difficulty, and was often brought about only after long diplomacy.

Fuller also made use of other libraries. He knew the exact character of every collection in the kingdom. Of *public* libraries, he describes that of Oxford (standing like Diana among her nymphs) as surpassing all the rest for rarity and multitude of books; that of Benet College as famous for its MSS. ; and that of Cambridge as lately augmented by the Archiepiscopal Library of Lambeth,¹ and grown to be second in the land. Of the *private* libraries, he says that Lord Burghley's was the best for a statesman; Lord Lumley's for an historian; the late Earl of Arundel's for a herald; Sir Robert Cotton's for an antiquary; and Archbishop Ussher's for a divine.²

"4. The learned MR. SELDEN (on his own desire) honoured my first four Centuries with reading, and returned them unto me some weeks after, without any considerable alterations."

Fuller's mention of this deeply-learned writer gives force to Clarendon's judgment: "His Humanity, Courtesy, and Affability was such that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good Nature, Charity, and Delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceed that Breeding."³ As to Selden's erudition, Fuller remarks: "Lay gentlemen prefer his *Titles of Honour*; lawyers his *Mare Clausum*; antiquaries his *Spicilegium ad Edmearum*; clergymen like best his book *De Diis Syris*, and worst [see *ante*, p. 89] his *History of Tithes*." Fuller comments as quaintly upon his riches: "He had very many ancient coins of the Roman Emperors, and more modern ones of our English Kings—dying [Nov. 1654] exceeding wealthy." His last days were spent in London. Fuller adds that Ussher, to whom Selden was always most civil and respectful, preached his funeral sermon. "The large library which he left is a jewel indeed. . . . Now it is repositied (*Bodley* within a *Bodley*) in the matchless library at Oxford."⁴ The presence of several of Fuller's books in the collection is a pleasing record of their intercourse. (See the Bibliography).

"5. The best Antiquaries of England (amongst whom the Archbishop of Armagh, it being not then my happiness to be known to the

¹ It was left by *Bancroft* to the University "in case the Archiepiscopal See should be extinct." Fuller adds that "this clause, providentially inserted, secured this library in Cambridge during the vacancy of the Archiepiscopal See; and so prevented the embezzling, at the

least the dismembering thereof, in our late civil distempers." (*Worthies*, § Lancashire, p. 112.)

² *Worthies*, § Oxfordshire, p. 327.

³ *Life*, p. 16 (ed. 1759).

⁴ *Worthies*, § Sussex, p. 111. The *Pisgah-Sight* also benefited by Selden's learning.

learned and religious Sir R. Twisden) I consulted with. These now I forbear to name, lest I remove and derive the Animadvertoꝝ's anger on them from myself, who am (though not the most able) the best prepared to endure his displeasure." Fuller's gratitude to USSHER, who was living in London under the countenance of the Protector, has already been mentioned (p. 401). Many documents, &c. are inserted in the *Church-History* as coming from the prelate, who also generously supplied much oral information. Hence Fuller termed him "that mirror of learning and religion, never to be named by me without thanks to him, and to God for him."¹ His obligations and gratitude are more fully expressed in the dedication to the prelate of the second section of the *Univ. Hist.*; remarking that he had never consulted him without having his doubts dispelled and his studies furthered. Shortly after the publication of the *History* the Archbishop died (March 21, 1656), and Fuller doubtless attended his public funeral.

SIR ROGER TWYSDEN, the author of the *Historical Defence of the Church of England*, was a judicious antiquary, it being "questionable," says Fuller, "whether his industry, judgment, or humility were the greatest."² He suffered at the hands of both parties in the civil strife; and after paying a heavy composition, he resided in Kent upon the wreck of his estate, occupying himself with literature.

Among other antiquaries who encouraged Fuller's *History*, the following are recorded:—ELIAS ASHMOLE, ESQ., to whom are quaintly dedicated the two plates of "Moated Lichfield's lofty pile," drawn by Samuel Kirke, and engraved respectively by Hollar and Vaughan. The *substance* of the cathedral, with many other edifices, was then rapidly disappearing, and Fuller thought their very *shadows* would therefore be acceptable to posterity. Ashmole is mentioned in the *Worthies* as "critically skilled in ancient coins, chemistry, heraldry, mathematics, what not?"³

SIR SIMON ARCHER, of Tamworth, laid Fuller under indebtedness for a MS. roll of Battle Abbey; and to him is dedicated the entertaining section of the *History* which relates to this subject, as well as the accompanying plate. In his last folio Fuller mentions the worthy knight as "a lover of antiquity, and of the lovers thereof. I should be much disheartened at his great age . . . were I not comforted with the consideration of his

¹ See *Ch.-Hist.* bk. ix. 82, 119, 212, x. 62; *Worthies*, §§ Middlesex, Lincolnshire, &c.

² *Appeal*, i. 66.

³ *Worthies*, § Staffordshire, p. 46; *Ch.-Hist.* bk. iv. 175.

worthy son, the heir as well of his studiousness as estate." Sir Simon, who was born in 1581, was not an envious antiquary, "it being questionable," says the author, alliteratively, "whether you be more skilful in knowing, careful in keeping, or courteous in communicating, your curious collections in that kind." Fuller here again mentions his patroness *Lady Anne Archer*, allotting to her another section of the History. He commends her skill in good housewifery, knowing far better than he "how much strength and handsomeness good hemming addeth to the end of a cloth." Putting a period to that important century (the sixteenth), he had resolved (to prevent the unravelling thereof) to close and conclude it with this dedication; "on which account alone," adds he, "you are placed last in this book, though otherwise the first and freest in encouraging my weak endeavours."¹

In his dedications and elsewhere Fuller has placed on record his obligations to many other fellow-antiquaries. He says of his friend Mr. THOMAS HANSON, keeper of the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster, that he not only "lent much light to my lamp out of choice records (some in his possession, more in his custody), but also hath given much oil thereunto in his bountifully encouraging of my endeavours."² Mr. THOMAS BARLOW, of Queen's College, Oxford, his "worthy friend," "a library in himself, and keeper of another" (*i.e.* Bodley's), ultimately Bishop of Lincoln, furnished "some rarities" of Oxford.³ A Mr. JOHN DUGDALE is termed his "good friend." Mr. MORE, Fellow of Caius College, his "worthy friend," "an industrious and judicious antiquary,"⁴ contributed many Cambridge rarities. Fuller also mentions Mr. SAMUEL ROPER, of Lincoln's Inn, "that skilful antiquary, and my respected kinsman;"⁵ and others, elsewhere referred to.

Fuller thus concludes his statement on the sources of his History: "Give me leave to add that a greater volume of general church-history might be made with less time, pains and cost: for in the making thereof, I had straw provided me to burn my brick; I mean, could find what I needed, in printed books. Whereas in this *British Church-History*, I must (as well as I could) provide my own straw; and my pains have been scattered all over the land, by riding, writing, going, sending, chiding, begging, praying, and sometimes paying too, to procure manuscript materials."⁶

¹ *Worthies*, § Warwickshire, p. 133; *Ch.-Hist.* ii. 151, ix. 221.

² *Ch.-Hist.* iii. 57, vi. 351.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 114; *Worthies*, § Westmrd.

⁴ *Hist. Camb.* § ii. ¶ 13; § vii. ¶ 52.

⁵ *Ch.-Hist.* vi. 358.

⁶ *Appeal*, pt. i. 23, 24 (315). This passage represents Fuller as still actively

This paragraph illustrates the author's earnest perseverance in his huge task. The names of those whom he in this way solicited for numberless details are not all recorded; but very many, whose studies or inclinations lay in an antiquarian direction, are mentioned with Fuller's grateful thanks. We meet with the following:—*Mr. Walter Hilary*, a clerk in the Exchequer Office;¹ his "worthy friend" *Mr. Huis*, Esquire-beadle of Cambridge;² his "aged and worthy friend, *Mr. Jackson*, of Histons;³ his "good friend" *Dr. Littleton*;⁴ "my worthily respected friend," *Dr. John Wilkins*, Warden of Wadham College, who after succeeding Fuller at Cranford, died Bishop of Chester;⁵ &c. The kindness of another keeper of important papers, *Mr. Sherman* of Croydon, is acknowledged by Fuller, who adds, "for may my candle go out in a stench, when I will not confess whence I have lighted it!"⁶ Documents, &c. were also contributed by other friends whose names are not given.⁷ Old records he characterised as the stairs by which antiquaries climb into the knowledge of former times.

The manuscripts which the war had scattered proved an important and fruitful source of illustrative matter in the History. In one of his dedications Fuller remarks that "One (if not the only) good which our civil war hath produced, is, that on the ransacking of studies, many manuscripts, which otherwise would have remained concealed, and useful only for private persons, have been printed for the public benefit."⁸ These publications are alluded to in the same work: "Surely that industrious Bee (an able Stationer in Little Britain, London) hath in our age merited much of posterity, having lately with great cost and care, enlarged many manuscripts of monks (formerly confined to private Libraries) that now they may take the free air, and, being printed, publicly walk abroad."⁹ Bee was the chief promoter of the *Critici Sacri*, a collection of commentaries, &c. of English and foreign critics, edited by Bishop Pearson and others, and designed as the companion to the *Polyglott*. Vol. viii. contained the greater part of Nich. Fuller's *Miscellanea Sacra*.

On account of the numerous State-papers which were published for the first time in Fuller's History, the volume formed

moving up and down England. In the present chapter we have already met with him at Oxford and Dorchester. About the same time he visited other places, as Winchester, Wells, &c. Gloucester and Peterborough are also named by him as familiar.

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* iii. 113.

² *Ch.-Hist.* v. 202.

³ *Ibid.* viii. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. (188).

⁵ *Ibid.* x. 68.

⁶ *Hist. Camb.* § iv. ¶ 25. See p. 484 *ante*.

⁷ See xi. 163, v. (188); *Appeal*, ii. (558).

⁸ Bk. ix. 119. See *Appeal*, i. 65.

⁹ Book vi. 298.

an important addition to the ecclesiastical annals of the country. The author himself regarded his book as of unusual value, when with a rare insight he incidentally spoke of having “written a book to Eternity.” Notwithstanding its defects, the work is not one which posterity will treasure unread. *Nicolson*, who has hitherto only been quoted as abusing the work, has acknowledged its merits, and given it a qualified commendation. “If it were possible,” says he, “to refine it well, the Work would be of good use: since there are in it some things of Moment, hardly to be had elsewhere; which may often illustrate dark Passages in more serious Writers. These are not to be despised where his Authorities are cited and appear credible; but, otherwise (in matters wherein he’s Singular, and without his Vouchers) μέμνησω ἀπιστεῖν.”¹

Burnet also incidentally says that he cannot stir but as Fuller leads him; and gives him thanks for his pains in copying out of the Journals of Convocation many remarkable things which had been otherwise irrecoverably lost.² *Heylyn*, much as he abused the work, found it useful when writing his *Life of Laud*;³ and other historians have been much more indebted to it.

Those who have censured Fuller’s History most severely have found the head and front of his offending in the numerous witticisms which are contained in it. Spite of his grave and dignified subject, he is nowhere more lavish of his felicitous turns of thought and quaint observations. The pages abound in

“Quips and cranks and wanton wiles,
Nods and becks and wreathèd smiles.”

Instances occur on every page. Cardinal Pole is said to have *Italianated* himself, though living in England; Edward IV., by intemperance in his diet, in some sort to have dug his grave with his own teeth; the Scourging friars to have made vellum of their own skin; a certain monk’s verses to have been as bald as his crown; &c. &c.

A critic has said that Fuller was so fond of his own wit that he did not seem to have minded what he was about. But that

¹ *Eng. &c. Hist. Libraries*, p. 94.—
“And, I believe, he himself (*i.e.* Mr. Vice-Chancellor) knows that I was critiz’d on for writing of Dr. Fuller as the author of the *Ecclesiastical History*; because (forsooth) he did not take his Degree till after that Book was publish’d. This Errour had been repeated if I had

giev’n this other writer the Title of a Doctor.” (From a letter of William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, to Dr. Charlett, Master of University College, dated June 18, 1702: *Ballard Letters*, vol. iv. p. 9. Bodl. Lib.)

² *Hist. of the Reformation*, i. 572.

³ i. 428.

is too strong a censure, for he never misapplies it, or loses sight of his object. He has made (to use the words of Oldys, who at length defended Fuller's use of wit) "even Church history diverting without making a diversion of the Church."¹ Nichols says that whether this kind of writing was assumed or natural, "its effect on the age was most admirable. Palled and perverted as the public taste had become, through the bitter and (in many instances) gloomy writings of contending parties in politics and religion during the preceding fifteen years, I doubt whether the people would have endured any narrative of ecclesiastical affairs, especially of those which so nearly concerned that generation, in a strain more stately and dignified than that which is here employed. The honest and witty Tom Fuller may seem to have procured from 'the powers which then were' a roving licence or dispensation; and was permitted to give utterance to some strong sentiments, which less-favoured individuals durst scarcely own to have found a lodgment within their breasts. Natural strokes of humour are of perpetual recurrence, the allusions in which occasionally amount to the most stringent sarcasm; and when applied (apparently at haphazard) to the crying enormities of those times, inculcated great moral lessons which, though capable in our view of being less exceptionally conveyed, would not then have been so graciously received."

Fuller was not a mere jester; but his constant ebullitions of wit are ever intimately allied to good sense. On the subject of his combination of wit and wisdom a thoughtful writer has thus spoken:—

"The power of wit to combine itself harmoniously and vigorously with sagacity and seriousness, is eminently exemplified in all the works of that remarkable author of the seventeenth century, the Church historian, Thomas Fuller, whose wit, in the largeness of its circuit, the variety of its expression, its exuberance, and its admirable sanity, stands second only to that of Shakspeare. It has the indispensable merit of perfect naturalness, and the excellence of being a growth from a soil of sound wisdom. There are no large works in our language so thoroughly ingrained with wit and humour as *Fuller's Worthies*, his *Church History* no less so. . . . The genius of Fuller is, perhaps, unequalled in harmonizing a play upon words, quiet jocularity, kindly irony, with thoughtfulness and genuine earnestness, and in making the transition from quaintness to sublimity."²

Nor, again, is his wit ill-natured. Written at a day when men's feelings were easily excited, Fuller's great book is entirely free from intolerance. If there was gall in his ink, it was very weak. Erasmus, Fuller reminds us, "was a badger in his

¹ *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2063-4.

² *Reed's Introd. to Eng. Lit.* p. 211.

jeers: when he did bite, he would make his teeth meet:" our author is the reverse of a disposition like this, for he uses his wit very gently. There is none of that abuse of men or classes of men that we find, for instance, in South. Professor Craik has said that Fuller "was certainly one of the greatest and truest wits that ever lived: he is witty not by any sort of effort at all, but as it were in spite of himself, or because he cannot help it."¹

One of the charms of Fuller's writing, it will have been seen, lies in numerous illustrative stories and anecdotes, old and new, told in a way peculiar to himself. They are often connected with his subject only by a very slender thread. Thus: "The mention of Reading minds me of a pleasant and true story; which, to refresh my wearied self and reader, after long pains, I here intend to relate!"² Nicolson censured our author on this score in these over-severe terms: "If a pretty Story comes in his way, that affords scope for Clinch and Droll, off it goes with all the gayety of the stage, without staying to enquire whether it have any Foundation in truth, or not; and even the most serious and most authentic Parts of it are so interlac'd with Punn and Quibble, that it looks as if the Man had design'd to ridicule the Annals of our Church into Fable and Romance."³

A more sympathetic judge has declared that as a story-teller Fuller "was most consummately felicitous. The relation which we have seen for the hundredth time, when introduced in his productions, assumes all the freshness of novelty, and comes out of his hands instinct with fresh life and glowing with vitality and spirit. The stalest jest, the most hackneyed circumstance, the repetition of which by another would only provoke our nausea, when adopted by him, receives a redintegration of essence not less miraculous than the conversion of dry bones into living beings."⁴

It is very pleasant to observe that a work thus enlivened with humour received the commendations of kindly Izaak Walton, who, with a disposition allied to that of our author, told the reader of his *Compleat Angler* (which appeared much about the time that Fuller's work came forth) that in writing of it he had made a recreation of a recreation; "and that it might prove so to him, and not read dull and tediously, I have in several places mixed, not any scurrility, but some innocent, harmless mirth;

¹ *Lit. & Learning*, iv. 73.

² *Ch.-Hist.* vi. 299.

³ *English Hist. Lib.* p. 93. "I have uniformly found Fuller to be tenacious in ascertaining the truth of the facts which

he narrates, and pouring floods of ridicule upon such as were deficient in that essential qualification." — (Mr. James Nichols.)

⁴ *Retrospect. Rev.* iii. 51.

of which, if thou be a severe, sour-complexioned man, then I here disallow thee to be a competent judge; for divines say there are offences given, and offences not given, but taken." When the *Church-History* came forth, Walton and some of his friends, mayhap in pursuit of their favourite pastime on the river Lea, took occasion to visit Fuller at Waltham. The former, Oldys thinks, was then engaged upon his life of the "Judicious" Hooker,¹ and desired information concerning him from Fuller as an authority in such matters. Knowing how intimate also Walton was with many of the bishops and ancient clergy, Fuller asked him first what he thought of the *Church-History* himself, and then what reception it had met with among his friends. Walton answered, That he thought it should be acceptable to all tempers, because there were in it *shades* for the warm and *sunshine* for those of cold constitution: that with youthful readers, the facetious parts would be profitable to make the serious more palatable; while some reverend old readers might fancy themselves, in his *History of the Church*, as in a flower garden, or one full of evergreens.

"And why not the *Church-History* so decked," said Fuller, "as well as the Church itself at a most *holy season*, or the tabernacle of old at the *Feast of Boughs*?"

"That was but for a season," replied Walton to his very portly friend: "in *your* Feast of Boughs they may conceive we are so overshadowed throughout, that the parson is more seen than his congregation, and this sometimes invisible to its own acquaintance, who may wander in the search till they are lost in the labyrinth."

"Oh," said Fuller, always equal to a repartee, "the very *children* of our Israel may find their way out of this Wilderness."

"True," returned Walton, "as indeed they have here such a Moses to conduct them."

This pleasant conversation, which is full of the happy jocularities of both parties, was extracted by Oldys from a Medley of diverting Sayings, Stories, Characters, &c. in Verse and Prose, which was written in quarto about the year 1686 (as it

¹ Walton found fault with certain statements in Gauden's Life of Richard Hooker, conceiving that some of the mistakes proceeded "from a belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingeniously retracted." Fuller had stated in his *Church-History* (ix. 235) that Hooker died a bachelor, and he ascribed the erection of his tomb to the wrong person. When writing *The Worthies*, Fuller said

(§ Devon. p. 264): "Here I must retract (after a Father [*i.e.* St. Augustine] no shame for a child) two passages in my *Church-History*. For whereas I reported him to die a bachelor, he had wife and children, though, indeed, such as were neither to his comfort when living, nor credit when dead." Walton's account of the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* was published, according to Zouch, in 1662.

was attested in another hand) by Charles Cotton, Esq. (the author of the second part of Walton's *Angler*); sometime in the library of the Earl of Halifax.¹

Walton was evidently of the same mind as the divine, Gilbert Rule, who, in a discourse concerning ridicule and irony in writing, said that he "knew none that blamed the excellent writings of Mr. Fuller for the pleasantry in them." The perusal of any of the chapters in the book under notice would not fail to lead the cheerful reader to a similar conclusion.

The *Church-History* abounds in alliteration: the author, e.g., says of *Wyat*, that he was "well born, well allied, well learned and well loved; wanting neither wit, wealth, nor valour." Again, "He writes *right* who writes *wrong* if following his copy;" "Victorious bays bear only barren berries;" "Where goeth the purse, there goeth the poor;" &c. He exemplifies this peculiarity largely in the *titles* of his paragraphs, which are worthy of close observation not only on this account, but also because of the proverb-like ring about them. Instances are: "Women's brawls, men's thralls;" "Sin plot, sin pay for;" "New Lady (of Queen Mary), new laws;" &c.

Coleridge called attention to the fact that though Fuller wrote so voluminously on so many different subjects, "it is scarcely too much to say that you will hardly find a page in which some one sentence out of every three does not deserve to be quoted for itself, as motto or maxim."² These axiomatic utterances are most frequent in his *Holy War* and *Holy State*; but there are numbers of them also in the *Church-History*.

Archbishop Trench has also commented upon the aphoristic wealth of Fuller's compositions:—

"Proverbs, witty in themselves, often become wittier still in their application, like gems that acquire new brilliancy from their setting, or from some novel light in which they are held. No writer that I know of has an happier skill in thus adding wit to the witty than Fuller, the Church historian. Let me confirm this assertion by one or two examples drawn from his writings. He is describing the indignation, the outcries, the remonstrances, which the thousandfold extortions, the intolerable exactions of the Papal See gave birth to in England during the reigns of such subservient kings as our Third Henry; yet he will not have his readers to suppose that the Popes fared a whit the worse for all this outcry which was raised against them; not so, for *The fox thrives best when he is most cursed*; the very loudness of the clamour

¹ *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2061. See also Zouch's *Memoir of Walton*, ed. 1807, p. lvii. The angler by his will left his books, &c. to his son, Canon Walton, who in turn bequeathed them to the Library of Salisbury Cathedral. Among them was a copy of Fuller's *Abel Redeivous*, 1651,

with the angler's autograph, "Izaak Walton." (Sir H. Nicolas's *Memoir of Walton*, 1836, p. clv.) Canon Walton gave Walker great assistance in the preparation of the *Sufferings*, the original manuscripts of which are in the Bodleian.

² *Notes on Eng. Divines*, i. 127.

was itself rather an evidence how well they were faring. Or again, he is telling of that Duke of Buckingham, well known to us through Shakespeare's *Richard the Third*, who, having helped the tyrant to a throne, afterwards took mortal displeasure against him; this displeasure he sought to hide till a season arrived for showing it with effect, in the deep of his heart, but in vain; for, as Fuller observes, *It is hard to halt before a cripple*; the arch-hypocrite Richard, he to whom dissembling was a second nature, saw through and detected at once the shallow Buckingham's clumsier deceit. And the *Church-History* abounds with similar happy applications. Fuller, indeed, possesses so much of the wit out of which proverbs spring, that it is not seldom difficult to tell whether he is adducing a proverb, or uttering some proverb-like saying of his own. Thus I cannot remember ever to have met any of the following, which yet sound like proverbs—the first on solitude as preferable to ill companionship: *Better ride alone than have a thief's company* (*Holy State*, b. 3, c. 5); . . . and in this he was against despising in any the tokens of honourable toil; *Mock not a cobbler for his black thumbs.*¹

On a par with Fuller's profuse expressions of humour are the many *digressions* on topics utterly unlooked for. Like another Vicar:—

“His talk was like a stream, which runs
 With rapid change from rocks to roses;
 It slipped from politics to puns,
 It passed from Mahomet to Moses;
 Beginning with the laws which keep
 The planets in their radiant courses,
 And ending with some precept deep
 For dressing eels, or shoeing horses.”

“Never was there such a medley!” exclaims Mr. Rogers. Alluding to his rambling propensities, the same hearty critic says: “Of the several paragraphs into which the *Church-History* is divided (most of them introduced by some quaint title), many are as little connected with Church-history as the history of China. Thus in one short ‘section,’ comprising the period from 1330 to 1361, we find ‘paragraphs’ relating to ‘the ignorance of the English in curious clothing,’—to ‘fuller’s-earth,’ which, he tells us, ‘was a precious commodity,’—to the manufacture of ‘woollen cloth,’—and to the sumptuary laws which ‘restrained excess in apparel.’ . . . Lest any should at first sight fail to see the perfect congruity of such topics, he engages, with matchless effrontery, to show the connection between them. His reasons are so very absurd, and given so much in his own manner, that we cannot refrain from citing them. ‘But enough of this subject, which let none condemn for a *deviation* from Church-history; First, because it would not grieve one to go a little out of the way, if the way be good, as

¹ *Lectures on Proverbs*, iv. 77, 78.

this digression is for the credit and profit of our country. Secondly, it reductively belongeth to the Church-history, seeing many poor people both young and old, formerly charging the parishes (as appeared by the accounts of the church officers), were hereby enabled to maintain themselves!!"¹ There are other cases in which he is conscious of his besetting propensity. Speaking of the evasions of the order (1646) for the fifth part of ministers' estates to go to the families of ministers ejected, he says: "Nor let any censure this a digress from my history, for though my estate will not suffer me with Job to be 'eyes to the blind and feet to the lame,' I will endeavour what I can to be a tongue for the dumb."² On another occasion he finds himself gliding into particulars of the civil war: "I seasonably remember that the church is my castle, viz. that the writing thereof is my house and home, wherein I may stand on my own defence against all who assault me. It was good counsel king Joash gave to king Amaziah, 'Tarry at home.' The practice whereof shall, I hope, secure me from many mischiefs."³

Professor Rogers, who sees in the form of his works a deliberate intention for securing "the larger licence of rambling," says: "The praise of method and regularity (if indeed he formed any notion of these) he coveted little, compared with the free indulgence of his vagrant and gossiping humour. He loved, like Edie Ochiltree, 'to daunder along the green lanes,' to leave the dusty high-road of continuous history, and solace himself in every 'by-path meadow' that invited his feet by its softness and verdure."⁴

The occasional reissue of the *Church-History* in our own times indicates that it is still held in appreciation. Lovers of old reading have at all times found it a quarry out of which they have dug many a treasured thought, and seldom gone away empty. From the first, the work was highly valued, and its multiform merits recognised. Among its earlier readers there are a few, in addition to Izaak Walton, who have left upon record their commendations of it. There was a *Mr. Thomas Forde* who was much taken with it. Forde was a small author of the time, noteworthy as the writer of *The Times Anatomiz'd in Severall Characters*, wrongly attributed to Fuller, and of *Panegyrics on Charles I. and II.*; "a man of good genius, who was esteemed no inconsiderable poet and orator." In his *Fænestra in Pectore, or Familiar Letters* (1660), is the following letter, addressed to "Mr. T. F.":—

¹ *Life and Writings of Thos. Fuller*, p. 43; *Ch.-Hist.* bk. iv. 112.

² *Ibid.* xi. 230.

³ *Ibid.* xi. 205.

⁴ Page 43.

"Having lately (not without pleasure and profit) read your *Church-History*; by which you have not only indebted our Church in *particular*, but the whole Commonwealth of Learning in *general*; my memory continually upbraided me with ingratitude, till I found out this way to convey my resentments [gratitude]. For, though our *Returns* of thanks ought to be large and universal, as your merit, yet your goodness (I hope) will not refuse the single gratitude of private persons. In that number (though the last, and the least) I am bold to tender my *mite*. A task indeed better befitting a more equal pen, since none is able to do it but your own. But I know your *modesty* is as great as your *merit*, the *highest* worths being always accompanied with the *lowest* humilitie. May your name ever live, who have rais'd so many to life, and rescued their memories from the tyranny of oblivion. Amongst many others, I am particularly obliged to your courtesie, in the remembrance of that good man, Mr. Udall, whom by kindred I am something related."

Forde then offers to furnish Fuller with a biographical MS. written by Udall, and adds:—

"Sir, you have not onely engaged *Learning*, but *Religion*, to perpetuate your labours. Fame is much in arrears to your Desert, and therefore cannot in justice but continue that veneration in *length* to your memorie which it yet wants in *breadth*. Those *Religious Houses*, erected by a better devotion, than that which destroy'd them, are more beholding to your Pen, than to their Founders, or Materials; you having made them a task for the remembrance and admiration of future Ages, so long as Time shall hold a Sythe, or Fame a Trumpet. I would say more, if the universal applause of all knowing men had not saved me a labour. And (to pay you in some of your own coyn), *It is no flattery to affirm, what envy cannot deny*. Did I not fore-see that the relation would swell my discourse beyond the *limits* of a *Letter*, or the *length* of your *patience*, I should assume the libertie to inform you, that my neighbourhood to the place acquaints me with some *Relicts of Religious Houses*, at and near *Maldon*, having still the name of an *Abbey*, a *Friery*, and a *Nunnery*. . . . As yet, I know little of them but their ruins; but, if you vote it convenient, I shall endeavour to improve my present ignorance into a discoverie of them. I suppose it will be no hard task; I am sure it shall not, when in relation to your command.

"I must now take pitie of your patience, which had not run this hazard of abuse, did I not know I have to do with so great a Candor, from which I can expect no less than *pardon*. And in that presumption I crave your leave to be, as I subscribe myself, Sir, your most assured servant, T. F."¹

Pepys, under date of Dec. 7, 1660, notes that after "signing a deadly number of pardons, which do trouble me to get nothing by," he "fell a-reading Fuller's History of Abbys, and my wife in Great Cyrus till twelve at night, and so to bed." And a few years later we have: "At night fell to reading in the *Church-History* of Fuller's and [therein] particularly Cranmer's letter to Queen Elizabeth [*sic*], which pleases me mightily for its zeal, obedience, and boldness in a cause of religion" (Lord's day, 11th Oct. 1663).

John Durley, B.D. (author of *The Glory of Chelsea College*

¹ Page 135. See the Bibliography, § iv.

revived, 4to. 1662), cites "the venerable relation and judgment of one who may well be called a St. Chrysostome, and so be joined with a bishop" [*i.e.* with Morton].¹

We have already seen that Fuller's book is to be read not alone for amusement, but for its historical value. To the appreciative references to the work we must add the commendatory notices of *Southey*, who used the work pretty freely in writing his entertaining *Book of the Church*, and who rarely cites him without bestowing upon him such epithets as the "best-natured of historians."

It was the perusal of this wonderful volume that called forth the fine eulogy of *Coleridge*, written at the end of it:—

"Next to Shakspeare, I am not certain whether Thomas Fuller, beyond all other writers, does not excite in me the sense and emotion of the marvellous;—the degree in which any given faculty or combination of faculties is possessed and manifested, so far surpassing what one would have thought possible in a single mind, as to give one's admiration the flavour and quality of wonder! Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect. It was the element, the earthen base, the material which he worked in; and this very circumstance has defrauded him of his due praise for the practical wisdom of the thoughts, for the beauty and variety of the truths, into which he shaped the stuff. Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced, great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men. . . . God bless thee, dear old man! may I meet with thee! which is tantamount to—May I go to heaven!—July, 1829."²

A few of the many *censures* upon the volume have been quoted *passim*. Others may here be added. *David Lloyd*, following *Heylyn*, said that the *Church-History* was the unhappiest of his works,—“written in such a time when he could not do the truth right with safety, nor wrong it with honour.”³—*Harrington* referred to “mean and fanciful authors, Lloyd and Fuller.”⁴—*Nicolson*, vexed at some “scurrilous invective, most unworthily inserted” in the *Church-History*, says it is a work “wherein (if the author had been capable of any such thing!)

¹ Page 17. See also p. 27.

² *Notes on English Divines*, i. 127.

³ *Memoires, &c.*, 1668, p. 523. The *State Worthies*, ed. 1766, vol. ii. 528, adds: “As for his other works . . . he that shall but read Fuller's name unto them will not think them otherwise, but worthy of that praise and respect, which the whole nation affordeth unto the author.”

Mr. Nichols declared this commendation noble and well deserved; “and is the more valuable, coming as it does from one who accounted himself a High Churchman and Fuller a Low one.”

⁴ Preface to *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. The two authors are thus coupled because the former took much from the latter without acknowledgment.

a man would have expected nothing but what looked like gravity." ¹—*Dr. Farmer*, in his essay *On the Learning of Shakespeare*, spoke of Fuller as "a diligent and equal searcher after truth and quibbles." ²—An *Edinburgh Reviewer* gave the following opinion on the *Church-History*: "Neither has Fuller fared much better [than Foxe] with posterity. His narrative, though always lively, is slight and flimsy, while his quaint and antiquated wit is perhaps more frequently found to disgust than to delight a fashionable age." ³—*Dibdin*, who speaks of Fuller as one who loved to jeer, and as scattering about his criticisms with very little regard to truth, says: "Of course old Tom Fuller must be read 'cum granis salis' in matters of ancient history. He was a loose chronicler, but an admirable and honest relator of what passed under his own eyes." ⁴

Burnet, criticising our Church-historian, says that he—

"Got into his hands some few papers that were not seen before he published them; but being a man of fancy, and affecting an odd way of writing, his work gives no great satisfaction. But Doctor Heylyn wrote smoothly and handsomely; his method and style are good, and his work was generally more read than anything that had appeared before him: but either he was ill-informed, or very much led by his passions; and he being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner, and so strangely, that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the Church of Rome, though I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular-conceits." ⁵

Bishop Warburton's opinion was as follows:—

"Our repeated complaints of the defective state of the General History of the Church of England amongst us extends to the *ecclesiastical* as well as to the civil History of Great Britain. There are only two writers of the General History of our Church who deserve the name of Historians, Collier the Non-juror, and Fuller the Jester. The first hath written with sufficient dignity, elegance, and spirit; but hath dishonoured and debased his whole work with the absurd and slavish Tenets of the High Churchmen. The other is composed with better temper, and on better principles, and with sufficient care and attention; but worked on a slight fantastic ground, and in a style of buffoon pleasantries altogether unsuitable to so grave and important a subject. Yet much may be learnt from it; much indeed to avoid as well as to improve." ⁶

Dr. Heylyn's famous censure on the work, which produced from Fuller one of the most entertaining controversial rejoinders in the English language, demands a chapter to itself.

¹ *Eng. Hist. Lib.* p. 5.

² Page 6, edit. 1767.

³ *Edin. Rev.* (1810), vol. iv. 96.

⁴ *Lib. Comp.* 1825, pp. 118, 198.

⁵ Preface to his *Hist. Reform.* vii.

⁶ *Works*, ed. 1811, 8vo.: *Directions for the Study of Theology*, vol. x. p. 371.



CHAPTER XIX.

“SERVING THE TIME,” AND “SERVING THE LORD.”

(1655—1658.)

LECTURER AT ST. BRIDE'S.—SERMON ON THE JEWS.—FOUR SERMONS AND “NOTES ON JONAH.”—FULLER AND SION COLLEGE.—JOHN SPENCER AND HIS “THINGS NEW AND OLD.”—FULLER'S RELATIONS TO THE COMMONWEALTH.—THE EDICT AGAINST SCHOOLMASTERS, ETC.—FULLER'S BENEVOLENCE.—APPOINTMENT OF THE TRIERS.—FULLER'S INTERVIEW WITH HOWE AND WITH THE COMMISSIONERS.—FUNERAL SERMON ON GEORGE HEYCOCK.—FULLER'S LIFE OF HENRY SMITH.—FULLER AND FORMS OF PRAYER.—BECOMES CHAPLAIN TO THE HON. GEORGE BERKELEY, AND RECTOR OF CRANFORD.—CRANFORD CHURCH AND THE MANOR-HOUSES.—THE OIL-PAINTING OF FULLER.—THE ANONYMOUS PORTRAIT, ETC.—FULLER'S APPEARANCE AND MANNERS.—THE APPROACH OF THE RESTORATION.

“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 xii. 11, δουλεύοντες τῇ 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.” (*Appeal of Injured Innocence*, chap. xiv. p. 12. See p. 449 *ante*.)

ANOTHER City Lectureship held by Fuller about this time (1655) or earlier, was that at ST. BRIDE'S. “Shortly after from thence [St. Clement's] he was removed to St. Bride's in Fleet-street, in the same quality of Lecturer, the day being changed to Thursday, where he preached with the same efficacy and success.”¹ No documents relating to his intercourse with the parishioners are in existence, St. Bride's being one of the eighty-nine churches consumed in the Great Fire, when its records were lost. It was afterwards rebuilt by Wren on the same spot. The sequestered vicar was *Thomas Palmer, B.D.* “a pious man and painful preacher;” a benefactor to the ejected clergy (see p. 406), and charitable to their widows. *Simon Ash*, one of the Assembly and Chaplain to the Earl of Manchester, held the

¹ *Life*, p. 41.

living : he supplied Fuller with certain particulars for the *Hist. Camb.* relating to the Visitation of 1643. Fuller in one of his sermons makes allusion to the many wealthy persons in his auditory at St. Bride's. He seems to be referring to this or another London parish in a passage which shows how necessary it then was for the clergy to keep a guard upon their lips : " I know a factious parish wherein, if the minister in his pulpit had but named the word *Kingdom*, the people would have been ready to have petitioned against him for a Malignant. But as for *realm*—the same in French—he might safely use it in his sermons as oft as he pleased. Ignorance, which generally inflameth, sometimes by good hap, abateth men's malice.—The best is, that one now [1660] may, without danger, use either word, seeing England was a kingdom a thousand years ago, and may be one (if the world last so long) a thousand years hereafter." ¹

Fuller perhaps held the same relation to the parishioners of St. Bride's as to those of St. Clement's. At the former church, in 1655, he preached a sermon " occasioned by a motion of bringing in of the Jews into England." ² This item is of great interest as being a reference to an *unpublished* sermon. All that remains of it is a fragment, the preservation of which is due to Fuller's friend, John Spencer of Sion College, who entitles it " Ignorance and Wilfulness well met."

The Jews, who had been banished from England since the year 1290, were in Fuller's day also prohibited from entering France and Spain. They were congregated in some numbers in Holland, &c. ; but to a greater extent in Turkey (" Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics"). The Jews often made attempts to engage in trade in England. On the 5th Jan., 1649, a curious request to that end was addressed to Fairfax and the Council of Officers. The petitioners were " Johanna Cartwright, Widdow, and Ebenezer Cartwright her son, freeborn of England, and now inhabitants of the City of Amsterdam ;" and they state that being " conversant in that city with and among some of Izraell's race called Jewes, . . . both they and we find that the time of her call draweth nigh ; . . . and that this nation of England with the inhabitants of the Netherlands shall be the first and readiest to transport Izraell's sons and daughters in their ships to the land promised to their fore-fathers." The petition was presented at Whitehall, and favourably received. A few years afterwards Manasseh Ben Israel, a learned Jew practising medicine in Holland, but by birth a Portuguese,

¹ *Mixt Contemp.* pt. ii. xlix.

² Spencer's *Things New and Old*, No. 1903, p. 645.

visited England with a view to obtain in our land civil equality for his race. In a flattering Petition to the Protector, reprinted a few years ago at Melbourne, the Rabbi besought his Highness, “for God’s sake that ye would, according to that Piety and Power wherein you are eminent beyond others, vouchsafe to grant that the Great and Glorious Name of the Lord our God may be extolled, and solemnly worshipped and praised by us throughout all the bounds of this Common-wealth; and to grant us place in your country that we may have our Synagogues and free exercise of our religion: Our people did in their own minds presage that the Kingly Government being now changed into that of a Common-wealth, the ancient hatred towards them would also be changed into good will: that those rigorous laws (if any there be yet extant, made under the Kings) against so innocent a people, would happily be repealed.” With the same end in view the Rabbi also wrote a “Declaration to the Common-wealth of England.” In consequence, four conferences (two lawyers, seven citizens of London, and fourteen divines forming the committee) were held—the first at Whitehall, 12th Dec. 1665, under the presidency of the Protector. Cromwell was willing to grant toleration to the Jews; as an earnest of which he bestowed upon their advocate a yearly pension of £100. There was, however, a warm difference of opinion among the clergy at the conferences, and in consequence much public debate; and though the main point at issue was not ultimately conceded, Jews, upon obtaining the private sufferance of the Protector (who, weary of the wrangling of the divines, characteristically dissolved the conference), were allowed to settle in the country.

Fuller’s discourse thus belongs to December. His views in regard to the policy of the motion may be gathered from the closing chapters of the *Pisgah-Sight*, where he enumerates the existing obstructions to the conversion of the Jews. His first point is “Our want of civil society with that nation: there must be first converse with them before there can be converting with them.” Other drawbacks were their cruel usage in point of estate in those countries where they were tolerated; their offence at image-worship; and lastly the discord amongst Christians: “In vain do we hollo to the Jews to come over to us whilst our voices are hoarse with railing one at another, and beckon with our hands to them to be on our side whilst our hands are imbrued in the blood of those of our own religion.” He next remarks on the great internal obstacle, “that *πῶρωσις*, that blindness, which is happened unto them.” Then follows the illustration thus preserved at more length by Spencer:—

“It is a maritime observation that if a thick fog darken the air there is then (the great God of Heaven and earth having in His providence so ordered it) no storm, no tempestuous weather. And if it be so that a storm arise, then the sky is somewhat clear and lightsome: for were it otherwise, no ship at sea, nor boat in any navigable river could ride or sail in safety, but would clash and fall foul one upon another. Such is the sad condition of every soul amongst us wherein Ignorance and Wilfulness have set up their rest together. And why? Because that if a man were ignorant only and not wilful, then the breath of wholesome precepts and good counsel might in time expel those thick mists of darkness that cloud his understanding. And were he wilful and not ignorant, then it were to be hoped that God in His good time would rectify his mind and bring him to the knowledge of Himself; but when the storm and the fog meet,—when Wilfulness and Ignorance (as at this day amongst the Jews, and too too many Christians) do close together, nothing without the greater mercies of God can befall that poor shipwreckt soul but ruin and destruction.¹

Fuller's *Four Sermons with Notes on Jonah*, 1656 and 1657, were dedicated “to my worthy friends of S. Bridgets (commonly Brides) parish in London.” These discourses, preached in 1655 and 1656, were (with others noticed further on in this chapter) delivered at St. Bride's; for Fuller hopes “that these nails which were entered into your hearts at the preaching of them, shall now be riveted into them by the printing thereof.” The sermons are included in a series of ten, which, with the *Notes on Jonah*, the author seems to have put for publication into the hands of Stafford, who published them gradually, entering the above four (with the *Notes*) at Stationers' Hall, 23rd Jan. 1655-6. Out of the remaining six, three were published by Stafford in 1657, appended to *The Best Name on Earth*. The other three (qq. unpublished?) were: on Eccles. vii. 10, “The former days were better than these;” on Matt. x. 8, “Heal the sick, &c.: freely ye have received, freely give;” and on 2 Pet. i. 10, which was perhaps intended for a new edition of the *Sermon of Assurance*, first published in 1647 by Williams. As regards the above two missing discourses, I have met with no trace of them amongst the publications of Stafford or elsewhere; but it is not unlikely that they were published. One of them seems of a peculiar interest in a biography of Fuller.

The first of the four sermons, called *The Best Employment*, is on Acts x. 38. Dwelling on the character of the Centurion, the preacher speaks favourably of the military profession. “Let them not conceive the principles of fearing of God and fighting with men so opposite that they cannot meet in the same person; seeing on enquiry it will appear that all the Centurions

¹ *Pisgah-Sight*, bk. v. 200; Spencer, p. 645. The latter adds a parallel passage from Boetius, iii. 8. Fuller's ac-

count of the Jews in England will be found in the *Church-History*, book iii. cent. xiii.

in the New Testament were either good men, or less bad than many of more peaceable professions.” He again here takes occasion to censure “planetical preaching,” and “ambulatory preachers.” “It is to be feared these men go about sowing of Schism, setting of Errors, and spreading Faction, whilst our Saviour ‘went about doing of good.’”¹

The subject of the second sermon, *A Gift for God Alone*, was the giving of the heart. One motive for its performance was “the dignity of the Party desiring it: God who might *command* seems in some sort in the text to *request*. These last ten years have made a sad change in many men’s conditions. Such who formerly relieved others have since received help from others. Need hath taught many an ingenuous tongue a language where-with formerly it was unacquainted. It may move a miser’s heart to pity to hear them beg (not through any default of their own), who had a hand and heart to distribute to others. But ought we not to be affected with the motion made in the text wherein the Great God of Heaven seemeth in some sort to wave his might and majesty?” “Nothing is required to the giving of the heart save the giving of the heart; the more simply, the more surely it is performed.”²

The third sermon is on the Weeping of Peter, Luke xxii. 61, a text which, says the preacher, “contains the cure for the falling sickness of the soul, and is so short that it needs no division; only (to avoid confusion) I will handle it, first, in reference to Saint Peter, then in application to ourselves. Meantime let none be offended at me that clean through my discourse, I call him *Saint Peter*, though then in the midst of his misery, whom some will not style so, though now in the height of his happiness. Sure their taking of the Saintship from those in heaven hath added no more holiness to themselves on earth. But, such honour have all His saints, that they are to be mentioned with honour. And see the patent of Peter’s Saintship penned with his tears in my text, written out so much the more fairly by how much it was the more blurred: ‘and wept bitterly.’”³ He quaintly says that Peter in his denial did not practise equivocation, “that sluggish piece of popery,” which “could not be so early a riser as to be up in the church in the twy-light and first dawning of the Gospel. For first, S. Peter did consider that he was *forewarned*, and therefore should have been *forearmed*. He could not plead that he was surprised on a sudden, Christ having given him before a Caveat thereof. Secondly, he did it against his free promise and flat protesta-

¹ Page 18.

² Pages 18, 20.

³ Page 4.

tion; as if child's play, too mean for men, were good-enough for God, fast and loose, bind and break, solemnly say one thing and presently do another. Thirdly, he did it thrice: *once* may be imputed to incogitancy, *twice* ascribed to infirmity, but *thrice* is incapable of any charitable comment. So that favour itself must be forced to condemn it for a wilful offence. It was not a bare denial, but a denial embossed with oaths, and embroidered with curses: such is the concatenation between one sin and another. The Naturalists report of the providence of the pismire that when she storeth up grain for the winter she biteth off both the ends of the corn thereby to prevent the growing thereof. But if we should be so unhappy as to commit one sin, oh let us with speedy repentance spoil the procreative power thereof before that one sin hath begot another: for how quickly did St. Peter add swearing to lying, and cursing to both!"¹ Further on he takes occasion to rebuke "the jollity of this age." "A strange people! who can dance at so doleful music as the passing-bell of a church and commonwealth. Take heed! Atheism knocks at the door of the hearts of all men, and where Luxury is the porter it will be let in. Let not the multiplicity of so many religions as are now on foot make you careless to have any, but careful to have the best."²

The last discourse, *The Best Act of Oblivion*, preached upon Shrove Sunday, and dated 1655, is on David's words, "Remember not the sins of my youth;" it deals particularly with the besetting sins of the young. The title has perhaps reference to the then recent General Pardon and Amnesty (24th Feb. 1652).

To these sermons Fuller added his running comment on part of the first chapter of Jonah—a fragment distinguished by its commonsense views of life and its practical divinity. Its perusal raises a regret that the author did not write more expositions of the kind. The comment probably belongs to an earlier period of his life, since he thus refers to the "present estate" of the Christian Church: "Is it not tossed with the tempest of war as bad as Jonah's ship? It lost an anchor when the Palatinate was lost. It sprung a leak when Rochelle was taken. One of the mainmasts thereof was split when [Gustavus] the King of Sweden was killed. Though we in this island be safe in the sides of the ship, yet let us not be sleepy as Jonah, but with our prayers commend to God the distresses of our beyond-sea brethren; and thank God that we (like Gideon's fleece) are dry, when the ground round

¹ Page 7.

² Page 23.

about us is wet with weeping ; steeped in tears, bedewed with mourning." ¹

The last ten years of Fuller's literary life are intimately connected with SION COLLEGE, whence, "from my chamber," he wrote the preface to his *Church-History*. He seems to have occupied rooms there from an earlier date (see pp. 504-5), finding the place convenient for his City lectureships and for correcting for the press. The Presidents about this time were : James Cranford, 1653-5 ; Saml. Clarke of Bennet Fink, 1656 ; Charles Offspring of St. Antholin's, 1658 ; Edward Reynolds of St. Lawrence Jewry, 1659. Upon the 10th January, 1658, Fuller dated thence a commendatory preface to *Kawà kai Παλαιά* · *Things New and Old*, a collection of passages from the writings of learned men, 1658, folio, compiled by his friend John Spencer, to whom he may have entrusted for use therein some of his unpublished sermons.² Thence also Fuller dated, in 1660, his "timely-happy, timely-wise" *Mixt Contemplations in Better Times*. It is therefore probable that he kept a chamber at the college till his death.

The "trusty and aboriginal librarian" was JOHN SPENCER just mentioned, an "honest and unpretending" man, who discharged his duties "conscionably, and with much diligence and humility." He regarded Fuller as "an excellent preacher."³ Fuller, who loved a bookish character, was attracted to one whom he has described as conversing with books and bookmen from his childhood ; "and always being where the frankinsense of the Temple was offered, there must be some perfume remaining about him."⁴ Spencer, who belonged to Utcester, Staffordshire, had been placed in his office, in 1631, by the Rev. John Simpson, founder of the Library. There is extant in the State Paper Office a petition, dated 1636, from Spencer to Laud, from which it appears that the former had been suspended by a new President and Governors ; and he prays that his case may be referred to arbitrators. His suspension had been brought about, in 1633 apparently, by Dr. Wm. Fuller, of St. Giles's, Cripplegate,⁵ and Mr. Holdsworth, the Dean, with

¹ Page 29. The latter part of the passage may be in reference to the day appointed for fasting, prayers, and collection of money for the persecuted Protestants of Piedmont, July 4, 1655.

² Fuller commends Spencer's industry. The extracts in the work are taken from contemporary divines and authors, many being from manuscript sources, and are often illustrated in the margins by parallel passages from ancient authors. The

quotations from Fuller's *Holy State and Wounded Conscience* are curiously varied. The writer has made in his copy of this valuable folio, for the sake of reference, a very full alphabetical index of all the contemporary names quoted in it.

³ See *Kawà*, p. 227, No. 890.

⁴ *Ibid.* Preface.

⁵ The two Drs. Fuller, numbered 2 and 3 at p. 249 *ante*, thus prove to be the same individual.

the consent of Juxon, Bishop of London. The charge against Spencer was that of being concerned in the disposal of the property of one of the residents at the college who had died there.¹ The fact of his afterwards recovering his position in 1640 shows that he made clear his innocence.

John Spencer, who remained Librarian until 1680, compiled the first printed catalogue of the library, and it was published at his own expense in 1650, 4to. At that time the collection contained two of Fuller's works, *The Holy Warre*, 1640, and *The Holy State*, 1642, placed side by side. One of the Bodleian copies of this catalogue contains MSS. notes; and written under the foregoing there are two more works, *The Church-History*, 1655, and the *Pisgah*, 1650. The latter is said in Reading's folio Catalogue, 1724, to have been presented by Fuller, "minister of Waltham in Essex," in 1654; but that copy, which one is eager to find for the sake of its probable inscription, must have perished in the Great Fire, since Reading catalogues the edition of 1662. In 1661 Fuller's son John, then of Sydney Sussex College, presented a copy of *The Worthies*, and *S. Clementis Epistola Gr. per P. Junium*. Fourteen other works by Fuller, catalogued by Reading, came from the collection of T. James, a printer in Minchin Lane, and grandson to the first Keeper of the Bodleian Library, being presented by his widow in 1701.

Fuller appears as a silent but wondering spectator of the extraordinary events which brought about the establishment of the Protectorate, and which led to its perpetuation under Cromwell until 1658. In after days he could not but express his admiration of the wise and potent sway of the Protector. "Have we not seen O. Cromwell," said he, "from a private gentleman ascend *gradatim* to be Protector of three nations, and by his courage and wisdom rather than any right; a more absolute power possessed by, and larger tribute paid unto him than to any king in England."²

Under a government which tolerated a variety of religious organisations, Fuller, submitting just as much to the new order of things as enabled him to keep clear of any serious inconvenience, did as aforetime much as he liked. Openly proclaiming his love for Episcopacy, he outwardly conformed to Presbyterianism (see p. 536), deporting himself *quietly* under it. He was strong in the affection of his people, and though "the committee men looked sour" at him, as they also did at Baxter, they let him

¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Dom. Ser.) 1636, 14th Mar. p. 295 *seq.*; Reading's folio Cat.

² *An Alarum*, p. 69.

alone. His right to his living, or his lectureships, was not at first challenged. The country clergy in possession of the parochial livings were permitted to use the Common Prayer if the local ecclesiastical boards did not object, or to use it with modifications, as did Hacket at Cheam, being satisfied with an outward conformity. The Essex clergy were indeed particularly free from molestation. Dr. Gauden, an Episcopalian, the reputed author of *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, but who, in the wary spirit of Fuller himself, conformed to Presbyterianism, was beneficed at Bocking; and in 1649 a collection was made at Woodford for the chaplains and servants of the King, it being stated that forty of them were in great distress, not being able to maintain themselves. In London, where Fuller was most at home, there was greater liberty than in the country. Bishop Kennet, who said that the prejudice Cromwell had against the Episcopal party was more for being Royalists than for their being of the good old Church, relates that Dr. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, "kept a conventicle in London in as open a manner as the Dissenters did after the toleration, and so did several other Episcopalian Divines."¹ Evelyn notes, under date of April 15, 1655: "Dr. Wilde preached at St. Gregorie's, the Ruling Powers conniving at the use of the Liturgy, &c. in this church alone. In the afternoon Mr. Pierson preached at East Cheap." The author of the *Conformist's Plea for the Nonconformists*, a clergyman, reckons up "many clergy who had livings in Cromwell's day in the city, and preached without any let. There were Dr. [Geo.] Hall, Dr. Ball, Dr. Wilde, Dr. Harding, Dr. Griffith, Dr. Pierson, Dr. Mossome, and many more, beside abundance in the country." Faringdon and Taylor also used the liturgy at St. Mary Magdalen's and St. Gregory's respectively. The above names comprise some of the "cavalier ministers of London," as also some who were of Fuller's way of thinking, and who, being "quiet and godly men," held on to their preferments up to the disgraceful ejection of all in 1662,—the greatest and most lamentable mistake reaction ever made. Fuller's name might be added to the list, since he has left us to draw the inference that other ministers might have had the like liberty with himself if they would have forborne writing and preaching satires on the times,—a thing of course Fuller never did! A modern authority, the Rev. T. Lathbury, says, however, that these City "indulgences" were *not* granted in the country: "in London the presence and influence of the Protector were sufficient to protect the clergy; but in the

¹ *Hist. Eng.* iii. 223. See also *Barwick's Life*, p. 39.

country the letter of the declaration against the Common Prayer was strictly observed."¹

Towards the end of the year 1655, Cromwell, in consequence of the Royalist rising in the West under Penruddock, &c., and of other plots encouraged by the clergy against the Government, issued a stringent proclamation, which seriously affected the position of the old parsons. By it all who "had adhered to his late majesty, or assisted the present [king]," were prohibited, under penalties, from all fellowships, livings, &c., and from administering publicly or privately the rites of their church. "Nevertheless his Highness doth declare that, towards such of the said persons as have since their ejection or sequestration given, or shall henceforth give, a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be used as may consist with the safety and good of the nation." The edict was in particular severe against schoolmasters, private tutors, and chaplains, who in Cromwell's view used their position to encourage treason: in future no "delinquents" were to keep such persons, or permit their children to be taught by them. The hardship of this decree may be imagined, when it is remembered that large numbers of the clergy were employed as tutors or schoolmasters. Thus, Jeremy Taylor, as also Dr. Fuller (afterwards Bishop of Lincoln),² were engaged in teaching. When, indeed, those who refused the Covenant at Cambridge in 1643 were "outed house and home," they received, as tutors, &c. the protection of their friends, Fuller stating that it was "strange to conceive how many of them got any subsistence, or livelihood to maintain themselves. This mindeth me of the occasion of the Greek proverb (Zenodotus the author thereof): *ἢ τέθνηκεν ἢ διδάσκει γράμματα*, 'he is either dead, or teacheth school.' For when Nicias, the general of Athens, (having many scholars in his army,) had fought unfortunately against the Sicilians, and when such few as returned home were interrogated what became of their companions, this was all they could return, 'They were either dead or taught school;' a poor and woful employment, it seems, in those days, as weighed in the other scale, against death, so indifferent was the odds betwixt them. The same we conceive the hard hap of such Fellows that survived the grief of their ejection. Many betook themselves to the painful profession of Schoolmaster; no calling which is honest being disgraceful, especially to such who, for their conscience-sake, have deserted a better condition."³

¹ *Hist. Eng. Episcopacy*, p. 295.

² See the Note appended to this chapter.

³ *Hist. Camb.* § 9, ¶ 41.

The measure came into effect on the 25th December. As to its consequences, Evelyn, noting that he heard Dr. Wilde preach on that day “the Funeral Sermon of Preaching,” adds the comment, “This was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter. So pathetic was his discourse [from 2 Cor. xiii. 9] that it drew many tears from the auditory. . . . God make me thankful Who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies! The Lord Jesus pity our distressed church, and bring back the captivity of Zion!” In the subsequent year or two Evelyn attended the private ministrations of sequestered divines, or had service in his own house—“the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle; so sharp was the persecution. The parish churches were filled with sectaries of all sorts. . . . Dr. Wilde preached in a private house in Fleet street, where we had a great meeting of zealous Christians, who were generally much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity.”¹

Fuller, strong in the affection of his parishioners and his friends, and perhaps in the goodwill of the government, took no heed to the proclamation, although he was apprehensive as to its effect. His biographer says: “The good Doctor forbore not to preach as he did before; the convincing power either of his doctrine or his worth defending and keeping him out of the hands of that unreasonable man,” Cromwell.²

In the emergency Fuller sought the advice of his friends. Their encouragement, and “the strong persuasions of his own conscience,” roused the resolve “to do his duty as a minister of Christ, and leave the issue to God. But he did not only look upon this prohibition in general as a severe punishment inflicted upon the nation, by removing their teachers into corners—nay, remote corners—of the world if they disobeyed that edict; but in particular (at first view of it) as some punishment or infliction on himself, as if God had refused him³ and laid him aside as not fit to serve him; and this he referred to his former remissness in the discharge of that high function whereunto he was separated and called.”⁴

Measures of this kind threw a great many good men upon the charity of their friends. Other causes had helped to swell the destitution that existed among those who formerly were in good circumstances. We have just been reminded by Fuller

¹ Dec. 25th, 1655; Aug. 3rd, 1656.

² Page 43.

³ Dr. Hammond took a similar view of his own troubles. See his *Life* by Fell.

⁴ Pages 43, 44.

(page 593) of the sad change that had taken place in the position of many that he knew. He adds elsewhere that many in that age had "learned their lesson of labour who were neither born nor bred unto it."¹ By reason of his exceptional position, Fuller was able to mitigate the sorrow or distress of his brethren; and he did it liberally. One instance of his kindness of heart has been already recorded (page 453). He himself tells us of another man who was in great extremity, but whom he knew to be notoriously bad; saying that if he could have made the distinction, he would willingly have fed his person but starved his profaneness. "This being impossible, I adventured to relieve him. For I know that amongst many Objects, all of them being in extreme miseries, Charity, though shooting at random, cannot miss a right mark."² Fuller's biographer thus dwells upon his generosity: "Now did he superabundantly exercise that grace of charity to all persons distressed and ruined by this sad occasion [the edict against schoolmasters, &c.]; what his own small estate could not do, he helped out by exhorting and persuading all men of his acquaintance or congregation (for so was the Church of England reduced, even in that to the form of that schism that ruined it), or select auditory; so that what by his powerful example and as strong persuasions, he did minister effectually to their relief. Not to omit one particular charitable office of this Doctor to the same kind of sufferers: from the expiration of the war he constantly retained one that had been a Captain in the royal army, and whose fortunes and condition could neither keep him according to that degree, nor sustain or relieve him in any other. This the good Doctor did out of a loyal and honourable sense of such persons' sufferings and contempts far unworthy their cause or their desert: and did therefore allow him £10 yearly, besides diet and lodging till the Captain died."³

The Eulogist further says that "the grace that was supereminent in the good Doctor was *Charity*, both in giving and forgiving; as he had laboured during our civil broils after peace, so (when that could not through our sins be attained) did he with the same earnestness press the duty of Love, especially among brethren of the same afflicted and too much already divided Church; and therefore was most exemplary in keeping the band of it himself, though in a matter that

¹ *Mixt Contempl.* viii. p. 14.

² *Good Thoughts in Bad Times: Pers. Med.* ix.

³ Pages 44-45. The same feeling prompt-

ed his benevolent suggestion for national subscriptions to redeem Christian captives from Tunis, Tripoli, Algier, Sallî, &c. (*Worthies*, xi. 37.)

most nearly concerned his credit and fame, the chiefest worldly thing he studied and intended."¹

At length Fuller was called upon to go before that curious and dreaded conclave that came to be known as "The Tryers," or "Cromwell's Tryers," first appointed in March, 1654, as Commissioners for the "approbation of public preachers." It was a favourite scheme of the Protector's, who, whatever else he had in view, showed, in Baxter's opinion, a sincere and catholic spirit in regard to the union of the servants of Christ. But the ordinance gave great offence to the Episcopalians; for the Commissioners, nine of whom were laymen, consisted mostly of Independents, as Baxter says, but "some sober Presbyterians" were with them, and a few Baptists. Nye, Marshall, Manton, Peters, Thomas Goodwin, and others were among them. They met at Whitehall. While they were not empowered to erect a standard of faith, they were to judge of the ministerial fitness of candidates, and to receive assurance of submission to the existing government. Candidates for holy orders, or settled ministers were, in accordance with these limited instructions, to be "approved for the grace of God in them, their holy and unblameable conversation, as also for their knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the gospel;" and they could not be rejected unless nine members of the body were present.² This ordinance was followed by a second in August, 1654, by which the scheme was extended to *each county*. These county Commissioners, or "Ejectors," consisted of ten ministers with several laymen, the numbers ranging from fifteen to thirty per shire. Five or more could summon any schoolmaster, or "public preacher, lecturer, or other person, formerly called Parsons, Vicars or Curates, settled or are hereafter to be settled in any benefice, commonly called a benefice with cure of souls, or public lecture." Such persons if reputed ignorant, insufficient, or scandalous (under which term fell the use of the Common Prayer), were to be removed from their places by the Triers. To these Commissioners Tombes, Caryl, Bond, &c. and afterwards Howe, belonged.³ On the dissolution of the Little Parliament the two bodies, "Cromwell's Inquisition," controlled the Church, holding, it was averred, more power than the former bishops' courts. John Goodwin, author of *The Tryers Tryed*, called their authority Hyper-Archiepiscopal and Super-Metropolitan. The Acts were confirmed in 1656; and the sessions of the body lasted till the beginning of 1659.

¹ Page 48.

² Scobell's *Acts*, ii. 279, 280.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 335—347, and 389; Walker's *Sufferings*, i. 171 seq.

The jurisdiction of the Triers thus extending to the occupants of benefices as well as to the lecturers, Fuller might have been summoned in respect of either of his positions. It is not known with certainty whether he underwent the ordeal before the Essex Commissioners (twenty-one gentlemen, &c. of the county, and nine ministers their assistants, one of the latter being Matthew Newcomen the Smectymnian), or before the London body; but it was probably the latter. The lists forming the boards are given at length in Scobell; and among them, as respects Fuller, a friendly name can scarcely be found. He had, however, to obtain the approbation of one or other of these authorities, if he wished to continue his happy relations with his Waltham flock or his London friends.

The incident occurred much later than it is generally placed; since Howe, whose name is connected with the matter, did not appear in London until the latter part of 1656 or early in 1657, and his great influence among his brethren could only be acquired after some lengthened intercourse with them. The incident therefore illustrates Fuller's exceptional freedom.

Fuller keenly felt the unpleasantness of his situation. The Triers were nearly all strangers to him; and Calamy says that he had "a very formidable notion" of them, which Calamy evidently had not. Fuller was particularly averse to the minute inquiries that were sometimes put.¹ "He doubtless had some misgivings," says Professor Rogers, "as to whether he might be able to answer satisfactorily all the inquisitorial inquiries of this strange court; and whether he might not get *limed* by some of their theological subtleties."² In this emergency he had the good sense to resort to JOHN HOWE (then in London, the preacher at St. Margaret's, Westminster), whom he, as well as many other Episcopalians, knew for his generous aid at critical times. Never was Howe known, says his biographer, Professor Rogers, to refuse to applicants such aid, "if they were but persons of real merit." Several instances are on record of the kind interference of Howe, whose position, as the favourite chaplain to Cromwell, was one of great influence. Underlying the uncharitable and conflicting censures of partial writers one may often detect traces of a proper feeling between those of different communion; when sometimes each esteemed other better than himself. Thus Baxter, April 1658, prays his

¹ "The Examinations were sometimes conducted in a disgraceful manner. Mr. Sadler was examined by Nye, Tombes, and Peters, who were not ashamed, amongst a multitude of similar questions, to demand

whether regeneration be a substance or an accident, and in what predicament? What is the breath of the soul?" &c. (*Hist. of the Later Puritans*, pp. 380—383.)

² *Essay on Fuller*, p. 9.

friend Howe “not to despise those they call Royalists and Episcopalians, either because they are now under them, or because of contrariety of worldly interests; for these things signify less than carnal hearts imagine: and who knows what a day (and a righteous God) may bring forth?”

Of the actual interview of the witty parson with the large-souled Independent, Calamy has left us a merry account.¹ The meeting may have taken place at Whitehall, where Howe then resided. Fuller, tall in person, “with a proportionable bigness to become it,” dressed as usual, “much according to the old English guise,” and with a countenance ruddy and cheerful enough to cause his rejection before the Triers,—who, if report be correct, were able “to find, in lines of beard and face, the physiognomy of grace,”—is ushered into Howe’s presence. Howe, a man of gentle manners and spare figure, and very much less advanced in years than his visitor (he was born in 1630), bids him welcome. Fuller, a “gentleman,” according to Calamy, “who was generally ‘upon the merry² pin,’” thus accosts his brother:—

“Sir, you may observe that I am a pretty corpulent³ Man, and I am to go through a Passage that is very strait: I beg you would be so good as to give me a Shove,⁴ and help me through.”

Howe, who had been beneficed in Devonshire before becoming Cromwell’s chaplain, must have heard much of Fuller, and recognised his “real merit.” Willingly and freely, therefore, did he give his Episcopalian friend his best counsel. Fuller, thus fortified, appeared before the Triers. Being interrogated in the usual way, “Whether he had ever had any Experience of a Work of Grace in his Heart,” the parson “gave this in for answer, That he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts that he made Conscience of his very Thoughts;”—a cautious reply, veiled in general terms, but of sufficient plainness and sobriety to show his interlocutors that they were encroaching upon holy ground.⁵ He of course implied by it, “that it was not without

¹ *Memoirs of Howe*, pp. 20, 21, edition 1724.

² See Fuller’s note of the origin of this phrase in *Ch.-Hist.* iii. 17. Also *The Percy MS.* vol. iii. p. 28.

³ Fuller’s droll reference to his extraordinary bulk cannot be appreciated in the existing portraits; but the force of it will be apparent from the frontispiece to this volume. But even this drawing does not, as regards Fuller’s bulk, do justice to “this mighty mass of Fuller’s

earth,” as the editor of the *Academy* lately termed it (Feb. 28, 1874, p. 229).

⁴ The word was not vulgar in Fuller’s day: he again uses it in the comment upon the temptation on the pinnacle of the temple (*A Comment*, p. 86); and Baxter is said to have written a work entitled *The Heavy Shove*.

⁵ One of the chief questions concerned the precise time and manner of the conversion of the candidate, as to which point Fuller had only recently publicly

the strictest scrutiny into his motives that he had ventured on the ministerial office." Fuller's questioners were entirely satisfied by his serious and fitting reply, "as indeed they well might," adds Calamy. It is hard to say to whose ingenuity the oracular utterance was due. Calamy's words might imply that Howe suggested it; for, says he, Fuller "promised to follow" his advice; and the phrase "gave in for answer" is suggestive of a studied reply. On the other hand the answer is in the manner and language of Fuller, who in his *Wounded Conscience* asks the question, "Art thou careful to order thy very thoughts, because the infinite Searcher of hearts doth behold them?" Of Fuller's reply, Professor Rogers says that "while it was sufficient to answer the general purpose for which the question was put, it was not so particular as to involve any of those perplexing discussions which were the delight of the men and of the age. If honest Thomas Fuller had attempted a more specific answer, it is by no means improbable that in spite of all his excellence, he would not have satisfied the subtle and 'distinguishing' spirit which animated many of his examiners. He might, but for Howe's timely 'shove,' have stuck in the dreaded passage after all."¹

The wish to remove Fuller from his cure was due to political feeling, which was occasionally disgracefully exhibited on these Committees. On much the same grounds it was attempted to remove Dr. Pococke, Arabic Professor at Oxford, charged, forsooth, with insufficiency; but Dr. Owen interceded on his behalf. The general service done by the Triers to the Church is, however, amply acknowledged by Baxter.²

A further collection of four sermons, entitled *The Best Name on Earth*, now rarely to be met with, was in 1657 issued from Stafford's press, embellished with a frontispiece by Hollar, and with the *Abel* portrait. The discourses are said to have been

expressed his distaste, regarding such inquiries as neither "manners nor religion." He said: "Some there are who exact of every Christian (as a touchstone to their sincerity) to render an account of the exact time of their conversion, with the circumstances thereof, how, when, and where performed, I must crave leave to enter myself a Dissenter herein, conceiving such a demand unreasonable, as generally required essential to all true believers." (Dedication, bk. iii., *Ch.-Hist.*)

¹ Rogers' *Howe*, pp. 79—81. "Moderate, orthodox, and Catholic, he allowed to others the liberty which he claimed for himself, whilst he bewailed the divisions of

the times in which he lived, not as many did, because he wanted all to think like him, but because he saw that men would not peaceably allow one another to exercise the right of private judgment. The piety of Fuller was that of thorough conscientiousness, so well expressed by himself when he told the 'Triers' he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts, &c. With his conscientiousness—which really seemed to cover the whole field of Evangelical and practical religion—there was associated the faculty of *wit*, which gave even to his religion a character of humour." (Dr. Stoughton, ii. 412.)

² Part i. p. 72.

"lately preached in St. Bride's and in other places." The title-pages to the last three sermons are separately dated 1656, which three are the first in order on Stafford's list of ten, entered at Stationers' Hall, 23rd Jan., 1655-6. To this inversion in the order of printing Fuller perhaps refers when he says: "These sermons have the disadvantage of the former, [*i.e.* the 1656 collection of Four] by the late starting thereof; and were for some private reasons of the Author, retarded in the printing; yet possibly they may have the good speed to overtake the rest. They were first made at the request of his worthy friend now deceased, and preached in a private parish near London; since they have proceeded into a more public congregation." The importunity of friends, we again see, demanded their publication. The first sermon is on the word *Christian*—a subject, Fuller says, which was "not improper for the times wherein so many opinions are set on foot, and new names of several factions daily invented." This discourse, which is on the text Acts xi. 26, deals with topics upon which the preacher loved to dwell. The early portion is not unworthy of the author of the *Pisgah-Sight*. The word *Christian*, he says, is "used twice in the bible, or (if you will), but once and a half" !—referring to 1 Pet. iv. 16, and Acts xxvi. 28; but he is at variance with modern critics in ascribing to the word an *honourable* meaning in those verses; as also in supposing that the Church took the name upon itself as a prudential act, "pitcht upon" as a common name for both Jew and Gentile. Noticing the word *Jesuit*, he comments upon the "suspicion of blasphemy" in it, his remarks forestalling a well-known contrast to the same effect in a modern scholarly work. He gives prominence to the heathen etymology of the word, "*Christiani* quasi *Chrestani*, from *χρηστός*, the Greek word for *mild* and *meek*, as more merciful men, more pitiful and compassionate persons than any others;" and he unfavourably compares with it the deportment of modern Christians one towards another: "so ill we brook our names." The "uses" of his discourse serve to confute (1) those that were ashamed of the name Christians; and (2) those that are a shame to the name Christian. Under the first head he charges it on the account of the Church of Rome that in Rome itself the word *Christian* was taken to be a term of reproach; and that Roman Catholics were ashamed of the name because they rather pleased and prided themselves in the titles Dominicans, Franciscans, &c. He historically reviews the various names of Christians,—Lutherans, Calvinists, Protestants, &c.,—which he shows were "fixed and fastened on us by the spleen and envy of our Romish

adversaries ;” and he censures their unfair and disingenuous dealing in “ first aspersing us with such nicknames, first calling us so, and then accusing us for being called so.” “ Here I will not descend to those petty names of private Sects,¹ which these last ten years have produced, nor will I honour them with any mention. Chiefly, because as the youngest of discretion in this congregation may remember the beginning of such names, so I hope the oldest may live to see the end of them, when such ridiculous and absurd names shall utterly be abolished.” Under the second head he deals with the profane, the ignorant, and the factious ; exhorting his hearers in conclusion to leave off all by-names of parties, interests, and factions, and to return to “ our best, largest, and ancientest name.”

The next sermon, entitled *The Worst of Evils*, was on the text “ By nature the children of wrath.” The discourse exhibits the practical nature of Fuller’s divinity.

Upon a text so inviting to the mere controversialist as that of original sin the preacher proposes to “ deliver plain and positive doctrine, without thorny disputes or curious speculations, lest as Abraham’s ram was caught in the thicket, so I imbroil you and myself in difficult controversies.” “ Let us not busy our brains so much to know how *original sinne* came unto us, as labour with our heart to know how it should be got out of us.” He approves the resolution of “ the Church of England ” in the ninth Article,—“ the Golden Article ” he scruples not to add,—“ which as all the rest was written by their hands who had good heads and hearts, in whom wisdom did contend with their learning, but their piety was a conqueror above both ; who what they learnedly distilled out of the Scripture, faithfully infused into those articles.” He applies the text to those that are children to parents ; and to those that are parents to children.

The sermon entitled *The Snare Broken* was noticed p. 543, in the year in which it was preached. The last is an Assize sermon entitled *Strange Justice*, from Judges xix. 30. It was preached, apparently, at *Dorchester*, for he alludes, p. 42, to the elevated position of the town of Shaftesbury “ in this county ;” his words implying that he had been at the latter town. In his relation of the circumstances of the chapter, he has remarks on *hospitality* :—

¹ To the same effect in his *Mixt Contemplations* he stated that England had but one legitimate religion, the doctrine whereof was established in the Thirty-nine Articles. “ How many spurious ones she

hath, whether six, sixty, or six score, I neither do know nor will enquire, nor will I load my book and trouble the reader with their new, numerous and hard names.” (No. xxi. p. 35.)

“None invited this Levite home, for then amongst the Jews, there was no Inns; or rather, every house was an Inn wherein strangers were freely entertained, and at their departure thanks was all the shot they had to discharge. At last comes an old man from his work out of the field at evening and gives him a free invitation. Mark, I pray you, his character: (1) He was an old man: your youthful galants have more bravery on their backs than bounty in their hands; alas! they have been born since the death of hospitality. Even amongst us for the most part they are old men of an ancient stamp and edition almost worn out, which are most to be recommended for their hospitable bounty. (2) He came from his work: those are most pitiful to others who are most painful in their own callings. Your great gamesters that will play away an estate by wholesale are loth to retail out alms to the poor, whilst naturally the best husbands are the best housekeepers; liberality being a fire that is maintained by thrift.”¹

The cause of the mischief referred to in his text was set down in the first verse, “because there was no king in Israel.” “A tyranny is to be preferred before an anarchy: for a commonwealth to want a chief, it is the chief of all wants; every man will do what he lists, none what he should.”²

In 1657 Fuller, a true son of consolation, preached a sermon at St. Clement Danes, entitled *The Righteous Man's Service to his Generation* (Acts xiii. 36), on the occasion of the funeral of his very intimate and congenial friend, Mr. George Heycock. Of this gentleman Fuller says that he was “well known to many of you, and to none better than to myself.” “He was an excellent subject; for according to that which his conscience (with many others) conceived to be loyalty: he lost much and hazarded all his estate. . . . What shall I speak of his parts of nature, so far above his education and profession, that he might have passed for a scholar among scholars, for his wit and pleasant expressions. But God hath made him his *free-man* and paid him his wages for so well serving his generation.”³ We further learn that many “volunteer mourners” were present at the funeral.

The sermon was afterwards published, the preacher explaining in an address “to the friends of the party deceased” that when he delivered it he “had scarce the stump of a voice left me, so that very few did distinctly hear what I did deliver.” In this form the sermon is very rare; but it was afterwards added by Williams to the discourses in *The House of Mourning*.⁴ It is of especial moment as incidentally relating to Fuller's justification of his conduct in those times (“the badness whereof is more dangerous than difficult to describe, and may with more safety be confest by the hearers than expressed by the preacher in his place”); and also offers advice to others. Fuller's pru-

¹ Page 6.

² Page 43.

³ Preface, and pp. 21, 22.

⁴ See the Bibliography.

dence led him to seek safety in the old counsel, "Open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn," Ecclus. viii. 19. He introduces in his discourse those who offended in the excess of serving their generation, "not being only *servants*, but *slaves* and vassals to the age they live in, prostituting their consciences to anything (how unjust soever) to be a Favourite to the Times. Surely a cautious concealment is lawful, and wary silence is commendable 'in perilous times.' Amos 5 13: 'It is an evil time, therefore the wise shall hold their peace.' And I confess that a prudential compliance in religion in things indifferent, is justifiable, as also in all civil concerns wherein the conscience is not violated: but wherein the will of the times crosseth the will of God, our indentures are cancelled from serving them, and God only is to be obeyed. There is some difference in reading the precept Rom. 12 11, occasioned from the similitude of the words in the original (though utterly unlike in our English tongue), some reading it 'serving the *Lord*' [κυρίῳ, with A, B, D², S, Jerome's Vg. Recept. Lachm. and Tisch.]; others, 'serving the *time*' [καιρῷ, with D¹, F, and Griesb.]. I will not dispute which in the Greek is the truer copy, but do observe that David's precedent in my text is a perfect expedient to demonstrate that both lections may and ought to be reconciled in our practice. 'He served his generation'—there is 'serving the times;' but what followeth?—'By the will of God'—there is 'serving the Lord.' This by him was, by us must be performed."¹

This very happy elucidation of a disputed reading was on other occasions used by Fuller, whose prudential conduct was in full accord with it. Not knowing that the illustration best suited himself, Fuller applied it to the celebrated STEPHEN MARSHALL, also an Essex vicar, with whom he was on intimate terms, and who died Nov. 1655.

"In the late long-lasting Parliament, no man was more gracious with the principal members thereof. He was their trumpet, by whom they sounded their solemn fasts, preaching more public sermons on that occasion, than any four of his function. In their sickness he was their confessor; in their assembly their Counsellor; in their treaties their Chaplain; in their disputes their Champion. He was of so supple a soul, that he brake not a joint, yea, sprained not a sinew, in all the alteration of times; and his friends put all on the account, not of his unconstancy but prudence, who in his own practice, as they conceive, reconciled the various lections of St. Paul's precept 'serving the Lord,' and 'the times' (τῷ κυρίῳ, τῷ καιρῷ, δουλεύοντες. Rom. xii. 11)."²

¹ Page 16.

² *Worthies*, § Hunts. p. 53.

In 1657 Fuller contributed a life of HENRY SMITH to a collected edition of the sermons of that well-known preacher, eulogised at once by Thomas Nash and Strype. Fuller says that he was of Oxford, but did "not proceed a divine *per saltum*, as too many nowadays,—I mean leaping over all humane arts and sciences; but furnished himself plentifully therewith." Having scruples as to subscription, and being "loath to make a rent either in his own conscience or in the Church," he adopted the expedient of becoming a lecturer. He was accordingly settled at St. Clement Danes. William Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, gave him protection against the Episcopal officers at a time when "quiet Nonconformists were prosecuted to persecution." Smith's church was crowded with enraptured audiences, and his popularity acquired him the name of "the Silver-tongued preacher, being but one metal, in price and purity, beneath St. Chrysostom himself." Two years before Fuller "preposed" this Life he had spoken with admiration of his sermons. "Whereas generally the sermons of those days are now grown out of fashion (such is our Age's curiosity and affectation of novelty) Smith's sermons keep up their constant credit, as appears by their daily impressions calculated for all times, places, and persons; so solid, the learned may partly admire; so plain, the unlearned may perfectly understand them."¹ He also says: "That these sermons have been used as a handmaid to prayer bedward in some families is not unknown." Strype adds that they "have been a common family book even to this day, and often reprinted." Further evidence of their popularity will be found in Chap. xxiii. They are written in vigorous English, and are not marred by any puns or affectations of language. Fuller had already been inquiring into the particulars of Smith's life: "Some fifteen years since"—*i.e.* about 1642—"I consulted the Jesses, I mean such who passed for old men in the parish of St. Clement Danes, but could recover very little of them either of the time or manner of his death, save that they conceived his disease was a consumption. I perused also the church register, and found it silent concerning the date of his death." Fuller conjectures that he died about 1600.

More than once in the preceding pages has Fuller, while giving all kinds of prayer their due,² pleaded for set forms against the "pretence of the spirit," his appreciation for them growing all the stronger as he recalled the former "pleasures of the

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* ix. 142.

² See *Triple Reconciler*, p. 129; also his Life of Perkins, in *Abel Redeivius*, § 9.

temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and œconomy of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day nor night : these were the pleasures of our peace.”¹

The penalties against using the Common Prayer had led many of the clergy to compile petitions of their own, very many of which, full of the fervour of devotion, have come down to us. Many of them were the old liturgical prayers slightly altered. Others were adapted to the altered condition of the Church. One such collection, dated 1659, written by Dr. Hewit, was entitled *Prayers of Intercession for their Use who mourn in Secret for the Publick Calamities of this Nation. With an Anniversary Prayer for the 30th January*; the Litany in which contained the petition—“That it may please Thee to look compassionately on this persecuted part of Thy Church, now driven from Thy public altars into corners and secret closets; that Thy protection may be over us wherever we shall be scattered, and the souls of Thy servants kept up upright in the midst of a corrupting and of a corrupted generation. *O hear me for Thy Son Jesus sake.*”² As far back as 1654 Fuller had obtained celebrity as a writer of Prayers, for early in that year Stafford entered a collection of forms of prayer before sermon, Fuller’s name being given as one of the authors. Dr. “Reeves,” who succeeded Fuller at Waltham, and who was a contributor to the above collection, published such a work in 1651 as by “Tho. Reeve.”³ Another collection—to which the “Cavalier ministers” were also connected as authors—was issued in 1659, entitled *Pulpit Sparks or Choice Forms of Prayer . . . before and after Sermon*. Fuller’s terse and epigrammatic contribution is a *Prayer before Sermon*, and is marked for its simplicity, holiness, and a charity which is not to be found in the compositions of the more determined enemies of the constituted government. The following petition, conceived in the very spirit of Christianity, is noteworthy: “Bless all those whom Thine own Self in lawful authority hast placed over us, by what name or title soever known to us; bless their counsels and consultations, and make them under Thyself the happy instruments of the good of this nation.” The anonymous eulogist makes allusion to this and other prayers:—

¹ Taylor’s *Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy*, Preface.

² Page 12, Lee Lib., the Owens Coll. Kennet (*Register*, page 38) mentions a book under this title as supposed to be

written by Dr. Henry Hammond. A notice of a similar work in MS. will be found in Stoughton’s *Church of the Commonwealth*, p. 340.

³ See the Bibliography, § ii. ¶ 20.

"A constant form of prayer he used, as in his family, so in his public ministry; only varying or adding upon special occasions, as occurrences intervening required, because not only hesitation (which the good Doctor for all his strength of memory and invention was afraid of before so awful a presence as the Majesty of heaven) was in prayer more offensive than other discourse; but because such excursions in that duty, in the extempore way, were become the idol of the multitude." After alluding to the passage in *Mixt Contemplations* regarding new practices in the Church being for a time probationers on their good behaviour,—in which Fuller commended the discretion of those who, knowing the Directory to be but a stranger, and that the generality of the common people were inclined to the Common Prayer, made their temporary act to stand in force for but three years,—the biographer continues: "He could as well declare his mind and errand, and of all others likewise, with as much plainness, clearness, and (which is more) reverence, as any who cried up the Spirit and their own way in opposition to the laws and the judgment of antiquity; so to take the people with their new-fangled words and licentious easiness of discoursing with God Almighty, whose attributes they squared to their petitions, that it be not said, wills."¹

Fuller's biographer has also the following item, calling for notice here: "He was a little while before [viz. before he was appointed, March, 1658, to Cranford] wooed also to accept of a living at — in Essex, which for some respects he owed the Patron, and to employ that rich talent with which God had so bountifully trusted him, he undertook, and piously there continued his labours till his settlement at London. In the interim came out a book of Dr. Heylyn's," *i.e.* the *Animadversions*, 1659.² I have been able to find no confirmation of this statement, which our careless authority may be confounding either with some of the Essex livings mentioned in the Note, p. 462 *seq.*, as being held by Fullers in Essex, or with Fuller's brief residences in that county at the mansions of his friends. Had Fuller held another country living, some tradition of the fact would undoubtedly have remained.

Upon the occasion of the Oxford Act in 1657 Fuller received a most uncomplimentary notice at the hands of the famous Robert South, of Christchurch, who was then taking his Master's degree, and also held the post of *Terrae-filius*, or licensed buffoon. South, who had been educated by Busby at Westminster, and left the school, according to Á Wood's very

¹ Pages 81—83.

² *Life*, p. 46.

severe account, with "more of impudency and sauciness" than learning, was on one occasion told by Dr. Owen, with great truth, that he was one that sat in the seat of the scornful. The position was one for which South had good qualifications, as the Vice-Chancellor saw: it was South who in 1654 eulogised Cromwell in a Latin poem as

"Great ruler of the land and sea profound,
Thy praise the elements conspire to sound," &c.

and afterwards described him in a court sermon as a bankrupt, beggarly fellow, with a threadbare torn cloak and a greasy hat, perhaps neither of them paid for! Three of South's speeches as *Terrae-filius* are noticed at page 465 *ante*. That we are now concerned with was published in South's *Opera Posthuma Latina*, 1717,¹ edited by Curl. It opens with coarse banter directed against "illo antiquo oppido," Cambridge. He observes that he was not able to take part in the Act at Cambridge, because the Oxford Assizes were then being held. This suggests a comparison of the Dons with the Judge. He is then jocular on the horses and their riders that came to Oxford on the occasion, terming the former *undergraduates*, and suggesting speeches on presenting them for degrees! After other hits at Cambridge, "where the colleges seem like a stable," he deals with his three *quaestiones* in the usual ribald manner of Prevaricators, interspersing among them more jibes against the sister University. In the course of a mock-argument, in the third or longest *quaestio* (*An vanum ex Somniis praesagium?* Aff.), he sets before his auditors, as an example whom they may take to themselves to copy, "that Fuller of yours"—

"—vestrum Fullerum,—Historicum illum Ecclesiasticum, cujus joci jam servantur Cantabrigiae in registro et archivis, ubi inter reliqua Antiquitatis monumenta jocos suos ostendunt, tanquam res antiquissimas: tres tantum accipite.

"Imprimis, cum in Doctorum concilio graviter consultum esset, an ad gradum saltantem *Equos* admitterent, respondit ille, hanc esse rem *aequissimam*.

"Secundus, cum accusatus Tonsor, quod nimium ex Doctores barbâ eraserat, respondit ille, hunc Tonsorem fecisse *barbarè*.

"Tertius, cum sermo esset de quodam ingenioso, sed tamen de pediculis suspecto (nam pediculus est ibi crimen *capitale*) respondit Author [*sic*] noster, scholarem illum pediculosum habere

¹ "Oratio habita in Philosophicis Comitibus a Roberto South, cum Terrae-filii partem egit, Anno 1657," pp. 21—46.

The passage about Fuller will also be found in Southey's *Common-Place Book*, i. pp. 304, 305.

ingenium valde *nitidum*. O rem divinae inventionis! cur non aliquis illum pro hoc joco scalpebat? Nam certe fuit pediculus; solemus enim scalpere ubi sunt pediculi.

“Ego hos tantum recito, nam strenuè deridere est repetere; denique tres solum nominavi, quia Cantabrigiae non licet ultra tres jocos procedere.

“Caeterum ob tres jocos Cantabrigienses (ut audio) erecturi sunt illi statuam, eamque puto ex ligno aut lapide, ut sit ei similior; Statuæ vero hos titulos inscribunt:

DOCTISSIMUS THOMAS, NATIONE
SCOTUS, PRAEBENDARIUS DE SARUM
THEOLOGIAE BACCALAUREUS,
FACULTATIS JOCANDI DOCTOR,
ARTIS MEMORIAE ET ARTIS MENDICANDI
PROFESSOR.

“Quare post erectam illi statuam, mihi opus solum erat illum depingere: vivit Londini; et quid agite semper scribit et tanquam arbor omni anno nova producit *folia*. Prodiit tandem Historia Ecclesiastica, in quâ occurrunt centum sexaginta sex ad Viros nobiles et divites mendicantes epistolae:¹ tanta scilicet ingenii inopia! Hic ab illustrissimo suo Domino Barone de Kingston rogat decem Minas.² Hic ab insignissimâ Dominâ Isabellâ decem Minas.³ Hic a quodam juvene, inter nobilissimos doctissimo, et doctissimos nobilissimo decem Minas, ut nomen ejus suis scriptis imponeret:⁴ sed quod majus, ab altero non rogavit, sed accepit bis decem Minas, ut libris suis ejus nomen non imponeret. Londini ubique currit in plateis cum pallio suo ecclesiastico, et *Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ* sub pallio: sub hoc brachio portat ingentem illum librum, sub altero parvam uxorem; et sic instructus, apud patronos venari solet convivia et prandia, ubi illis negotium datur jocari in fercula. Sed nunquam credo jocos suos esse sales, quamvis solet illos cibus inspergere, hoc unicum in se habent salis, quod solent ad omnium mensas venire. Sed multum profitetur Artem Memoriae, quam sane hic praecipue exercet; nam invitatus ad prandium, nunquam obliviscitur cultrum!

“Quoad habitum corporis, aiunt similem esse Lanio, et hinc ingenium ejus adeo pinguescit. Unum hoc superest notatu dignum, quod nuper vacante Inferioris Bibliothecarii

¹ The number is grossly exaggerated. See *ante*, p. 564.

² This Earl of Kingston is mentioned at page 565.

³ The lady here intended is not given

as a patroness of the *Church-History*. The Countess of Northampton, to whom was inscribed the Sermons on the Temptation, is perhaps meant. See p. 510.

⁴ Edward Mountagu, Esq., is here re-

loco, Academiae nostrae supplicavit per literas, ut sibi illum conferret: sed negavit Academia, nec illum admisit Bibliothecarium, ob hanc rationem, ne Bibliothecae scripta sua ingereret."¹

Scurrilous as is this production, there is reason for thankfulness to South for the coarse picture he gives of the Cambridge divine, upon whose character and habits it throws some light. The rough jokes ascribed to Fuller seem to have been made for the occasion; but his weakness for jokes is intended to be caricatured. The point of the sting in the phrase "a Scotchman by nation" is not apparent, unless the passages at page 562 will explain them. Fuller's prolific pen, and his fame as a memorist, are glanced at. There seems to be some truth in the author's carrying about copies of his huge *History* (see page 570); but it must be remembered that upwards of eighty copies of it he probably himself delivered to the personal friends who had subscribed for them. Fuller's wife, we see, accompanied her portly husband on these occasions, and the interesting notice of her as a lady little of stature is the only personal description that has turned up. Fuller, we see, unlike other literary characters, had *not* "married discord in a noble wife."

The most important particular in the speech about Fuller lies in the last paragraph, where it is said that Fuller applied to the University for a vacant sub-librarianship. It would therefore seem that something had occurred at Waltham Abbey to induce Fuller to resign his charge, or to make him less comfortable than heretofore. Between the publication of the *Church-History* and his presentation to Cranford early in 1658, there is nothing to show that he was at his country living, although "of Waltham" was generally added to his name. "At London," says South, "he lives." There is therefore perhaps truth in the statement that Fuller petitioned for the post at the Bodleian. The office of second-keeper was actually open early in 1657, when Henry Stubbe, M.A., of Christ Church, was elected.² At that time the chief-librarian was Fuller's friend, Dr. Barlow; and Dr. Owen was Vice-Chancellor.

South's speech came under the notice of Heylyn, who, enjoying that portion which related to Fuller, twitted the latter with having heard "so much at the late Act at Oxford" about the dedications "that I shall say no more of it at this present time." Fuller's manly reply to this remark, as well as to South

ferred to. The superlative adjectives are taken from Fuller's dedication in the *Pisgah-Sight*. See *ante*, pp. 388, 566.

¹ Pages 37-40.

² So I am informed by W. H. Turner, Esq., of the Bodleian; who could not, however, find any mention of Fuller among their archives.

(who was many years his junior), has already been quoted at page 5, to which the reader is requested to turn.¹

Fuller's intimacy with the Hon. GEORGE BERKELEY has already been mentioned.² It seems patent from the last notice that about that time (1655) Fuller had become chaplain to the nobleman who, faithful to his convictions, had during the troubles been very active on the King's side. The amiable Lord Berkeley, the father, had also been an ardent Royalist, and bountifully relieved the unfortunate clergy in the West. Of him Lloyd observes: "Most children are notified by their parents, yet some fathers are made eminent by their children, as Simon of Cyrene is known by this character, 'the father of Alexander and Rufus;' and this honourable person by this happy remark, that he was father to the Right Hon. George, Lord Berkeley, who hath been as bountiful to the Church of England, and its suffering members of late (witness Dr. Pearson, Dr. Fuller, &c.), as his honourable ancestors were to the same church and its devout members formerly; . . . honest men in the worst of times finding him their patron, and ingenious men in the best of times enjoying him, at once their encouragement and their example; being happy to a great degree in that ingenuity himself that he doth so much promote in others."³ The elder nobleman died 10th August, 1658, and his funeral sermon, preached in his private chapel by Dr. Pearson, was printed under the title of *The Patriarchal Funeral*, 1658.⁴ The younger was a man of great virtue and piety. He was also an admirer of learning, being one of the founders of the Royal Society, and a benefactor to Sion College. There was thus in him a disposition that was attractive to Fuller, who eagerly embraced the proffered friendship. Lord Berkeley is the author of a scarce anonymous work, the title and design of which is a record of his intimacy with Fuller: *Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon Several Subjects*.⁵ It contains traces of the influence of his favourite chaplain, whose very language is occasionally adopted. Thus: ". . . We should be good company to ourselves; for when we converse with God we are never less alone than when alone. Next to pious meditations godly friends are to be made choice of for our conversation."⁶ Again: "O

¹ *Appeal*, pt. i. 320, Nichols's ed. Fuller's reply is in *Appeal*, i. 28.

² Pages 519, 566.

³ *Memoires*, p. 128.

⁴ See the Bibliography, § ii. ¶ 21.

⁵ First edition, of great rarity, London, 18mo. 1667 (unknown to Lowndes); 2nd, 8vo. 1670; 3rd, 8vo. 1680; 4th, 8vo.

1698. From actual copies in possession of George W. Napier, Esq., of Manchester. The "most pious letter of the most excellent lady, the Lady Harmonia" at the end of the book, addressed to the author of the *Meditations*, was written by the celebrated Countess of Warwick.

⁶ The Dedication: see *ante*, p. 357.

what a sad thing it is to consider that for filthy lucre sake many will marry where they do not love, and then often love where they do not marry!"¹ Berkeley's daughter Theophila married, for her second husband, the excellent Robert Nelson, author of the *Companion to the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*.

Berkeley, who was residing at his manor house of Cranford St. John, Cranford, Hounslow Heath, had a strong regard for Fuller; and with the view of having his chaplain more constantly near him, presented him to the adjoining rectory, March 3, 1658.² In terms of gratitude Fuller refers to his patron in the *Worthies*, averring that the baron had been "so signally bountiful in promoting these and all other my weak endeavours, that I deserve to be dumb if ever I forget to return him public thanks for the same."³ In 1679 Berkeley was advanced to the titles of Viscount Dursley and Earl of Berkeley. He seems to have greatly appreciated the worth of Fuller, who, in common with Pearson, had "so many years been happy in the knowledge of your lordship."

The village of CRANFORD⁴ is in the diocese of London, twelve miles from Hyde Park Corner, and about a mile north of the highway to the West, whence the village is approached by a long avenue of oaks. A portion of the hamlet was situated on the Heath. The parish contains about 500 acres, which in Fuller's time were probably under arable cultivation. The old ford over the Crane (whence the name) still existed. The neighbourhood of the Heath was famous for its highwaymen, "great roads," as Fuller puts it, being "the best rivers for robbers to fish in." It may have been the scene of such an incident as the following, told by Fuller: "A countryman was riding with an unknown traveller (whom he conceived honest) over a dangerous plain. 'This place,' said he, 'is infamous for robbery; but for my own part, though often riding over it early and late, I never saw anything worse than myself.' 'In good time,' replied the other; and presently demanded his purse and robbed him."⁵

CRANFORD CHURCH, dedicated to St. Dunstan, is situated about a mile above the village, and is now approached by the private

¹ Page 17, ed. 1670.

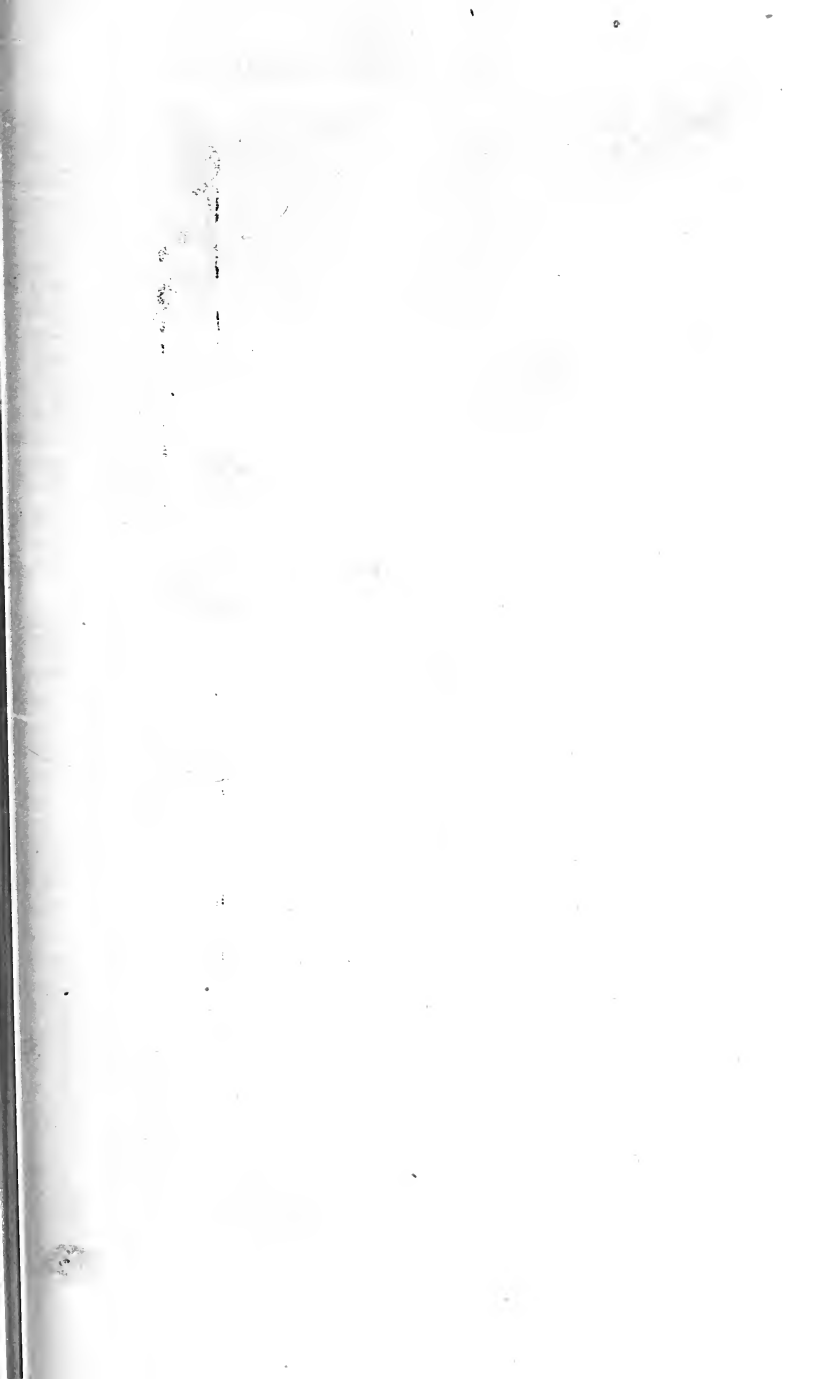
² *Life*, p. 45; Russell, p. 287.

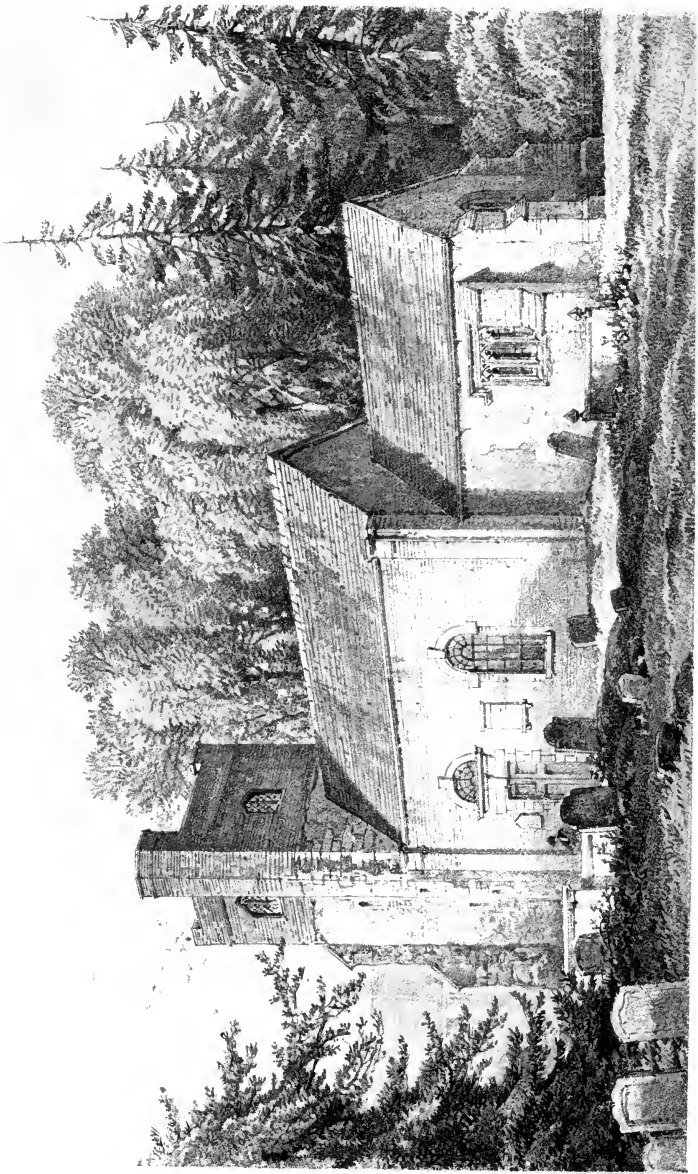
³ *Worthies*, § Gloucestershire, p. 366.

⁴ In the notices of Fuller it is generally misspelt *Crauford*. Some fix it in Northamptonshire, near Fuller's birth-place; whither went Mr. Christophers (*Homes of Old English Writers*, p. 185), who found that the place he wanted "was

within an hour of my home, while I had been looking for it in Northamptonshire!" A writer in *Notes & Queries* also went to the wrong county (1st Ser. x. 245). Some of the memoirs falsely state that Fuller died there.

⁵ Quoted in Spencer's folio, p. 369, as from the Sermons on Christ's Temptations.





CRANFORD CHURCH · WILTSHIRE.

WELL BROOK 117. 10. 18. 1. N. F. C.

road leading to the manor-house and grounds. It is partly encompassed by trees, and comes not to view until the churchyard is entered. Its position and appearance are suggestive of quiet repose. The edifice is small, plain, and irregular. At the west end is a square tower of flint and stone, the unsightly upper part of which has since Fuller's time been rebuilt in brick; and other parts are disfigured in the same way. The lower part of the tower has a western doorway, a window of three lights, and a tower window of one light.

The interior is small and homely. It consists of a nave, rebuilt with brick by a Countess of Berkeley, 1716; and a "third-pointed" chancel, the only remaining feature of that date being the south windows of three lights. There are no side-aisles or transepts. Traces of frequent repairs abound, the church having suffered from the gunpowder explosions in the neighbouring factories. On the south wall of the chancel are numerous tablets and monuments to the Berkeleys and their connections, concealing the windows. One enormous pompous memorial is on the north wall of the chancel. Looking round the white-washed walls, one readily finds in simpler taste a tablet which indicates where "Fuller's earth" lies. There is also a monument to Fuller's friend, Dr. Charles Scarborough, who resided in the neighbourhood.

The value of the living in the King's books is set down at £16. It is thus returned by the Jurors to the Parliamentary Enquiry, 1650: "We present that we have one parsonage house with fifteene acres of Gleabe Lands and the whole Tythes thereunto belonging worth ffowre score pounds p' ann. which is in the presentacōn of George Berkeley Esq. who presented one Mr. Ashford an aged sicklye man that hath taken to his assistance one Mr. William Bridgewater who paynefully p'formes the Cure and that our Church is scittuate about the middle of our Parish, and the furthest Inhabitant not much above a myle distant from it."¹ Fuller seems to have succeeded this Mr. Ashford. On Fuller's death, his friend Dr. John Wilkins, the famous mathematician and philosopher, who married Cromwell's sister, was presented by Lord Berkeley (Dec. 10, 1661), but he was rector for a year only.

The parsonage-house, called "Cranford Moat House," was one of the two former manor-houses, and was formerly known as Cranford-le-Mote; the other manor-house, or Cranford St. John, being the present Cranford House. The former was pulled down in 1780, and no remains exist. It stood within a

¹ *A Survey of Church Lands*, 1649, vol. xii. fo. 69, in Lambeth Palace Library.

moated site, not very far from the church in a north-east direction, and an adjoining wood is named after it. After Fuller's time it became the residence of Sir William Fleetwood.

It was there that Fuller, who left Waltham with the regret of the parishioners, took up his abode. He soon acquired the love and respect of his new parish, his biographer observing: "How infinitely well-beloved he was there needs not be added to those accumulations of respect he found everywhere, for fear especially of resuscitating the recent grief of those parishioners for his late lamented loss."¹

There Fuller was residing when Heylyn issued his harassing attack upon the *Church-History*; there Fuller wrote and dated thence the happy reply, called his *Appeal of Iniured Innocence*. The village pastor at first hesitated to enter into a controversy, on the ground of its interference with his duty: "I lacked leisure solemnly to confute his *Animadversions*, having at this time so much and various employment: the cow was well stocked with milk, thus praised by the poet Virgil:—

'Bis venit ad mulctrum, binos alit ubere fætus.'

She suckles two, yet doth not fail
Twice a day to come to th' pail.

But I justly feared who twice a Lord's-day do come to the pulpit, (God knows my heart, I speak it not to ostentation,) that I could not suckle my parish and the press, without starving or short-feeding of one: whereas the *Animadvertor*, in his retired life, gives no other milk than following his own private studies."²

Lord Berkeley's mansion, situated not very far from the church, and to the north of the Heath, was formerly a plain brick building of small proportions; but it was afterwards greatly altered by Admiral Berkeley. The grounds attached to the Manor House are now very extensive, and are thickly wooded and well kept. The library contains the *Worthies* and *Holy State*, "the former very handsomely bound, and probably presented to George Lord Berkeley by the author's son."³

The House contains a greater treasure in the large oil-painting of Fuller, an accurate sketch from which (through the courtesy of Lord Fitz-Hardinge, its present noble possessor) appears as the frontispiece to the present work. In the same mansion are other original historic portraits, as of Dr. Hervey, Dean Swift, Sir Wm. Temple, &c. It was, perhaps, to oblige his kind patron that Fuller, shortly after his coming to Cran-

¹ Page 46.

² *Appeal*, part i. chap. iii.

³ Russell, p. 288.

ford, sat for this fine picture, which does not appear to have been exhibited among the National Portraits at South Kensington. It is the best comment on Fuller's words: "He may be pretty, but not a proper person, who hath not bulk proportionable to his beauty."¹ His external appearance as exhibited here, gives point to the contemporary references to "the great Tom Fuller." There is a *suaviter in re* seen in the features that is in full harmony with his disposition. The name of the painter is not known.

This portrait has generally been understood to be the original of the portrait engraved by Loggan, and prefixed to the *Worthies*:² but a comparison of the two likenesses dispels the idea. The Berkeley likeness has more of Fuller's "faire bulk," and there is a greater expression of animation about the features, than appears in Loggan's engraving. The latter exhibits the *fortiter in modo*; and a certain heaviness of features infects it with that "dulness" which, according to Dryden, was fatal to the name of Tom. The *Worthies* portrait is that by which Fuller is best known; having been familiarised to his admirers by its appearance, in reduced forms, in Nichols's edition of the *Worthies*, executed by Freeman; in the Pickering editions of Fuller (for which it was reduced by Dean); in Knight's *Portrait Gallery*; in Nuttall's edition of the *Worthies* (by Dean also); and in Howell's edition of the *Thoughts*. The original engraving contained the inscription "Thomas Fuller, S. T. D., aetat. 53, 1661;" and beneath were the verses:—

"The Graver here hath well thy Face designed,
But no hand, FULLER, can express thy Mind;
For that a Resurrection gives to those
Whom Silent Monuments did long enclose."

The original has always been regarded as an excellent print. The engraver, who executed a great number of heads, is satirised in Dryden's lines on vain poets:—

"And in the front of all his senseless plays,
Makes David Loggan crown his head with bays."

Dibdin gives advice to would-be possessors of the *Worthies*: "Be sure that the head of 'honest Tom' by Loggan, prefixed to the title, be not wanting." Over it he becomes enthusiastic: "But the portrait—ay, there is the rub! 'Tis a fine specimen of Loggan's bold burin. If my memory be not treacherous, Mr. Wilson has an isolated proof of it. Why was it unknown to Granger?"³

¹ *Pisgah-Sight*, iii. 363, on the aphorism, "Nothing can be *magnificum* which is not *magnum*."

² Russell, p. 288, &c.

³ *Library Companion*, ed. 1825, pp. 517, 518. E. Riggall, Esq., informs me

The *Abel* portrait is inserted and commented upon at page 499. It ought not to be a difficult matter to determine the engraver of this plate. An experienced print-seller, familiar with the work of the few recognised engravers of the time, might, one would suppose, easily identify it.

The *Anonymous* portrait which appeared with the very rare *Anonymous Life*, has next to be noticed. This belaudered engraving has been very carefully reproduced in photo-lithography, by Mr. A. Brothers of Manchester, from an original copy of the book (maltreated by a former binder), in possession of G. W. Napier, Esq. No engraver's name, it will be noticed, appears upon this plate, which bears traces of hasty preparation. Spite of the unskilful workmanship, the signs of humour may be detected in the face, which at a first glance looks like a caricature. The ill-arranged bust belies the bulkiness that the lines beneath it commemorate. The neck is ungracefully twisted. These defects, however, may be overlooked in consideration of the author of the book in which it appeared having so well "enlivened that *Pourtraite*" of him with some of "those natural graces which were unexpressible in him by the pencil; withal to show what a convenient habitation learning and virtue had chosen, in which nothing could be complained of and faulted, but that they took it for so short a term."¹



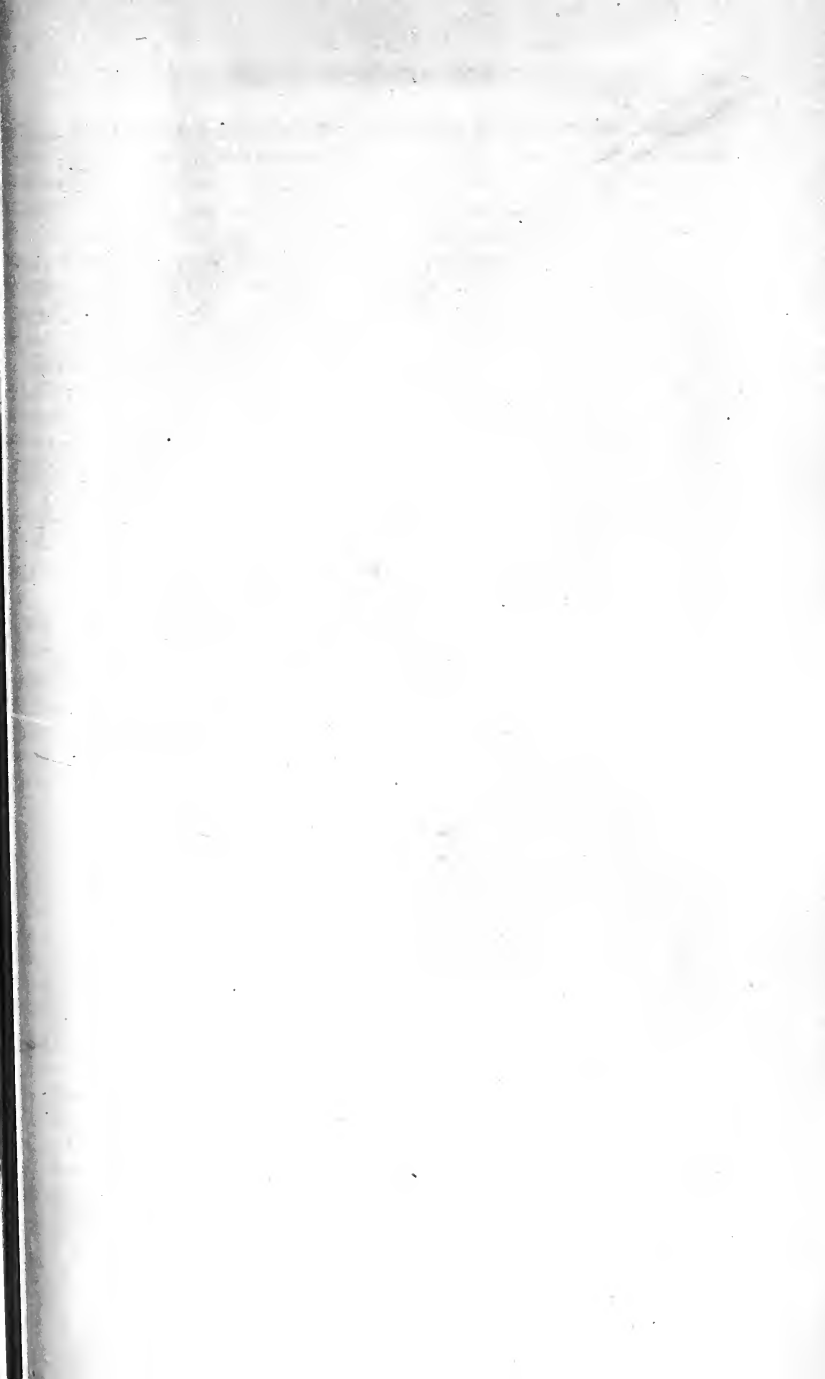
In *Notes and Queries* for 1851, an etched portrait of Fuller was announced for publication, by the Antiquarian Etching Club; but it does not appear which original it was proposed to follow, or whether indeed the portrait ever came *in lumine oris*.² The annexed head is a copy of that which was issued in the Tegg-Nichols reprints of Fuller's works.

We may appropriately allow the biographer of Fuller to make his description of his hero in this place. We have now reached the most valuable portion of his book, evidently drawn up, from this point, from an observation which could only have been derived from a close

that the only proof (without any letters) that he had seen was sold some years ago at Col. Durrant's sale.

¹ Page 66.

² 1st. Ser. iv. 174.





Nature & expresse the Symetry of Parts,
Made this faire bulke the Magazine of Arts:
Body and mude doe answer well his Name
ULLER, Comparative to's Blisse and Fame

personal intimacy. The description gives a special value to the Anonymous portrait here annexed: “He was of stature somewhat tall, exceeding the mean, with a proportionable bigness to become it, but no way inclining to corpulency; of an exact straightness of the whole body, and a perfect symmetry in every part thereof. He was of a sanguine constitution, which beautified his face with a pleasant ruddiness, but of so grave and serious an aspect, that it awed and discountenanced the smiling attracts of that complexion. His head [was] adorned with a comely light-coloured hair, which was so by nature exactly curled (an ornament enough of itself in this age, to denominate a handsome person, and wherefore all skill and art is used), but not suffered to overgrow to any length unseeming his modesty and profession.

“His gait and walking was very upright and graceful, becoming his well-shapen bulk; approaching something near to that we term majestic; but that the Doctor was so well-known to be void of any affectation or pride. Nay, so regardless was he of himself in his garb and raiment, in which no doubt his vanity would have appeared, as well as in his stately pace, that it was with some trouble to himself to be either neat or decent; it mattered not for the outside, while he thought himself never too curious and nice in the dresses of his mind.

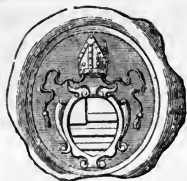
“Very careless also he was to seeming inurbanity in the modes of courtship and demeanour, deporting himself much according to the old English guise, which, for its ease and simplicity, suited very well with the Doctor, whose time was designed for more elaborate business; and whose *motto* might have been *Sincerity*.

“As inobservant he was of persons, unless business with them, or his concerns pointed them out and adverted him. Seeing and discerning were two things: often in several places hath he met with gentlemen of his nearest and greatest acquaintance, at a full rencounter and stop, whom he hath endeavoured to pass by, not knowing, that is to say, not minding of them, till rectified and recalled by their familiar compellations. This will not (it may be presumed) and justly cannot be imputed unto any indisposedness and unaptness of his nature, which was so far from rude and untractable, that it may be confidently averred, he was the most complaisant person in the nation, as his converse and writings, with such a freedom of discourse and quick jocundity of style, do sufficiently evince.”¹

¹ *Life*, pp. 66-69.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIX.

(A.) WILLIAM FULLER, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.



WILLIAM FULLER, who is so frequently mentioned in the former pages (see *ante*, pp. 279, 280, 598, &c.), after leaving Oxford, kept a private school at Twickenham, where we are told that he endeavoured to instil the principles of loyalty into his scholars. His assistant was a Mr. Wyatt, who had formerly held the same position with respect to Jeremy Taylor in Glamorgan-shire. Fuller is frequently mentioned in Pepys's *Diary*, the index in which, as regards the Fullers, is most inaccurate. The 22nd June, 1660: "My dear friend, Mr. Fuller of Twickenham and I dined alone at the Sun Tavern, where he told me how he had the grant of being Dean of St. Patrick's, in Ireland; and I told him my condition, and both rejoiced one for another." He became Dean on the 3rd July of the same year, and also held other ecclesiastical preferment in Ireland.

On 2nd August of the same year, at Oxford, by virtue of the letters of the Chancellor, the Marquess of Hertford, stating that Fuller was a worthy and learned person, and had suffered much for his loyalty to his Majesty, he was created D.C.L. (*Fasti*.) On the 5th of the following month Fuller, with sixty-eight other "very deserving men" (including Pearson, Duport, Sparkes, Castle, Vintner, Bretton, &c.), was by virtue of the King's letters to the University of Cambridge created D.D. (Kennet, p. 251.)

7th April, 1661 (Lord's Day): "All the morning at home, making up my accounts, God forgive me! Then put in at Paul's. . . . To White Hall, and there I met with Dr. Fuller of Twickenham, newly come from Ireland; and took him to my Lord's [the Earl of Sandwich], where he and I dined; and he did give my Lord and me a good account of the condition of Ireland." Again, on the 9th June (Lord's Day): "To White Hall, and there met with Dean Fuller, and walked a great while with him; among other things discoursed of the liberty the Bishop (by name he of Galloway) takes to admit into orders any body that will. . . . He told me he would complain of it. By and by we went and got a sculler, and, landing him at Worcester house, went to the Wardrobe." On the 26th June, Pepys dined "with my Lady at the Wardrobe, taking Dean Fuller along with me." On the 20th May, 1662: . . . Then comes Dean Fuller; and I am most pleased with his company and goodness." On the 11th Aug.: "Deane Fuller tells me that his niece that sings so well, whom I have longed to see, is married to one Mr. Boys, a wholesayle man at the Three Crowns in Cheapside." (See *ante*, p. 280.) An anecdote is told of Fuller by Kennet (*Hist. Reg.* 815), about his kindness to one of the ejected ministers.

Dr. Fuller seems to have attended to his duties in Ireland for a year or two. In 1663 he became Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoc, with the entire Rectory of Tradery in commendam by letters patent of 16th March, being consecrated on the 20th. His name again appears in Pepys: 20th Aug. 1664: "I walked to Cheapside to see the effect of a fire there this morning since four o'clock; which I find in the house of Mr. Bois, that married Dr. Fuller's niece, who are both out of town, leaving only a maid and man in

town. It began in their house, and hath burned much and many houses backward, though none forward ; and that in the great uniform pile of buildings in the middle of Cheapside. I am very sorry for them, for the Doctor's sake." This entry is, by the Editor of the Diary, wrongly indexed under Thomas Fuller's name ; and the blunder is copied by Russell (*Memorials*, p. 330).

On 18th July, 1666, Pepys notes : " By appointment [at his house] I find Dr. Fuller, now Bishop of Limericke, in Ireland ; whom I knew in his low condition at Twittenham, and find the Bishop the same good man as ever ; and, in a word, kind to us, and, methinks, one of the comliest and most becoming prelates in all respects that ever I saw in my life. During dinner comes an acquaintance of his, Sir Thomas Littleton." This Sir Thomas had married his cousin, the daughter of Fuller's old patron, Lord Littleton, Keeper of the Great Seal. Bishop Fuller was as full of smart sayings as Thomas Fuller. On the 30th Sept., 1666, says Pepys, " Up, and to Church, where I have not been for a good while : and there the church [St. Olave, Hart Street], infinitely thronged with strangers, since the fire come into our parish ; but not one handsome face in all of them, as if, indeed, there was a curse, as Bishop Fuller heretofore said, upon our parish !"

Dr. Fuller was, Sept. 17, 1667, translated to the bishopric of Lincoln, which, A Wood says, he took great pains to obtain. He was confirmed on the 27th of the same month in the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. The Bishop then made his quondam school-assistant at Twickenham not only his chaplain, but gave him a prebend and other promotion.

On the 25th Sept., Pepys relates that walking up and down the gallery at White Hall, " I met with Bishop Fuller, who, to my great joy, is made, which I did not hear before, Bishop of Lincoln." On the 6th Nov. he first sees his friend as bishop sit among the Lords. At noon on 23rd Jan., 1668, the Bishop came to dine with Pepys, " and after him comes Mr. Brisband ; and there mighty good company. But the Bishop a very extraordinary good-natured man and one that is mightily pleased, as well as I am, that I live so near Bugden, the seat of his bishopricke, where he is like to reside, and, indeed, I am glad of it."

During the time that Fuller presided over the diocese he repaired, in his cathedral, many of the monuments of his predecessors, which had been roughly handled during the war ; and he would have done more for the rest had he lived.

He died 27th April, 1675, at Kensington, and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral, where the following inscription was placed over his tomb :—

" D.O.M.S. Sub hoc marmore in deposito est Quod reliquum Gulielmi Fuller Qui ex ultimâ Hiberniâ Ad hunc translatus præsulatum Anno hujus sæculi Christiani Sexagesimo septimo Episcoporum sexagesimus septimus Anno etiam ætatis suæ sexagesimo septimo Mortem obiit vitâ suâ lenissimâ (Si fieri possit) leniorem ix. Calendas Maias MDCLXXV. Sedulus tam in cathedrâ quam curiâ Episcopus Mortis diu ante mortem adeo studiosus Ut cum monumentorum quæ Episcopis Ecclesiæ hujus fundatoribus Prisca pientissime posuisset ætas Nostra turpius diruisset Sumptibus suis non modicis Alia instaurasset Alia mox meditaretur instauranda Fato importuno cesserit. Abi viator imitare quem sequeris."

Bishop Fuller, who was succeeded by Thomas Fuller's old friend, Dr. Barlow, formerly librarian of the Bodleian, had collected materials for writing the life of Archbishop Bramhall, but its publication was prevented by death. He is said to have " had a good knack at writing Latin verses." His portrait, by Lely, in episcopal attire, is in Christ Church College, Oxford. (*Athen.* iv. 850 ; *Fasti*, ii. 254 ; Walker's *Sufferings*, ii. 110 ; Ware's *Works concerning Ireland*, i. 515 ; Pegge's *Anonymiana*, ed. 1818, pp. 139, 140.)

By his will, made when "weak in body," April 21, 1675, and proved on the 24th of the same month, he commits his body to be buried at Lincoln, "according to the rights of the Church of England," near his sister, *i.e.* Mrs. Paulson, "on the other side of St. Hugh's tombe." He leaves his property for equal division between Thomas Fuller, the son of his brother Thomas, Mary, the wife of William Farmery, and Sarah Bligh, her sister. William Farmery, who belonged to a family settled in the Isle of Axholme, connected by marriage with the Laughtons of Eastfield, was named executor, and Morley, Bishop of Winchester, overseer. He leaves bequests to the Cannon family, &c. "I give to the Library nowe preparing in the Cathedrall of Lincoln the choicest of my books." He forgets not the poor of Ewberst in Surrey, of St. Patrick's, of Limerick, and of the Close of Lincoln. He then adds: "I doe declare that I dye praying for the prosperitie of the Church of England, beseeching Almighty God that she may overcome all her enemies, whether of the Romane or Fanaticall communion. And I doe moreover declare that I have beene engaged in some law suits, not at all out of neglect of peace and charitie, but wholly and solely to vindicate the rights of the Church of my Episcopal See from the encroachments of ungodly men."

Guil. Lincoln.

(B.) THE FULLER FAMILY IN 1659.

"Yea it [the family] hath at this day, one Bishop [*i.e.* Thomas Fulwar, of Ardfert and Aghadoe], one Dean [Wm. Fuller, of Ely], one Doctor [the mysterious personage mentioned at page 249, whose identity has defied detection], two Bachelors of Divinity [Fuller himself and perhaps his brother], and many Masters of Arts of no contemptible condition. Pardon, reader, this digression done *se defendendo*."—*Appeal of Injured Innocence*, pt. ii. 94 (532).





CHAPTER XX.

“THE APPEAL OF INIURED INNOCENCE.” (1659.)

DR. HEYLYN'S LIFE AND CONTROVERSIES.—HIS RELATIONS WITH FULLER.—THEIR DISAGREEMENT.—FULLER A SEEKER OF PEACE.—(I.) HEYLYN'S “EXAMEN HISTORICUM.”—HIS EXCEPTIONS.—FULLER AND DEAN COSIN.—FULLER'S DEBATE AS TO A REPLY.—(II.) HIS “APPEAL.”—THE DEDICATION.—THE GENERAL AND PARTICULAR REPLIES.—FULLER'S EPISTLES TO (1) COSIN, (2) THE READER, (3) HEYLYN, AND (4) BURGESS.—THE FAIRNESS, CHARITY, LOYALTY, AND FACETIOUSNESS OF THE “APPEAL.”—(III.) HEYLYN'S “CERTAMEN EPISTOLARE.”—ABSTRACT OF THE REPLY.—HIS LETTER TO FULLER.—THEIR INTERVIEW AND RECONCILIATION.—HEYLYN'S FUTURE LIFE.—FULLER AND THE CHURCH OF ROME.

“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 unfaithful, fall into involuntary errors. In a word, historians who have no fault are only fit to write the actions of those princes and people who have no miscarriages, and only an Angel's pen, taken from his own wing, is proper to describe the story of the Church triumphant.”¹ (*Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 148.)

THE life of Heylyn, after the surrender of Oxford, was perhaps for a time more unhappy than that of many of his brethren. He is said to have shifted from place to place, like the old patriarchs; “and, in pity to his necessity, he found a hearty entertainment among his friends of the Royal party, at whose tables he was fed.” He ultimately settled at Lacie's Court, near Abingdon, partly to take advantage of the Bodleian Library; for he was still devoting himself to literary pursuits, and was without a library of his own. He mentions his “small stock” of books, which he had “recruited, mine own being taken from me and disposed of contrary unto

¹ Wordsworth, on Walton's *Lives*:—

“There are no colours in the fairest sky
So fair as these. The feather whence the pen
Was shaped that traced the lines of these good
Fell from an angel's wing.” [men

In the Addl. MSS., Br. Mus., there is a

Latin translation of Fuller's objections to Josephus as an historian (4254, 94), as given in the *Pisgah*, whence we quote. (See also p. 483 *ante*.) The MS., which is dated Hemsted, Oct. 2, 1723, terms Fuller “Anglus.”

publick order." Heylyn had no cure of souls, his connection with Laud on the one hand, and his unyielding spirit on the other, keeping him from the open exercise of his profession. Yet he used the liturgy in his own house, and he encouraged the parson of Abingdon to read public prayers. His natural irritability, heightened by misfortune, took him into the midst of ecclesiastical controversy, insomuch that all his time seemed devoted to it. It is to be regretted that the polemic did not choose less thorny subjects, for all who are acquainted with his lighter pieces, and the prefaces to his works, know that he had a most agreeable and attractive pen. The introduction to the 1652 and later editions of the *Cosmography* is a piece of reading that is particularly fresh and engaging. Referring to that work, he himself finely said: "As I have taken on myself the part of an historian, so have I not forgotten that I am an *Englishman*, and, which is somewhat more, a *Churchman*." And he averred that it would be no small comfort to him, in the midst of so many sorrows as were round him, that he had been useful to the public, or added anything by his studies to the honour and content of the English nation. On the other hand, his controversial writings were little read during the interregnum, he himself complaining of the "unhandsome entertainment which my endeavours for the publick had lately met with. . . . Little encouragement, God wot, to write books for others, when I could not be permitted to enjoy my own." His works afterwards came more into fashion, for in Prior's time it was the mark of a student that he

"From breakfast reads till twelve o'clock
Burnet and Heylyn, Hobbes and Locke."

Passages in Heylyn's grave writings called forth the censures of those of his own school. He held extreme opinions in regard to the Reformers, and he evinced a perfect hatred for the Puritans. Moreover, he upheld the civil and religious tyranny at which the measures of Laud seemed to aim. Like most of the followers of that unfortunate prelate, Heylyn was credited with leanings towards the Church of Rome.

Passages in Fuller's writings tend to show that up to the eve of the famous quarrel he was on familiar terms with the famous controversialist; for, quoting from Heylyn's "worthy work," *The History of Charles I.*, Fuller uses the epithet "my honoured friend." Meeting frequently, during the war and since, they seem to have learnt much of each other's private history. That Fuller had no personal animosity against the High Churchman is manifest from remarks in the *Appeal*. The following passage

indicates his former attitude towards Heylyn: “The party whom I am to deal with,” Heylyn had said, “is so much a stranger to me that he is neither *beneficio, nec injuriâ notus*, and therefore no particular respects have moved me to the making of these animadversions, which I have writ (without relation to his person).” “I am glad,” Fuller returns, in answer to this “Self-denying Ordinance,” “to hear this passage from the Animadvertor, that ‘I never did him any injury,’ the rather because some of my friends have charged me for provoking his pen against me. And, though I pleaded that neither in thought, word, or deed I ever did him any wrong, I hardly prevailed with them for belief; and now the Animadvertor hath cleared me that I *never* did any injury unto him. Would I could say the same to him, that he never did me any injury! However, as a Christian, I here fully and freely forgive him, and will endeavour, as a Scholar, so to defend myself against his injury that, God willing, it shall not shake my contentment. ‘Without relation to my person!’ Let the reader be judge hereof. Indeed *Thomas* hath been well used by him, but *Fuller* hath soundly felt his displeasure.”¹

The freedom of Fuller’s writing may originally have been the innocent cause of the disagreement. A hostile feeling would readily arise between ecclesiastical champions whose opinions were so much at variance. A man of Heylyn’s temperament would naturally look for consideration at the hands of his brethren; and one particular remark in Fuller’s *Church-History* could not fail to give him provocation. Heylyn took especial pride in being known as the author of the legendary *History of that most famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus, St. George of Cappadocia; Asserted from the Fictions of the Middle Ages of the Church and opposition of the present, 1631.*² As such, he could not, we may be sure, read without perturbation of mind Fuller’s jaunty reference to St. George, when, of St. Equitius (“pretended founder of our first English monks”), he irreverently said: “Be he who he himself or any other pleaseth,—brother, if they will, to St. George on horseback,—he was never

¹ *Appeal*, i. p. (57), (349).

² Referring to those who took part in the Sabbatarian controversy, Heylyn thus complacently referred to himself: “The practical and historical [part was written upon] by Heylyn of Westminster, who had gained some reputation for his studies in the ancient writers by asserting the History of St. George, maliciously impugned by those of the Calvinian party on all occasions.” Speaking of the

churches, &c., associated with St. George’s name, Heylyn adduces St. George’s Church in Burford, “where it pleased God to give me, first, my natural being, and afterwards my education. In which regard I hold myself bound in a manner to vindicate ST. GEORGE’S honour, having received such comforts in a place where his memory was anciently precious.” (*History of St. George Asserted*, ii. 288.)

father of any monks in England.”¹ Heylyn, who could not brook a statement in disparagement of the deeds of the saint which he had so “substantially asserted” and “evidenced,” gives answer accordingly: “I would have him know, how poorly soever he thinks of *St. George on Horseback*, that there hath more been said of him, his noble birth, achievements, with his death and martyrdom, than all the friends our author hath will or can justly say in defence of our present *History*.”² Heylyn’s “hobby-horse” had once before been merrily tilted at. In the *Pisgah*, Fuller, mentioning Lydda, near Joppa, “where *St. George* is reported to have been beheaded,” drew (he hoped without offence) a parallel between *Perseus*, in Joppa, who freed *Andromeda*, a king’s daughter, from the fury of a sea-monster, and *St. George*, in Lydda, who delivered a daughter of the King of Libya from a fiery dragon. Fuller then added the comment: “It is pity these two stories should be parted asunder, which will both in full latitude *be believed together* (!). Hard to say whether nearer, the two places or two reports. He that considers the resemblance of the complexions will conclude *Fancy* the father, *Credulity* the mother, of both.”³

An equally dangerous topic between them was the antiquity of their respective Universities. (See *ante*, p. 276.) Direct mention is made of the matter, a thread-bare subject at the time, in the *Church-History* (ii. 74 *seq.*); but the author fore-saw that some might censure his notice of the subject as an “impertinency” to the *Church-History*, “scarcely coming within the church-yard thereof.” With fixed impartiality, he cautioned his readers not to suspect that his “extraction from Cambridge” would betray him to “partiality to my mother, who desire in this difference to be, like *Melchisedec*, ἀγενεάλογος, without descent, only to be directed by the truth.” In leaving the subject, he prays that envy might be turned to emulation, “contending by laudable means, which shall surpass other in their serviceableness to God, the church, and commonwealth; that so, *commencing* in Piety, and *proceeding* in Learning, they may agree against their two general adversaries—ignorance and profaneness.”⁴ In a like spirit he reverted to the subject in the preface to the *Hist. Camb.* In that book, indeed, there is perhaps another instance of want of caution with regard to

¹ *Ch.-History*, vi. 268.

² *Examen: Appeal*, part ii. (72) 477. Fuller replies that Heylyn had looked so long on *St. George* that he had forgotten *Solomon*, *Prov.* xxvii. 2; adding, “I am yet to seek what service he hath done

to the Church of God, so busy to make ‘Down Sabbath,’ and ‘Up *St. George*.’”

³ Book ii. 210.

⁴ Similar observations are in Book iii pp. 67, 68. For more playful remarks see the *Obs. of the Shires*, p. 224.

Heylyn, who was particularly sensitive in the matter. Fuller cited a speech of Henry VII., reflecting on the antiquity of Cambridge, and considered what “authentic authors” had attested the King’s words. He finds them first printed by “Brian Twine, Oxford antiquarie, and afterwards by Dr. Heylyn, a member of that University, neither relating [referring] to any author by quotation.” Fuller, perhaps having rather in view the words “any author” than the persons mentioned, gives in the margin, as the title to the paragraph: “The speech avouched by *no Historian*.”¹ There were thus several remarks in Fuller’s books at which his critic might have taken a pique, and which he was ready to resent when occasion offered.

Fuller was quite alive to the controversial spirit of the age, and his book abounds in passages in which he has to check himself and speak cautiously. This is particularly the case as he approaches the completion of his work. “Seamen observe,” says he in the last Book, “that the water is more troubled the nearer they draw on to the land, because broken by repercussion from the shore: I am sensible of the same danger the nearer I approach our times.” Of that pen-and-ink busybody, Dr. Heylyn, “so well practised in printing,” he pretends that he had a particular fear; for he says that among those who, up to 1659, had fallen under Heylyn’s censure—“fitted with antidotes” as the latter put it—were “Mr. Calvin, Archbishop Williams, Archbishop Ussher, Doctor Hackwell, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Bernard, Mr. [Hamon] Le-strange, Mr. [William] Sanderson, and my unworthy self;—no shame to follow in the rear after such a van and main-battle.”² An *antidote*, Fuller explains, merely meant “something given against; in which sense none of our nation hath been so free of his antidotes” as his opponent. In one of the drollest chapters of the *Appeal* Fuller says that he hoped and desired never to be written at by Heylyn. The perusal of the reasons which the former puts forward for his hope will afford a further glimpse into Heylyn’s controversial character:—

“(1) I knew him a man of able parts and learning; God sanctify both to His glory and the Church’s good! (2) Of an eager spirit, with him of whom it was said, *Quicquid voluit, valde voluit*. (3) Of a tart and smart style, endeavouring to down with all which stood betwixt him and his opinion. (4) Not over dutiful in his language to the Fathers of the Church, (what then may children expect from him?) if contrary in judgment to him. Lastly and chiefly: One, the edge

¹ § 5, ¶ 24, p. 78.

² *Appeal*, part i. p. 20 (311).

of whose keenness is not taken off by the death of his adversary; witness his writing against the Archbishops of York and Armagh [who both died in 1656]. The fable tells me that the tanner was the worst of all masters to his cattle, as who would not only load them soundly whilst living, but tan their hides when dead; and none could blame one if unwilling to exasperate such a pen, which, if surviving, would prosecute his adversary into his grave. The premises made me, though not servilely fearful, (which, I praise God, I am not of any writer,) yet generally cautious not to give him any personal provocation, knowing that though both our pens were long, the world was wide enough for them without crossing each other."

He passes on to notice the grounds of hope that his book would escape the dreaded controversialist. One whom he took to be an emissary sent by Dr. Heylyn came and informed him that had not the Doctor been visited with blindness he had been on Fuller's bones before! The valiant yet kindly author sent back the reply, That, as he was sorry for the sad cause—the Doctor's blindness, he was glad of the joyful effect—his own quiet!¹ In the appendix to the *Letter-Combate*, Heylyn denied having sent a messenger, who, he further says, knew as little of his corporeal blindness (which, he thanked God, had not yet fallen upon him) as of his secret intentions as to that particular.² Hearing no more of Heylyn for some months, Fuller began to be more free from fear; and his confidence in his security became all the stronger when he considered (judging of other men's by his own charity) that they were both attached servants of the late King, and that both had suffered much on the King's behalf. "Only thus happy," adds he, "I was in my very unhappiness,—to leave what was taken away from the rest of my brethren."³

But Heylyn's censure after three or four years' interval was ready for publication. The news coming to Fuller's ears, he conceived himself bound in duty to David's command, which he had so often obeyed, not only to seek peace, but to pursue it; and one day he saw his antagonist passing down Fleet-street. Fuller followed at his heels to his chamber at a stationer's over against St. Dunstan's Church, and sent up his name by a servant, with a request to speak a few words with him. The servant returned with the rebuff: "The Doctor is very busy, and cannot be spoken with." "Thus," concludes Fuller, "my treaty for peace taking no effect, I armed myself with patience, and quietly expected the coming forth of his

¹ Part i. p. 2 (285, 286).

² *Letter-Combate*, p. 337.

³ *Appeal*, p. 2 (286).

book against me."¹ It appeared in 1659, being entitled *Examen Historicum: or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some Modern Histories, &c.*, 8vo. It contained two parts, the first of which was devoted to Fuller, being "necessary animadversions" on the *History*, "for vindication of the Truth, the Church and the injured Clergy." The second part, prepared in 1656, criticised some histories of the Stuarts, by William Sanderson.

As to the late date of the appearance of the *Examen*, Heylyn says, in the Appendix to Part I., that it was well known to some in London that it was finished and fitted for the press before Michaelmas, 1657; and as to the reasons why it was not then published, he explains that he had heard that a Cambridge man, "who had more knowledge of the author than I can pretend to," was about to reply to the *Church-History*; adding that a report had reached him of Fuller's intention to publish a corrected edition. He characteristically continues: "The reports being thought at last to have something in them of design or artifice to stave off the business, I was solicited with greater importunity to publish the foregoing animadversions than I was at first to undertake them." The delay gave Heylyn the leisure to revise his book and to add a further reply to Sanderson: it also brought him help from other quarters, such as Dr. Cosin's Apology.² The latter prelate speaks of the "authors" of the Animadversions; but it would perhaps be unfair to conclude from this word that other heads were engaged with it. Fuller caught his opponent in one place quoting from his own *Cosmographie*, and charged him with "bad heraldry," in laying metal upon metal; but Heylyn declares that he did this in accordance with his first intention to issue the strictures *anonymously*.³

The gist of Heylyn's exceptions may be gathered from his "necessary introduction." § 1. He begins his fault-finding at the *title*, which was not wide enough. It was rather a *Church-rhapsody* than a *Church-history*; and the old title of *Fuller's Miscellanies* would have been a better title. "Such and so many are the impertinences as to matters of historical nature, more as to matters of the Church, that without them this volume had been brought to a narrower compass, if it had taken up any room at all." § 2. The *title-pages* and dedications, next glanced at, are condemned as "a new way never travelled before by any till he found it out; and such wherein he is not like to find many followers, though the way be opened." § 3. The *heraldry*, blazons of arms, descents of

¹ *Appeal*, p. 2 (286).

² Pp. 661, 662.

³ *Letter-Combate*, p. 337.

noble families, catalogues of warlike adventurers, are placed "in the next rank of impertinences." They are "inserted only for the ostentation of his skill in heraldry." § 4. The *epitaphs* and scraps of poetry, which are scattered throughout the volume, took the reader's attention from graver parts, and made the book like a *Church Romance*. § 5. Having referred to Fuller's "raking into the channel of old Popish legends, he says: "Above all things recommend me to his merry tales and scraps of *Trencher-jests* frequently interlaced in all parts of the history; which, if abstracted from the rest and put into a book by themselves,¹ might very well be served up for a second course to *The Banquet of Fests*, a supplement to the old book entitled *Wits, Fits and Fancies*; or an additional century to the old *Hundred Merry Tales* so long since extant. But, standing as they do, they neither do become the gravity of a Church-historian, nor are consistent with the nature of a sober argument." § 6. The censor lastly notices the numerous digressions, such as the antiquity of the University of Cambridge, "built on as weak authority as the monkish legends."

These "extravagances and impertinences" being disposed of, our critic presumes that nothing should remain "but a mere Church-history." But he finds it not so. § 7. There was in the book too much of the *State*, and too little of the *Church*; and certain convocations and other Church passages were omitted. § 8. In particular, in Fuller's moderate opinions Heylyn saw a "continual vein of Puritanism," which meets with especial anathemas. The author in his view favoured far too highly the opinions of the followers of Wycliffe and Calvin; the bishops were too coldly pleaded for; and while some Non-conformists were spoken well of, the Fathers of the Church, and the "conformable children of it," are too slightly referred to. Hence he concluded that Fuller was a most partial writer: one who "constantly declares himself," he says, "in favour of those who have either separated from the Church, or appeared against it." The author's tolerant views on subjects under discussion in the last two reigns were also distasteful to the critic. "Reduced into practice, as they easily may," such opinions "not only overthrow the whole power of the Church as it stands constituted and established by the laws of the land, but lay a probable foundation for the like disturbance in the civil state." His displeasure on this account

¹ "And so many of them have been to the sale of several books, particularly one entitled *Fragmenta Aulica, or Court and State Fests* [in Noble Drollery, True and

Reall, Ascertained to their Times, Places and Persons, by T. S., Gent. First ed., 1662]. The second edit. 12mo. 1663, &c." (Oldys).

is very great, revealing how nearly he was allied in sentiment to his old patron Laud.

It would be unfair to omit to state that many of Heylyn's objections and remarks are useful and just. He also makes corrections in matters of fact, and in slips of the pen. But for the sake of them, apparently, he "fitted" his opponent "with some animadversions by way of antidote, that so he may be read, if possible, without any danger." Making the most of his exceptions, however, the fault-finder spun out his censures to the large number of three hundred and fifty! "*Ani-mad-versions*" they are termed in one place, where Heylyn had "madly verted, inverted, perverted" a sentence."¹ Many of the exceptions being twice given, Fuller averred that the critic had swollen the book, "though hollow within," to make it amount to a "saleable bigness." Bulky as the strictures were made, Fuller, fearing to misrepresent his opponent, generously began, according to his custom, to reprint them *in full*, and found that sometimes he was dealing with one who wrote much to express little. This verbosity unfavourably contrasts with Fuller's brevity. When the former wanders from points in debate, the latter, like Sydney Smith in a similar case, provokingly falls asleep. "Being weary," says Fuller, towards the close of the book, "with this long contest, I resolve for a while to take my natural rest, and will quietly sleep until jogged by that which particularly concerneth me." Heylyn then prosecutes a long argument, into which Fuller simply interjects the words "*Dormit securus.*" In another place Fuller represents Heylyn as fighting with his own shadow: "It is all one to me whether he beat or be beaten." He exclaims elsewhere; "*Stylus aequabilis!* Here is a continued *champion*, large level, and fair flat of fourteen untruths at least, without any elevation of truth interposed."²

Fuller declares that among those who incited Heylyn to write against him, "one letter from *Regina pecunia* was most prevalent with him. Witness this his book offered to, and refused by, some stationers, because, on his high terms, they could not make a saving bargain to themselves."³ Heylyn's reply to this remark, in his *Letter-Combate*, affords curious particulars of that writer's literary dealings with his "stationers." "For the printing of these papers," says he, "so far am I from making any capitulation [arrangement], that it remains wholly in the ingenuity of the stationer to deal with me in it

¹ Part iii. 21 (581).

² Part iii. 41-44 (607-610); iii. 18 (577); i. 45 (337).

³ Part i. (57), (350).

as he pleases ; so that I scribble for the most part, as some cats kill mice, rather to find myself some recreation than to satisfy hunger. And though I have presented as many of the said books, and my large *Cosmographies* within seven years past as did amount at the least unto twenty pounds, I never received the value of a single farthing." "I thank God I never was reduced to such a necessity as to make the writing of books any part of the trade which I was to live by ; for if I had I should have found from it such an hungry subsistence as would not have given a chick its breakfast when first out of the shell."¹

At the end of the *Appeal* was an appendix relating to a difference between Dr. COSIN, the Master of Peterhouse, and Fuller. The latter had in his *History* quoted the substance of the impeachment-articles brought against Cosin, then a Prebendary of Durham, and beneficed in the diocese,—articles which Cosin declared were false. When Fuller's *History* came out Cosin was in exile in France ; and he was aggrieved and annoyed that "an old malicious accusation" should be brought up against him, and that, too, by a fellow-clergyman. The matter is referred to in a letter written by George Davenport to Wm. Sancroft, dated Aug. 6th, 1656 :—

"SIR,—Yours of July 16th I received about a week since : and deferred to trouble you with another till this time because of Mr. Beaumont's absence. I heard of Mr. R. G. wellfare at Paris in a lre from D. C. [*i.e.* Dr. Cosin] ; he is gone from thence wth Sr. Ed. Mansell tow^{ds} Lion : and God go wth him. I have received 2 lres from y^e Dr., not much in them to be communicated but I must undeceive you about y^e additionalls to Mr. Mason, for he saith, he said y^t y^e Bp. was y^e chiefe composer of y^e 1st draught of y^e book (deminst [?] Anglie) in English, which was printed at London by Bill y^e Kings printer. He is very angry at Mr. Fuller, and will let him know how much he is injured by him, for he purposeth to print his answer to y^e articles against him in y^e Lds house. . . . Your affectionate Friend & Servant,
D. G. GEO. DAVENPORT."²

The writer of the foregoing, who was also a friend of Fuller's, acquainted the latter with Cosin's feelings upon the matter. Hereupon Fuller, finding that he had followed an *ex parte* statement, assured Cosin by letter that he would make just reparation, either in the next edition of the *History* or in *The Worthies*, explaining that he had copied the Dean's accusation from the journals of the House of Commons, and was not aware of his reply and purgation in the House of Lords.³ In the subsequent year Mons. Daillé (whom Heylyn says was "one of the great-

¹ Pp. 329, 331.

² Tanner MSS. vol. lii. p. 152.

³ See an abstract of the Letter at the end of the *Appeal* (669).

est account, and the best deserts among the reformed churchmen in France"¹) remonstrated with Fuller.² Cosin's letter in Heylyn's *Examen*, addressed to a Mr. Warren and Dr. Reeve,³ was dated April 6th, 1658, and he refers in it to Fuller's letter received more than a year before. In the Appendix to the Life of Dr. John Barwick, Hyde, the Chancellor, in a letter to Barwick, takes a more sensible view of the difference between the two clergymen (Brussels, 27th June, 1659): "I pray tell me whether my lord of Ely [Wrenn] doth not think that my very good friend Dr. Cosins hath proceeded farther than he needed to have done [*i.e.* in the letter in the *Examen*] upon any provocation Mr. Fuller could have given him."⁴ Fuller was as good as his word in regard to a reparation: his very candid apology to Cosin will be found in the *Worthies* (§ Durham, p. 295). The latter was reinstated as Dean of Peterborough at the Restoration, and just afterwards became Bishop of Durham.

Such, then, was the substance of Heylyn's *Examen*. Having read the criticisms, Fuller debated with himself whether he should make a reply or keep silence. The discussion in relation to this point forms a very characteristic chapter in the *Appeal*. He shows how his thoughts went first one way, then another. On the one side of the question stood his want of leisure (having his ministrations to attend to), an endless combat in his declining age, and the Saviour's counsel, "Resist not evil," &c. On the other side, "the distinction came seasonably to my remembrance, of a man's *righting* and *revenging* himself. The latter belongs to God alone, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay it,' Rom. xii. 19; the former men may, and in some cases must, do in their own fair defence, without breach of our Saviour's precept, Matt. v. 39."⁵ He next remembered that *Mutes* at the bar are judged guilty. But most of all he was moved to make a reply when he thought that God's ministers should vindicate their credits, that they might be the more effectual factors for God's glory in their vocation. He therefore resolved "to return a plain, full, and speedy answer; and to refrain from all railing, which is a sick wit, if not the sickness of wit."⁶ To the same end he was also importuned by his friends, and Fuller

¹ *Examen: Appeal*, p. 668.

² F. G. to Dr. Cosin, at Paris, July 7, 1657: "I will show you part of Mons. Daille's letter to Mr. Fuller."—*The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D.*, (Surtees Soc. vol. lv.), i. 288.

³ Cosin's *Works* (Anglo-Cath. Lib.), p. xxvii.; *Appeal*, (662).

⁴ Page 422 (ed. 1724).

⁵ Fuller seems to have embodied his thoughts on this topic in a sermon, which Pepys heard and made a note of. It was on forgiving other men's trespasses, "shewing among other things that we are to go to law never to *revenge*, but only to *repayre*, which I think a good distinction." (Feb. 3, 1661.)

⁶ *Appeal*, chap. iii.

therefore indited *The Appeal of Iniured Innocence*, and addressed it to "the Religious, Learned, and Ingenuous."

The promptness with which this spirited reply was made seems to have roused the envy of Heylyn, who permitted three or four years to elapse before his *Examen* appeared. In his *Letter-Combate* Heylyn asserted that Mason, a corrector to some presses in London, had falsely and unworthily communicated the sheets to Fuller as they were printed, else the *Appeal* might have been heard of "about Michaelmas next, in case it had not cooled in the heats of Summer and been retarded by the leisure of a long vacation." He also states that notwithstanding that three printing offices were engaged with Fuller's defence, "it could not come abroad against Easter Term," *i.e.* April.¹ The dedication was dated from "Cranford Moat-house, March the 21th." Fuller would take a wicked pleasure in furnishing Heylyn with an early copy, and that worthy tells us that it "came to my hand" on the 6th of May.²

Lord Berkeley, Fuller's "most bountiful and most exemplary patron," is chosen as the patron, and he is thus happily addressed:—

"SIR,—My *Church-History* was so far from prostituting herself to mercenary embraces, she did not at all Espouse any particular interest, but kept herself a Virgin. However, a dragon is risen up, with much fierceness and fury, threatening this my Virgin's destruction. Your name is *George*, and for you it is as easy as honourable to protect her from Violence. If any material falsehood or forgery be found in my book, let *Liar* be branded in my face. But oh! suffer not my *Injured Innocence* to be overborne in such things, which I have truly, clearly, and warily written! Thus shall you encourage me (leaving off such Controversial deviations from my Calling) to preach and to perform in my ministerial function somewhat worthy of the honour to be your Lordship's most obliged Servant and Chaplain."

The preliminary part of the *Appeal* contains Fuller's general answers. He reminds his opponent that his work was an *endeavour*; that memory-mistakes (which are "not the sleeping but the winking of an Author") and pen-slips must be expected in a great volume; that it was easy to cavil³ with some colour at dismembered passages; that some favour should be shown

¹ *Letter-Combate*, 338, 339.

² *Ibid.* p. 391.

³ Later on in his book he says that Heylyn's cavilling reminded him of a mistake in his own *Geography*, in which it seems a nobleman had found that the lake Lemane contained plenty of *carp*, and accordingly, when at Geneva, he ordered one for dinner. "The people wondered at his desire of such a dainty,"

and told him that they had "*trouts* as good and great as any in Europe." "It seems the Animadvertor's pen is so much given to cavilling that he turned *trouts* into *carps*, though none of them so great as this his *carp* at me, for making the Lord Marshal to go before the Lord Constable at the King's coronation."—iii. 4 (557).

to a *first* (as least perfect) edition, preliar mistakes occurring in the best-corrected book; that it was no shame to confess and amend an error in judgment; and that an author charging his margin with his author is thereby himself discharged.¹

Fuller next justly complains that one-third of Heylyn's notes were only *additional*, not opposite, to what he had written (some being no more needful or useful than a sixth finger on a man's hand), and that all things omitted in a history were not defects.² With some warmth and at great length Fuller shows that he was not biassed, but had "used as upright bowls as ever any that enter the Alley of History, since our Civil dissensions. I do freely declare my self, that I in writing my book am for the Church of England, as it stood established by law; the Creed being the contracted Articles, and the Thirty-nine Articles the expanded Creed of her doctrine, as the Canons of her discipline. And still I prize her favour highest, though for the present it be least worth,—as little able to protect, and less to prefer, any that are faithful to her interest." Nor did he design any party-pleasing in writing his book. It was his project "to commend in all parties what I find praiseworthy, and condemn the rest; on which account some flear, some frown, none smile upon me." He then asserts that, first, he had incurred the displeasure of the *Papists*; next, "the *old Nonconformists* (being the same with the modern Presbuterians but depressed and under, as the modern Presbuterians are the old Nonconformists, but vertical and in authority) do, though the Animadvertor twitteth me constantly to advocate for them, take great and general exception at me;" and he adds that "it was not so long since in a meeting of the most eminent amongst them, I was told that I put too much gall into my ink against them." In the third place, *the Independent*, "being the Benjamin of parties, Gen. xliii. 44 (and his mess I assure you is none of the least), taxeth me for too much fieriness, as the Animadvertor chargeth me for too much favour unto them." This being his fate, he says that he could "only privately comfort myself in my own innocence, and hope that when my head is laid low, what seems too sweet, too bitter, too salt, too fresh to the present divided age, will be adjudged well tasted and seasoned to the palate of unpartial posterity"—an expectation which has been fully realised.³

In his next chapter Fuller hints that it would have been more amicable in his opponent to have advised him of the mistakes by letter, as some of his worthy friends had done. As it

¹ Chaps. iv.-x.

² Chap. xi.

³ Chap. xii.

was, Heylyn had, by God's goodness, benefited his opponent. The *unhappy* benefit is thus stated :—

“He hath done me a great good turn, for which (because not intended) I will thank God, namely, he, by his causeless carping, hath allayed in me the delight in writing of histories; seeing nothing can be so unpartially and in-offensively written but some will carp thereat. Mothers, minding to wean their children, use to put soot, wormwood, or mustard on the nibbles of their breasts. God foresaw I might suck to a surfeit in writing histories which hath been a thief in the lamp of my life, wasting much oil thereof. My head and hand had robbed my heart in such delightful studies. Wherefore He raised the bitter pen of the Animadvertor to wean me from such digressions from my vocation.”

In the next chapter Fuller defends himself from the unjust charge of being agreeable to the times; pointing out how far forth such agreeableness is consistent with Christian prudence. This spirited defence has already been cited at pp. 449-452 as the “true complexion of my cause.”¹ In the body of the *Appeal* he recurs to the same topic: “Titus Livius lived in *imperial*, yet he wrote of *regal, consulatory, tribunitial* [times] at Rome, without the least imputation of falsehood. I conceive monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical truth to be one and the same: it followeth not that two-faced Janus (as beholding two worlds, one *before* and one *after* the flood) had also two hearts. I did not attemper my history to the palate of the Government, so as to sweeten it with any falsehood; but I made it palatable thus far forth, as not to give a wilful disgust to those in present power, and procure danger to myself, by using any over-salt, tart, or bitter expression, better forborne than inserted, without any prejudice to the truth.”² Again: “I will take no advantage by the times; and if, without their help, I cannot bwoy up my credit, let it sink for ever.”³

As to the “wretched and disloyal hopes” which Heylyn attributed to Fuller, the latter warmly defied them, and returned them in his opponent's teeth. “He had ‘wretched and disloyal hopes’ who wrote that King James went to Newmarket as Tiberius to Capreae; he waved his loyalty and discretion together, who so saucily and un-subject-like counted how often King Charles waved his crown. Here give me leave to tell the Animadvertor, that such whom he slighteth for *low royalists* were (whilst they had a King in England) as high in their loyalty to him, prayers and sufferings for him, as those *high royalists* who maintain that all goods of the subjects are at the King's absolute dispose; and yet since those Kings are departed this

¹ Chap. xiv.

² Part i. (52), (346).

³ Part i. (56), (348).

life, can write of them in so base and disparaging language, that any one of the low royalists would have his right-hand cut off rather than write the like. Reader, pardon my too just passion when *disloyalty* is laid to my charge. It is with me, 'Either now speak, or else for ever hereafter hold your peace.'"¹

Having completed his introduction, Fuller addresses himself in detail to his opponent's exceptions, wittily and learnedly defending or excusing himself.

The *Dedications* in the *Church-History* are very ingeniously upheld. He quietly asserts that he might do what he would with his own; that through the dedications the truth was not prejudiced, the Church wronged, nor the clergy injured—the motives for which Heylyn averred that he took up his pen; that some costly books had been brought out that way; and, lastly, "it is all one in effect whether one *printeth* his dedications to many patrons, or whether one *presenteth* a printed *History of St. George* to each English Knight of the Garter with a written letter prefixed to every one of them:² save that the former way is better, as which rendereth the author's gratitude the more public and conspicuous." Fuller's peculiar love of these epistles was deemed by others the subject of ridicule, as was seen in the former chapter.

With regard to the *heraldry* with which the *History* occasionally dealt, who will not forgive the author when he reads his ingenuous apology for it? "Those passages of heraldry are *put in for variety and diversion, to refresh the wearied reader!*" "They are never used," adds he, "without asking of leave before, or craving pardon after the inserting thereof; and such craving is having a request in that kind with the ingenious [*sic*]. Grant it ill-manners in the author not to ask, it is ill-nature in the reader not to grant, so small a suit!" As to the Battle Abbey roll, "the very addition of *Abbey*" (he declares) "doth dye it with some ecclesiastical tincture." And he says of the arms of the Knights of Ely that they were never before printed; that the wall on which they were painted was demolished; and that each knight being *blended* (or as he might say, *empaled*) with a monk, a moiety of that mixture might be construed reducible to *Church-History*.³

Fuller is more angry with Heylyn for the exceptions raised against the "*old ends of poetry*" which he found not in the classic or sacred historians. Fuller replied that Herodotus had never given the names of the Nine Muses to his books, "if such

¹ Part i. (56), (348).

² As to the Earls of Lindsey, Danby, &c., which I have seen under the hand of the Animadvector. (FULLER.)

³ Part i. 33, 34 (321, 323).

was his abstemiousness from poetry." "Qui scribit *historicè*, scribit *miserè*, if enslaved to all puntillos thereof. Let the Animadvertor keep those steel-bodys for his own wearing, and not force them on *me*. What! not a plait or a ruffle, more or less, but all must be done in number, weight, and measure! according to historical criticism! This is not putting the *book* but the *author* himself into the press!"¹

The passages in which Fuller defends his witty and lively style are extremely entertaining and very conclusive. Heylyn paid the History a rare compliment when he asserted in effect that it was *not dull enough*: not every great book has received such a commendation. Yet Heylyn himself could be merry in similar writings; and a knowledge of this fact turns his criticisms into fault-finding. Thus in the Epistle to his *Letter-Combate*, addressing Baxter, and speaking of "such unsavoury pieces of wit and mischief" as "the *Church-historian*," he asks, "Would you not have me rub them with a little salt to keep them sweet?"² Fuller, who, like many others, found entertaining reading in Heylyn's books, said that his opponent might produce the most light and ludicrous story in all his book, "and here stand I ready to parallel it with as light, in as grave authors as ever set pen to paper." It will be confessed that in their sportive allusions Fuller certainly had the more reverent mind. Thus Heylyn is found exclaiming in the course of the discussion, "God bless not only our historian, but Baronius himself!" "Three is a perfect number," replied Fuller; "let, therefore, the Animadvertor be put in also; partly to make up a complete company; partly that he may have the benefit of his own *jeer-prayers* to himself. Baronius being dead, to pray for him is Popery, and to 'take God's name in vain' (to jeer us both) is profaneness."³ And again, in allusion to a mock speech which Heylyn had put into Fuller's mouth, the latter replied: "It would never have come into my mind to have compared the table of the Lord to a May-pole. . . . I hope that the principles of my education will restrain me from profaneness in such unfitting parallels."⁴

As to traducing the Fathers of the Church and the regular clergy, Fuller says that the reader would find that he had embalmed their memory with his best spices.⁵ And in reference to his opinions regarding those who did not fully conform, Fuller

¹ Part i. 36 (325). "Like another Empson, he endeavoureth to revive the penal statutes of History against me."

² Page 31. This passage was surely present in the mind of Dr. Johnson when

he said concerning *The Rehearsal*, that it had not wit enough to keep it sweet.

³ Part i. 58 (364).

⁴ Part iii. 20 (579).

⁵ Part i. 46 (338).

states that he “closed fully with the moderate judgment of Hooker.”

An instance of the abuse which Heylyn occasionally resorted to is found in the following passage. He had been speaking contemptuously of the moderate party in the Convocation of 1640, and says: “How wise the rest were I am not able to say. But certainly our author showed himself ‘no wiser than Waltham’s calf, who ran nine miles to suck a bull, and came home athirst,’ as the proverb saith.¹ His running into Oxford, which cost him as much in seventeen weeks as he had spent in Cambridge in seventeen years, was but a second sally to the first knight-errantry.” Fuller thus replied: “I can patiently comport with the Animadvertor’s *jeers*, which I behold as so many frogs, that it is pretty and pleasing to see them hop and skip about, having not much harm in them; but I cannot abide his *railings*, which are like to toads, swelling with venom within them. Anyone may rail who is bred but in Billingsgate-college; and I am sorry to hear such language from the Animadvertor, a Doctor in Divinity, seeing railing is as much *beneath* a Doctor as *against* Divinity. When Dr. Turner, a physician sufficiently known, gave the lie (at the Earl of Pembroke’s table) to the Earl of Caernarvon: ‘I will take the lie from you,’ replied the Earl, ‘but I will never take physic from you!’ If such railing be consistent with the Doctor’s divinity, this once I will take the *calf*, but never learn divinity from *him*. Two things comfort me under his reviling: first, that no worse man than David himself complained that he ‘became a PROVERB to his enemies,’ Psalm lxix. 11. Secondly, though a *calf* be a contemptible creature, passing for the emblem (not with the dove of simplicity, but) of plain silliness; yet it is a clean one, and accepted of God for sacrifice, Heb. ix. 19. Whereas the snarling dog (though a creature of far more cunning and sagacity) was so odious and unclean, that by a peculiar law it was provided that ‘the price of a dog should not be brought into the house of the Lord, Deut. xxiii. 18.”²

The following is another passage between the disputants. Heylyn, commenting on Fuller’s statement, that Laud was “generally charged with Popish inclinations; and the story is commonly told and believed of a lady,” &c. (see the story, page 3), said: “Here is a charge of the Archbishop’s inclination unto popery, and the proof nothing but a tale, and the tale of a

¹ The proverb was a common one in Fuller’s time. In some collections it is given thus: “As wise as the Waltham calf that went nine miles to suck a bull.”

It is referred to in Hudibras—

“Thou wilt at best but suck a bull
Or shear swine—all cry and no wool.”

² Part iii. 33 (596).

lady. *Quid vento? Mulier. Quid Muliere? Nihil.* The substance of the tale is this: That a certain lady (if any lady may be certain) who, turning papist," &c. To which Fuller answers: "I will take the boldness to English his Latin verse, that the weaker sex may see the strength of his charity unto them:—

What's more fickle than the wind?
 Ev'n a woman in her mind.
 Fickler what's than woman-kind?
 Nothing in the world we find.¹"

Fuller has often occasion to answer his opponent in this manner: "The Animadvertor endeavours to run me on one of these dangerous rocks—either to condemn the University for fools and madmen, whom I love and honour for wise and sober persons; or else to make me incur the displeasure of the Parliament. And the Philosopher's answer to the Emperor is well known—'That it is ill-disputing with them that can command legions.' The best is, I am not bound to answer this dangerous dilemma, keeping myself close to my calling, namely, reporting what was done. . . . I am not so old to be weary of the world, as I hope it is not of me. And God having given me children I will not destroy them, and hazard myself, by running into needless dangers. And let this suffice for an answer."²

The following is the conclusion of Heylyn's *Examen*, with Fuller's comment. HEYLYN, referring to Archbishop Williams, to whom he says Fuller was partial: "I find more reason to condemn than there is to commend him; so that we may affirm of him as the historian doth of Cajus Caesar, son of Agrippa and nephew to the great Augustus, viz. *Tam variè se gessit, ut nec laudaturum magna, nec vituperaturum mediocris materia deficiat*, as my author has it. And with the same character accommodated to our author [*i.e.* Fuller] and this present history, I conclude these notes; subjoining only this old saying as well for my comfort as my defence, viz. 'Truth, though it may be blamed, can never be shamed.'

FULLER: "Here the Animadvertor doth tickle and pinch me both together; yet neither will I laugh or cry, but keep my former composure. I will take no notice of a piece of Mezentism in his joining of the dead and living together; and conceive myself far unworthy to be paralleled in the least degree with his eminences. However, I will endeavour, with the gladiators *καλῶς πίπτειν, honestè decumbere*—that when I can fight no longer, I may 'fall handsomely' in the scene of this life. May

¹ Part iii. 61 (633).

² Part iii. 71 (646).

God, who gave it, have the glory of what is good in me; my self the shame of what is bad, which I ought to labour to amend.”¹

At the close of the *Appeal*, Fuller, an inveterate letter-writer, appended *four* epistles. The first is addressed to Dr. John Cosin; the second to the “Religious, Learned, and Ingenuous Reader,” who is urged to deal “truly and unpartially” between him and his opponent. The third epistle, which must be given in full, is inscribed—

“ TO MY LOVING FRIEND, DOCTOR PETER HEYLIN.

“ I hope, Sir, that we are not mutually unfriended by this difference which hath happened betwixt us. And now, as Duellers, when they are both out of breath, may stand still and parley, before they have a second pass, let us in cold blood exchange a word, and, meantime, let us depose, at least suspend, our animosities.

“ Death has crept into both our clay cottages through the windows, your eyes being bad, mine not good: God mend them both and sanctify unto us these monitors of mortality; and, however it fareth with our corporeal sight, send our souls that *collyrium*, and heavenly ‘eye-salve,’ mentioned in Scripture! But indeed, Sir, I conceive our time, pains, and parts may be better expended to God’s glory, and the Church’s good, than in these needless contentions. Why should PETER fall out with THOMAS, both being disciples to the same Lord and Master? I assure you, Sir (whatever you conceive to the contrary), I am cordial to the cause of the English Church, and my hoary hairs will go down to the grave in sorrow for her sufferings.

“ You well remember the passage in Homer how wise Nestor bemoaned the unhappy difference betwixt Agamemnon and Achilles—

“Ω πόποι, ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιΐδα γαῖαν ἰκάνει.
Ἥ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες,
Ἄλλοι τε Τρῶες μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμῷ,
Εἰ σφῶϊν τάδε πάντα πυθοίατο μαρναμένοιιν.”²

O Gods! how great the grief of Greece the while;
And Priam’s self and sons do sweetly smile;
Yea, all the Trojan party swell with laughter,
That Greeks with Greeks fall out, and fight to slaughter.

“ Let me, therefore, tender unto you an expedient, in tendency to our mutual agreement. You know full well, Sir, how, in heraldry two lioncels rampant endorsed are said to be the emblem of two valiant men, keeping appointment and meeting in the field, but either forbidden fight by their prince, or departing on terms of equality agreed betwixt themselves. Whereupon, turning back to back, neither conquerors nor conquered, they depart the field several ways (their stout stomachs not suffering them both to go the same way), lest it be accounted an injury one to precede the other.

¹ Part iii. 81 (660). “ Truth,” said Heylyn, once before, “ is the mistress which I serve.”—“ Rough though I am I have a mistress too,” replied Fuller, “ and her the self-same with the Animadvertor’s.”—i. 21 (312).

² *Iliad*. i. 254-257; Derby, 301, *seq.*:—
“ Alas, alas! what grief is this for Greece!
What joy for Priam, and for Priam’s sons!
What exultation for the men of Troy,
To hear of feuds ’tween you, of all the Greeks
The first in counsel and the first in fight!”

"In like manner, I know you disdain to allow me your equal in this controversy betwixt us; and I will not allow you my superior. To prevent future trouble, let it be a drawn battle; and let both of us 'abound in our own sense,' severally persuaded in the truth of what we have written. Thus, parting and going out *back to back* here (to cut off all contest about precedence), I hope we shall meet in heaven *face to face*, hereafter. In order whereunto, God willing, I will give you a meeting, when, and where you shall be pleased to appoint; that we, who have tilted pens, may shake hands together.

"St. Paul, writing to Philemon concerning Onesimus, saith, 'For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou mightest receive him for ever.' To avoid exceptions, you shall be the good PHILEMON, I the fugitive ONESIMUS. Who knoweth but that God, in His providence, permitted, yea, ordered this difference to happen betwixt us, not only to occasion a reconciliation, but to consolidate a mutual friendship betwixt us during our lives, and that the survivor (in God's pleasure only to appoint) may make favourable and respectful mention of him who goeth first to his grave? The desire of him who remains, Sir,

"A lover of your parts, and an honourer of your person,
"THO. FULLER."

Mr. Nichols thus expresses the high admiration which this epistle is well calculated to excite: "I do not recollect to have read a letter in any language equal to this; the composition of an old warrior, who, feeling that he had obtained a well-contested victory over his brave antagonist, could afford to be generous, and allow his captive to retire with 'the honours of war.' The fine Christian spirit which breathes through the whole of this very elegant epistle, at once manly and tender, disarmed the wrath of Heylyn, whose natural testiness was proverbial, and who compelled all his contemporaries

'In arguing, too, to own his wond'rous skill,
For e'en, though vanquished, he could argue still.'

I am not aware," he adds, "that Heylyn, who survived Fuller but one year, ever complied with the concluding request in this letter, to 'make favourable and respectful mention of him who might go first to his grave.' In this case we may hope that it was fully in his intention to render due honour to the deceased; and must in charity accept the will for the deed."¹

Fuller's last letter is addressed to the notorious DR. CORNELIUS BURGESS, who is referred to *antea*, page 206. He mentioned Fuller contemptuously in the present year (1659) in his *No Sacrilege, No Sin in the Purchase of Bishops Lands*, and referred to Heylyn's animadversions with a glee that Fuller's incisive letter must have cut short.

¹ *Appeal*, p. 672.

The most striking feature of the *Appeal* is its controversial fairness. Fuller was the most candid of opponents, and treated Heylyn with more justice than he had received. One instance of this is found in the way in which Fuller refrains, as he twice puts it, from here and there picking out parcels and cutting off shreds where they make most for my advantage; but instead presents "the whole cloth of his book, (as he will find so if pleasing to measure it over again,) length, and breadth, and list, and fag and all; that so the reader may see of what wool it is made, and [with] what thread it is spun, and thereby be the better enabled to pass his verdict upon it."¹ Acting upon this plan, Fuller got more than half-way through the second part of his defence, when Heylyn's stationer, deriving information mayhap from another press corrector, took exception "that I have printed all his book; which may tend to his detriment." Protesting that he aimed only at his own defence and not the stationer's damage, Fuller left out in the remaining part all that contained no "pungent matter" against himself, although he could not see how he could do otherwise, "seeing the plaister must be as broad as the sore, the tent as deep as the wound."² The portions of Heylyn's criticism thus omitted were with great judgment added to the modern edition of the *Appeal*; and had the editor also appended Heylyn's final reply in the *Letter-Combate*, the controversy would have been presented in a complete form.

In the next place, prominence should be given to the deep and tender charity which pervades the *Appeal* in common with its predecessor. It seems more mellowed in the former, by reason of the advancing age of the author. Not only is this feeling exhibited towards his opponent, but it is also seen towards those with whom he disagreed. Thus Heylyn had complained that Fuller had called the "schismatics" of Frankfort "saints." "If God," replied Fuller, "were not more merciful to us than we are charitable to one another, what would become of us all? I humbly conceive that these exiles (though I will not advocate for their carriage in all particulars) had more liberty in modelling their own church than such as live in England, under a settled government, commanded by authority. *Schismatic*, in my mind, is too harsh for such who fled and suffered for their conscience. However, I conceive a saintship not inconsistent with such schismaticalness; God graciously, on their general repentance,

¹ Part i. 5 (291); ii. 86 (508). The technical phrases show Fuller's knowledge of the fulling trade.

² Part ii. 86 (508).

forgiving them their fault herein.”¹ Again; he says that he cannot

“Close with the Animadvertor in his uncharitable censure of the ministry of forain Protestant churches, rendring them utterly invalid, because ordained by no bishops. Cain (as commonly believed) is conceived to have killed a fourth part of mankind by murdering Abel; but the Animadvertor’s cruelty to Protestants hath exceeded this proportion in spiritually killing more than a fourth part of Protestants, according to his own principles: for if no priests in France, Low Countries, Swisserland, &c., then no sacraments; then no church; then no salvation.”²

That Fuller’s toleration was in advance of many of his time is shown by such passages as this: “*Multiformity*, with mutual charity, advanceth God’s glory as much as *uniformity* itself in matters merely indifferent; which, as the pipes of an organ, may be of several length and bigness, yet all tuned into good harmony together.”³ These sentiments betoken a man with whom reconciliation was easy; and taken in connection with his character an amity with his critic was made possible. As pointing to this end the spirit of Fuller’s reply has always been commended.

Throughout the discussion Fuller appears as one devoted to the Church. Heylyn, e.g., had unjustly charged him with speaking against the Homilies. Fuller rebuts the statement, adding: “Well had it been for the peace and happiness of the Church if the Animadvertor (and all of his party) had had as high an esteem as the author [*i.e.* Fuller] hath for the Homilies; if none of them had called them *Homely Homilies*, as one [*viz.* Bp. Montagu of *Appello Caesarem*] did; and if they had conformed their practice to the Second Homily in the second book [*Against Peril of Idolatry!*], and not appeared so forward in countenancing images of God and His saints in churches!”⁴

Heylyn had also spoken of the alliance with Spain causing the Puritans to fear that it might arm the King “with power and counsel to suppress those practices which have since proved the funeral of the Church of England.”—“I hope,” replies Fuller, “that there is still a Church in England alive, or else we were all in a sad, yea, in an unsaluable condition. The state of which Church in England I compare to Eutyclus, Acts xx. 9: I suspect it hath formerly slept too soundly in ease and security. Sure I am, it is since, with him, ‘fallen down from the third loft;’ from honour into contempt; from unity into faction; from verity into dangerous errors. Yet I hope, to follow the allegory, that her life is still left in her; I mean

¹ Part ii. 80 (494).

² Part iii. 20 (579).

³ Part ii. 91 (520). See also his remarks on Voragine.

⁴ Part ii. 87 (509); *Ch.-Hist.* ix. 75.

so much soundness left, that persons born, living, and dying therein are capable of salvation. Let such who think the Church of England sick pray for her wonderful recovery; and such as think her dead pray for her miraculous resurrection.”¹

Apart from these higher qualities of the *Appeal*, its principal charm lies in its pleasant and naïve style,—a feature which ensures the sympathy of the reader. Although some of Heylyn’s exceptions were justly advanced, Fuller, as one has said, so excuses or confesses his errors, “that he is even pleasing to his readers in those faults for which he has so wittily apologised.” While the rejoinder is thus facetious and amusing, it is not without a fitting dignity: now he appears as the humorist, now as the historian. The author of the *Life* characterises it as “a very modest but most rational and polite defence to the aforesaid exceptions against that elaborate defence.” The surprising variety of subjects introduced into it increases one’s delight in its perusal. “It embraces,” said Mr. James Nichols, “almost every topic within the range of human disquisition, from the most sublime mysteries of the Christian religion and the great antiquity of the Hebrew and Welsh languages, down the ‘Tale of a Tub,’ and criticisms on Shakespeare’s perversion of the character of Sir John Falstaff.”² Had Mr. Nichol’s edition possessed a good index—it needs it, like many another good book—and were one to see that alone, it would be a sore puzzle to determine the subject or the title of the work: “Motley’s the only wear!”

The *Appeal* is really an appendix to the *Church-History*, and was printed uniformly with it on that account; but they are now rarely ever found bound up together. The *Appeal* has a certain historic value, as the greater part of it relates to important events with which its author and Heylyn were mixed up; and we see these events from different points of view.³ The account of the controversy does not in any way merit the careless statement of A Wood, who, leaning towards Oxford men, states that on the appearance of Heylyn’s censures, Fuller “came out with a thin folio full of submission and acknowledgment.”

The result of this literary contest was highly creditable to Fuller’s character as a Christian and an historian. Mr. Nichols justly said of it:—

“Published in the year prior to the Restoration, it displays to better advantage, perhaps, than any or all of his former productions, the multifarious acquirements and wonderful intel-

¹ Part ii. 102 (550).

² Preface to *Appeal*.

³ D’Aubigné in *The Protector: a Vindication*, terms Fuller a *High Churchman*!

lectual resources of Fuller. Highly as I am reputed to venerate his antagonist, Peter Heylyn, that staunch and sturdy Royalist, I feel no hesitation in pronouncing Fuller the victor in this contest; not only from the general justness of his cause, but also for that which exalts him as a man and a Christian—his playful wit, ingenuous candour, almost unfailing good-humour, and remarkable moderation.”¹

But the controversy was not yet ended. Fuller's unquiet antagonist did not, like Saltmarsh, acknowledge defeat by silence. For shortly afterwards, with renewed zest, Heylyn put forth a book called *Certamen Epistolare, or The Letter-Combate*, 1659, to return, apparently, his last words with no less than five of his opponents. The book is inscribed “To my dear brethren the poor remainders of the old regular and conformable clergy of the Church of England.” The first with whom he wipes off scores was *Mr. Baxter*, who had written against the ejected clergy. The second was *Dr. Barnard*, whom Heylyn had already attacked in *Respondet Petrus*, the report of the public burning of which Heylyn denies. The third was *Henry Hickman*,² of Magdalen College, Oxford, who is called a “whelp of the same litter” as Baxter. The fourth was *James Harrington*, and the last, forming the Appendix to the volume, was “in answer to some passages in Mr. Fuller's late *Appeal*.”

This Appendix, which alone concerns us, contains “An exchange of letters between Mr. Thomas Fuller of Waltham, and Dr. Peter Heylyn of Abingdon; with an Examination of some passages in Mr. Fuller's late *Appeal for Injured Innocence*.”

Heylyn gives us to understand that this Appendix took him ten days to write, and that he received Fuller's answer four days after writing the prefatory epistle. In the latter he repeats that as to his “engagings with the Church-historian,” he was solicited thereunto by persons of all orders, degrees, and stations, as well Ecclesiastical as Academical.” Here also he mentions a report “from a passage in one of Squire Sanderson's pamphlets,” that he had asked for pardon of the two historians whom he had written against in his *Examen*. This Heylyn denied; so far from craving pardon from Fuller, he had, having

¹ *Appeal*, Preface. On the other hand, the Rev. J. C. Robertson, M.A., the editor of Heylyn's *History of the Reformation* (*Eccles. Hist. Soc.*, 1849), gave his opinion that the *Appeal*, “perhaps the ablest of Fuller's works,” was “not a triumph, but an admirable covering of a defeat; for as to the points in dispute, Heylyn has greatly the advantage.”

² A book was afterwards written against Hickman and Edward Bagshaw, in vindication of Heylyn and Pierce, entitled, *Fratres in malo: or the Matchless Couple represented in the writings of Mr. Edw. Bagshaw and Mr. Hen. Hickman*, 4to. 1660, of which A Wood says that all then supposed that Heylyn or Pierce, or both, had a hand in it.

occasion to write to the latter on another account, addressed him thus: “I understand you have an answer in the press to my *Animadversions*, which I am very glad to hear of, because I hope the truth will come out between us; if you can show me any mistakes I shall be one of the first that shall give you thanks for it, and do my endeavour to correct them. If you can charge me with any viciousness in life or conversation, do it in God’s name, and spare not; I will not be thankful to you for that neither, because I shall the better know what I am to reform, &c.”—“after which preamble,” continues he, “I descended into that particular which gave occasion to my writing, relating wholly to a third person utterly unconcerned in the differences which were betwixt us; to which he presently returns a very civil, full, and satisfactory answer: If this be craving of pardon I am guilty of it.” While the Appendix is professedly a reply to Fuller’s letter at the conclusion of the *Appeal*, Heylyn must needs have a last word—“the glory and privilege of a scold”—upon the several differences which had arisen between them.

“Two adversaries,” says he, “I have lately drawn upon me for my love to truth, my zeal unto the Church, and the injured clergy: by one of which [*Hamon L’Estrange*¹] (notwithstanding my respectful usage of him) I have been handled in so rude and scurrilous a manner as renders him incapable of any honest correction, there being no pen foul enough to encounter him which would not be made fouler by engaging in so foul a subject. From the other [*Fuller*] (though more exasperated) I have received a well-studied answer, composed with ingenuity and judgment, not standing wilfully in an error of which he finds himself convinced, though traversing many points in debate between us, which with more honour to the truth might have been declined. And in the end thereof I find a letter directed or superscribed unto me, tending especially to the begetting of such a friendly correspondence betwixt us as may conduce to the establishment of a following peace.”

Having quoted this letter at length (which he “must needs

¹ This gentleman was the brother of the famous pamphleteer Sir Roger, of Hunstanton, to whom *Ornithologia* was dedicated. The former was of Pakenham, Suffolk, and was the author of *The Reign of King Charles*, which Heylyn had censured, but which Fuller characterised as “an handsome history, likely to prove as acceptable to posterity as it hath done to the present age.” “To the lustre of his ancient and noble extraction,” L’Estrange

had added, says Fuller, “the light of learning, not as his profession, but accomplishment.” *Appeal*, iii. 9 (564); ii. (92) 525. He adds in the *Worthies* that he was a most ingenious gentleman (§§ Worcester-shire and Westminster). Besides a work on the Sabbath, he wrote an answer to the Marquess of Worcester’s last paper to the late King, 1651. To Heylyn’s aspersions was due L’Estrange’s *Alliance of Divine Offices*.

confess to be very civil"), our stout controversialist felt himself obliged both in point of manners and goodnature to return an answer. "But first I am to enter into consideration of some particulars relating to the late *Appeal*, to my adversary, to myself, and finally to some few differences which remain between us."

As to the *Appeal*, he said that Fuller had ingenuously confessed many errors: "some he endeavoureth to avoid, and seeks all subterfuges which wit or cunning can devise to save himself from the sense and guilt of a conviction. . . . And other arguments there are which he so avoideth as to make no answer to them at all. . . . And many paragraphs there are in the *Animadversions* which he hath totally preter-mitted without taking any notice of them at all."¹ After enumerating Fuller's "general avoidings" and "particular traverses," he passes on to notice, first, the *personal* points of difference between them. Beginning with himself (for he could not so forget himself to be a parson as not to christen his own child first), Heylyn avers that his exceptions were too just to be termed *cavils*. "He makes the causeless cavils so frequent in me, and the humour of cavilling so predominant in my affections, as to be able to affright all those from writing histories, who have both 'commendable inclinations' and 'proportionable qualifications' for such undertakings. For saving to myself the benefit and advantage of exception, now and at all times hereafter against the injustice of such a false and undeserved calumny, I do hereby assure the *Appealant* and all others whosoever they be, who shall apply themselves to writing of histories, that my pen shall never be employed about them to the disgracing of their persons, or the discountenancing their performance in what sort soever. And in pursuance hereof, I shall be somewhat better-natured than the Lady Moore, of whom my author knows a tale, that coming once from shrift, she pleasantly saith unto her husband, 'Be merry, Sir Thomas, for I have been well shriven to-day, and mean to lay aside all my old shrewishness.' 'Yea, madam,' saith he, 'and to begin again afresh!'"² Heylyn complains that if he were "grave and serious in any animadversions, he [Fuller] ascribes it ever and anon to my too much *morosity*, as if I were the *Morose* himself in Ben Johnson's *Epicaene*; if smart and jocular I shall be presently accused of *railing*, as if I had been bred in Billings-Gate College. I cannot make myself merry with a mess of *Fullers*, but I must have a *rail* laid in my dish and a *quail* to boot; especially if I touch on our author

¹ Pages 315—318.

² Page 324.

himself, who will behold me for so doing with no other eyes than the servants of Hezekiah looked on Rabsecah." ¹ After devoting many pages to his personal vindication, Heylyn rebuts Fuller's criticisms on passages in his other works.

As to Fuller's answer being "full and speedy," Heylyn says it is full enough of needless questions and disputes, which rather showed a resolution not to bear the quarrel, than an ability to maintain it. "I remember I have somewhere read of a famous wrestler who, being many times overthrown, did suddenly start up, and by an eloquent oration, persuaded the people that he rather fell by a slip of his own foot, than by the strength of his adversary. Such a wrestler I have met with in the present Appealant, who imputes all his faults to slips, slips of the pen, slips pretal [*sic*], as he words it, and slips of memory."²

There still remained in difference the points which Fuller denied, and these Heylyn defends at length with spirit and learning, conceding nothing.³ He then criticises the epistles at the conclusion of the *Appeal*, which (he says) are "contrary in a manner to all former precedents."

Until he had thus "said his say" on the chief points in dispute, Heylyn did not among other reasons think himself in a condition "to embrace any of those civil and ingenious overtures which are made in the Appealant's letter."⁴ To it he then addresses himself, and that in his opponent's manner. He inscribes a letter "to my loving friend, Mr. Thomas Fuller," wherein he, not at first in a reciprocal spirit, makes answer to his opponent's epistle. He will not allow Fuller to be a true son of the Church unless he alters in his second edition many of the passages which had been called in question. As to which of them was superior to the other, Heylyn says that though he might suffer Fuller to enjoy the jollity of his own opinion, yet others might think otherwise. Leaving that to the final judgment of those who had read the controversy, "I shall not be unwilling to shut up the quarrel." He adds: "By some passages in your book and letter, I find that you take notice of a remediless infirmity and decay of sight which is fallen upon me, rendering me almost wholly unfit for further engagements of this nature; and I find also on the other side that you have many advantages above me, both in friends and books, of both which by the plundering of my library, and the nature of a country life, I am almost totally unfurnished; which though it may give you many fair and flattering hopes of an easy victory whensoever you shall enter the lists again; yet

¹ Page 325.

² Page 337.

³ Page 342 *seq.*

⁴ Page 389.

as unfurnished as I am of all humane helps but such as I have within myself, I little doubt of making good the cause against you." One's admiration of the practised controversialist cannot but increase when we find him adding in the same sentence that he had learned from Christ to agree with his adversary while he was in the way with him.

"I must needs say," continues he, "you have offered me very fair conditions whereby I am put in the way towards this agreement, which I shall follow with the greater cheerfulness when I shall see some good effects of your protestations—such reparation made to *Injured Innocence*, as is professed in your *Appeal*: Which happy hour, whensoever it comes, I shall not only give you the right hand of fellowship, as the Apostles did to Paul, when, from a persecutor of the Church, he became one of the chief pillars in it, but the right hand of precedency which the old and dim-sighted patriarch gave to Ephraim, though the younger brother. We shall not then enter into the dispute which of us goes first out of the field, or turn our backs toward one another, according to your emblem of the two lions endorsed (which you have very well noted out of Gerrard Leigh) for avoiding contentions in the way; but hand in hand together as becometh brethren, the sons not only of the same Father, but of the same Mother too. Nor shall we then enter into a dispute which of the two shall be reputed for the good Philemon, or which the fugitive Onesimus; there being as great a readiness in me to submit unto you in all points of civility, as there can be averseness in you to acknowledge me for your superior by way of argument. So doing we shall both be victors, though neither can be said to be vanquished, and shall consolidate a friendship without the intervening of a reconciliation. And on these terms none shall be readier to preserve either a valuable esteem whilst we live together, or a fair memory of you if you go before me, than, Sir, the most unworthy of your brethren amongst the true sons of the Church of England, PET. HEYLYN. —Lacies Court in Abingdon, May 16, 1659."¹

The Rev. J. C. Robertson, the careful editor of Heylyn's *History of the Reformation*, and of Barnard's life of its author, (*Eccles. Hist. Soc.* 1849), acknowledges that Heylyn's rejoinder was not in the tone which Fuller's letter might have been expected to produce. "He had evidently conceived an ill opinion of Fuller's principles, and was not to be disarmed either by personal courtesies or by protestations of attachment to the Church."²

This letter was the prelude to an amicable meeting at Heylyn's house at Abingdon, whither Fuller went to confer with him regarding their differences. Reconciliation seems to have been both prompt and hearty. Fuller's eulogist attributes the result to Fuller's disposition, adding that the quarrel was "soon healed into a perfect amiable closure and mutual endearment." Heylyn's biographer also mentions the happy termination of the quarrel; but he must be read, as before, with an

¹ Page 397.

² *Life of Heylyn*, p. clx.

allowance. "The many falsities, defects, and mistakes of that book [*Church-History*] the Doctor discovered and refuted; of which Mr. Fuller afterward being ingeniously ashamed, came to the Doctor's house in Abingdon, where he made his peace; both became very good friends, and betwixt them for the future was kept an inviolable bond of friendship."¹ There is in the *Worthies* a trace of Fuller's good feeling towards his old antagonist, where he makes "respectful mention" of a "worthy work of my honoured friend."² This subject forms a fitting conclusion to Lloyd's notice of Fuller: "And because Dr. Heylyn and he agreed so lovingly in their mutual charity one towards another at last, after they had differed in opinion at first, let Dr. Heylyn dwell by him." The notice of Heylyn accordingly follows that of Fuller.

Heylyn's future life was troubled. He had said in the controversy with Fuller that he then put an end to his correction of the errors in other men's writings; and in the postscript to his *Quinqu-articularis*, he speaks of having done with these polemical discourses, "and shall not easily engage in a new adventure. . . . It is time to leave the stage to more able actors." He refers to his fading eyesight in his Simeon-like exultation that his "old bad eyes had seen the King's return." Evelyn heard him preach on 29th March, 1661, concerning friendship and charity: "He was I think at this time quite dark, and so had been for some years." He got back his prebend, glad "that his old friends the house of Commons, and the Lord of Lincoln were out of Westminster." By many of the bishops he was resorted to as an oracle of the past. He did not long enjoy his restored livings, as his health rapidly gave way in consequence, it is said, of his claims for Church-preferment having been overlooked. Shortly before his death, he dreamed that he saw Charles I., who said to him: "Peter, I will have you buried under your seat at church, for you are rarely seen but there or at your study." He died in May, 1662, and was buried under the sub-dean's seat, according to his dream.

The contest with one of his own Church troubled Fuller, who was unwilling that their differences should be made public. The quotation made by Fuller from the *Iliad* implies that a great attention was given to the quarrel; and it seems that none watched it more closely than the Roman Catholics. As to his views generally on the Romish tenets, his biographer makes the following observations: "He was likewise, on the other side, a

¹ Page xx. Fol. ed.

² § Warwickshire, p. 133.

professed and avowed adversary to the Mass and traditions, which caused him no little slander and obloquy. But the spirit of this pious Doctor was exceedingly stirred in him against all Popish insinulators; because he was too sensible that through the mad zeal of the vulgar, whom they had by Jesuitical practices inflamed, the house of God in these kingdoms was set in combustion. Therefore with much prudence, courage, and boldness, did he everywhere in his books, as occasion offered, unmask the deceits and designs, resist and curb the pride, convince and lay open the errors of the Church of Rome, though he never wrote anything particularly by way of controversy against it, because (as he said) there was no end of it, and more than sufficient had already been wrote; if any ingenuity had been in the adherents of that See, to have submitted to truth.

“Nor was there ever any of that religion who were so hardy as to challenge or tax the Doctor but obliquely, for anything wherewith he had charged them, either of apostasy, heresy, or manifest idolatry, their abuse of antiquity in their rasures and additions, which did very often occur to him in most of his books—from which they were sure to hear of them to the purpose. It much rejoiced the Roman party when that misunderstanding happened betwixt Doctor Heylyn and himself about his Ecclesiastical history, though they caught no fish in those troubled waters; while they tossed of their proud billows forward and backward, the Protestant cause was safely anchored and moored between them.”¹

He proceeds to refer to Fuller's religious contentions generally: “As he never had occasion to engage in any polemical discourse with any of that party; so in these miserable bandyings of our late unhappy times did he always refrain from stickling in any side, though it was sufficiently known how firmly grounded and addict [he was] to the true Protestant religion; in opposition to the innovations of Presbytery, and the schism of Independency, against whom also he had a zeal, but allayed with a greater compassion, then to the Papist, distinguishing between the seducers and the seduced, whom notwithstanding he did very severely deal withal in his writings. . . . He may be said to have been a right-handed enemy to the stubborn Romanist, and a left-handed one to the cunning Sectary.”²

¹ Pages 83—85.

² Page 86.



CHAPTER XXI.

“MIXT CONTEMPLATIONS IN BETTER TIMES.”

FULLER'S DEATH. (1659-1661.)

THE RESTORATION AND FULLER'S LITERARY EFFORTS.—(I.) THE DUTCH EDITION OF “ANDRONICUS.”—PROPOSED OATH OF ABJURATION OF THE STUARTS.—(II.) FULLER'S “ALARUM TO THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES:” THE “HAPPY HANDFUL” OF DECLARATIONS, ETC.—THE NEW PARLIAMENT.—(III.) FULLER'S “MIXT CONTEMPLATIONS IN BETTER TIMES”: THEIR MODERATION AND INFLUENCE.—LADY MONCK.—FULLER AT THE HAGUE.—THE RESTORATION.—(IV.) THE “PANEGYRIC” TO THE KING.—(V.) VERSES IN SPARKE'S “SCINTILLA.”—FULLER'S DOCTORATE DEGREE.—PEPYS'S NOTICES OF FULLER.—FULLER'S FAMOUS MEMORY: ART OR METHOD V. NATURE.—SERMONS AT THE SAVOY.—REPOSSESSED OF HIS BENEFICES.—VISIT TO THE WEST.—THE WESTLEY FAMILY.—FULLER'S JOURNEY TO SALISBURY.—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.—DEAN HARDY'S FUNERAL SERMON.—JAMES HEATH'S ELEGY.—PERSONAL TRAITS AND CHARACTER.

“The death of the godly ought to put life into the godly; the loss of pious men of the 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 rooms. 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 arise.” (*Abel Redivivus*, § *Life of Junius*, p. 449.)

THE literary work of the closing years of the life of our author is full of intimations of the approach of the “Restoration,” in which he was more concerned than has yet been suspected. Its progress can indeed be traced by his own pen; for, prepared but calm, he was as earnest to bring that event about as the rest of the clergy, who had been aroused to action by the exhortations of Barwick. Dr. Brounrig, Fuller's old friend, favourably regarded by the Presbyterians, and then Preacher at the Temple, was alone regarded by the Court-advisers as lukewarm; he died on the 7th December this year, and at his funeral Fuller noticed that the prime persons of all persuasions were present. Our divine

regretted that the Bishop did not live to be instrumental to the composure of Church-differences.¹

Upon the death of Cromwell, Fuller was perhaps consulted by the Cavaliers exiled in Holland as to the publication of the Dutch edition of *Andronicus*, which was issued under a title and application adapted to the circumstance (see page 383, *ante*). His interest in the critical affairs of the nation is further shown by the penning of a vigorous political pamphlet which is the more worthy of interest from the fact that it has been overlooked by all Fuller's former biographers. The subject of the pamphlet introduces us into the debates of the unsettled months to which it refers.

After the dissolution, in the spring of 1659, of the first and only Parliament of Richard, the officers and republican leaders summoned such members of the Long Parliament as had sat since 1653, Lenthall being made Speaker, and a new council of state being formed (May). Richard, who is mentioned with the good opinion of Fuller, then left Whitehall. This new Parliament was not in accord with the views of the officers of the army, and it was, in October, dissolved by Lambert after a precedent which Cromwell had fully established. Amidst the confusion Royalist plots were meanwhile formed, and anonymous Royalist pamphlets appeared. The abortive Cheshire insurrection under Sir George Booth belongs to August. In December the rising hopes of the exiled courtiers were dashed by the surprising resurrection of what Fuller termed the "long-lasting Parliament,"—a body that had been "so often exploded, so often dead and buried, twice garbled, twice turned out, twice restored." Accessions were gradually made to the numbers, but the body was contemptuously spoken of as "the Rump." For the support of Government a tax of £100,000 per month was levied; and early in January, 1660, a new oath was framed "to compel the people to swear not only that they should bear faith and true allegiance to the Commonwealth of England and the present Parliament, but that they should also renounce and abjure all allegiance to Charles II. and the whole royal family." This

¹ Fuller relates of him (*Worthies*, § Suffolk, p. 62) that "he continued constant to the Church of England, a champion of the needful use of the Liturgy, and for the privileges of ordination to belong to bishops alone. Unmoveable he was in the principles of loyalty, witness this instance: O. P., with some show of respect unto him, demanded the bishop's judgment (*non plus't*, it seems,

himself) in some business; to whom he returned, 'My lord, the best counsel I can give you is, Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's;' with which free answer O. P. was rather silenced than satisfied." The anecdote is also told in the *Memorials* (1660, p. 187), by Gauden, who preached and published the funeral sermon.

oath had formerly been imposed on the officers in the previous September, and a proposal was made to apply it to those who should join the Rump.¹ Upon the arrival (Feb. 3) in London of Monk, who had advanced from Scotland and had received the “Declarations” of the counties, &c. through which he passed, it was also tendered to him; but he took time to consider it. It was also avoided by Lenthall, who, feigning gout, absented himself ten days. It was hotly discussed and condemned by the returning Royalist feeling which set in against the “Rump-abjurors;” and it formed the chief topic in Fuller’s pamphlet, which, under the name of “A Lover of his Native Country,” he put forth in February before the publication of Monk’s historic letter of the 11th, declaring for a free Parliament. A second edition of the pamphlet immediately followed the first. The interest attaching to this shrewd and well-timed production is a sufficient reason for its insertion, *verbatim et literatim*, in this chapter. It is copied from the *third* edition, which was published under Fuller’s name, and included in a collection of the “Declarations” of cities, counties, &c., for a cessation of civil strife and a free Parliament. The first piece in the collection (pp. 1—6) is “An Express from the Knights and Gentlemen of Cheshire, now engaged with Sir George Booth: To the City and Citizens of London, and all other Free-men of England.” Then follow the representations, addresses, petitions, &c., twenty-nine in all, arranged apparently in chronological order, from London, Westminster, Kent, Berks, &c. addressed to Monk, Lenthall the Speaker, and others. One and all demanded in very bold terms a full and free Parliament. The fifth from the end (pp. 66—73) is as follows:—

[p. 66] AN | ALARUM | TO THE | COUNTIES |
 OF
 | ENGLAND | AND | WALES.

With the Ab-renunciatiion of the Oath.

BY THO. FULLER, B.D.

OUR Nation, which long since hath lost the *Lustre* and *Well-Being*, now at last strugleth for the *Life* and *Being* thereof. Our many (*temporal*) miseries are reducible to two principal Heads:—

Daily { 1. *Decrease of Trading.*
 2. *Increase of Taxes;* so that every hour the *Burden* groweth *weightier*, and the *Back* of our Nation weaker to support it.

¹ *Troubles of England*, part ii. 28; Whitelocke, 692, 683; Kennet, 3.

[p. 67] 2. 'Tis sad to see, in Cloathing Countreys, what swarms there are of poor people, the true objects of Charity ; if any were as *able to give*, as they worthy to receive *relief*: for they *would* work, and can work, yet *cannot* work, because there are none to employ them.

3. As for the Sea (which is the *Land of Port-Towns*) it returneth small benefit ; for since *Dunkirk* was ours (more to the *credit* than *benefit* of our Nation) the fire of *Sea-robberies* is removed out of the *Chimney*, and scattered about the *House*, not lesse *destructive*, but more *diffusive* : So that our Merchants could better guard themselves against that *Single Staple of Pirates*, than many lesser ones sprung since every where, the cause why rich men will not (as poor cannot) adventure.

4. Our second *misery* is, increase, yea, *superfetation* of Taxes,¹ so long as so numerous an Army is maintained: For though some of their Souldiers will preach *gratis* (conscientious to take nothing for that which they know is worth nothing) yet none will fight at so cheap a rate.

5. Some will say, that what the Souldier receiveth with one hand, he returneth with another, expending his pay in Victuals, Cloaths, &c., whereby Coin, by *circulation* is continued in our Country. This I deny ; for some Grandees greated by the Times, have made their monies over in *Banks* beyond the Seas, which are put into *MORTMAIN*, or a *Dead hand*, whereby no profit accreth to our Commonwealth. Others having gotten Estates of *Lords*, live after the rate *Yeomen*, whose discretion therein is to be commended, for proportioning their expences (for fear of *afterclaps*) rather according to their original, than present condition.

6. The increase of *Taxes* must inevitably cause the ruine of our Nation : For though still there be wealthy men left [p. 68] (as they shew it in their *cowardise*, and fear to engage for the general good), yet they grow thinner every day, whilst such as are left no root of their own, rather than they will *wither* will turn *Suckers* on the *Stock* of others. So that the greatest happiness rich men can promise to themselves, is only to be *last* devoured, though the comfort of the lateness will not countervail the sadness for the certainty of their destruction. Indeed, it is miraculous that our Nation hath subsisted so long, and few there are that would believe that the whole *Candle* of our English wealth could last so long, as we have beheld it *burning* in the *Socket*, but now giving the last blaze, if God be not merciful, and men discreet to prevent it.

7. Pass we from the sad Malady, to the sole Remedy thereof, I say *sole*, not exclusively of divine miraculous power, but according to humane apprehension, this is a *Free and full Parliament*. Indeed *Free-Parliament* is a *Tautology*, like a *Reasonable-man*, who if not *reasonable*, is no *man* ; as the other, if not *free*, no *Parliament*. But the late frequent forces put on *Parliaments* hath made the needless *Epethite* become *necessary*, to express what kinde of Parliaments we desire. Not such in which every word must be spoken under *correction of the Sword*, but wherein every Member, without fear of violence (to interrupt or dissolve them) may follow the dictates of their own judgement.

8. Nor ought a *Parliament* onely bee *free* from Force, but also from any *Abjurations*, or previous Engagements. Let them take heed of renouncing any thing, save what is simply sinful in it self, as the forsaking of the *World*, *Flesh*, and *Devil*, as was solemnly promised for them in their Baptism. But it is bad to bee busie with other *Ab-renunciations*, especially of the *Royal Family*.

¹ The vindication of "the good people of this nation groaning under insupportable Taxes" was one of the reasons advanced by the party of Sir George Booth.

[p. 69] 9. Look backward, and we may say with *David*, *The vows of the Lord are upon us*; I mean on so many of us as are of fifty years of age. The Oath of *Supremacy* (not to mention the *Covenant*), is the eldest Brother, to whom the inheritance of our Consciences do belong.

10. Look forwards, it *limiteth God's Providence*, which is an hainous offence; we know not what a day, a month, year, &c., may bring forth. This Age hath the least reason of any to meddle with the edge-tools of such Oathes which in a *short* (but *strict*) time hath seen so many strange things, that now nothing is strange unto us. Have wee not seen *O. Cromwell* from a private Gentleman *gradatim* ascend to bee Protector of three Nations, and by his Courage and Wisdom rather than any right; a more absolute Power possessed by, and larger Tribute paid unto him than to any King in *England*. His Son and Successour (counted bad by many for his goodness and milde spirit) for eighth months was congratulated by the most considerable Persons of our Nation. Now if some twenty years since an Oath had been tendred unto us to abjure the Family of *Cromwels* from ever having the Supream Magistracy in our Nation; such an Oath would have seemed safe, but yet it was not lawful to take it, because none knew what was in the *Womb of Teeming Time*, though utterly improbable to our belief.

11. Besides, the Imposers of this Oath may miss the mark they propound to themselves, *viz.* assurance of their own, and discovery of the opposite Party; for many now pass not for taking or breaking of any Oath, and assurance of such is hard in keeping, and indeed not worth the having. Other will behold the Oath as temporary, and expiring with the power of the Imposers. As for the conscientious indeed, Effusing it out of pure principles of piety, it is a barbarous act for persons in power, to turn [p. 70] Executioners to strangle tender Consciences, whose cordial fear of an Oath should be encouraged.

12. As the *Parliament* must be *free*, no *Vassal*, but enfranchised from the Sword, so must it *bee* full, no *Cripple*, but entire and compleat in all the Members thereof. Our Land hath lately groaned under the most grievous *Monopoly* as ever was, or can be, when a handful of men have grasped to themselves the *representing* of a whole (not to say three) Nation, most of them being but *Burgesses*, who though equal in *Votes*, are not equal in their *Representation* with the Knights of the Shires. If they presume that the rest *excluded* by them (far more considerable for Birth, Estates, Number, Love of the People, and what not?) are vertyually *included* in them, it is an intollerable PRESUMPTION. That what pertaineth to all should be handled by all, is a Truth so clear and strong, that they must offer a *Rape* to their own *Reason* that deny it. Such also is this Maxim, *Unrepresented, Unconcluded*: So that if so few have in them the *notion* of a Parliament, it is a bare *Notion* indeed, especially seeing this handful of men were (say the Cavaliers) *dissolved* by the death of the King; *dissolved* (said *Cromwell*) by his Sword; *dissolved* (say some *Great ones*) by an Act of their own (entred into the *Journall Book* of the *Parliament*): *dissolved* must their own *Consciences* say, by their voluntary accepting of Elections in later *Parliaments*.

13. Now the Members of a *Free* and *full Parliament* (the onely Hope of Humane help) ought thus to be qualified:—

1. *Let them be Godly, and Well affected indeed, and not in the canting language of the Times.*
- [p. 71] 2. *Men of Estates, who will be tender in taxing others, as striking them thorough themselves, whilst such who bear nothing care not how much they burthen others, as if paying were as easie as voting, and Money as free as words.*
3. *Men of spirits, no dull Souls, all the sparks of whose activity are quenched in their own flegm.*

4. *No Gainers by the continuance of the Army.* Demetrius the *Silver-smith* was no fool (*what ever else he was*), so sticking for the shrine of Diana, by which *Craft* he got his Gain.
5. *Men of Moderation, a quality not opposed to Diligence, but to Violence, not unactiving men, but regulating their Activity.*

14. This their Moderation must appear in considering all *Interests*, seeing there be no two *Interests* in the Nation so *contemptible*, which if united, and twisting their discontents together, cannot draw trouble on all the rest. Especially the *Sectarian* (though presented I beleieve by their party, through a *Multipling Glass*) are considerable on a politick score of their numbers and pious account of their conscience; for, though many of them carry the latter in their *Purses*, who when they finde the *moisture* of Profit to fail them, will fall off like *leaves in Autumn*; yet can I not be so uncharitable, but to beleave that many of them (having the *heat* of their *affections* above the *light* of their *judgements*) follow erroneous Consciences. Besides, having gone loose so long, they must needs swell, if hardly *girded* on a sudden.

[p. 72] 15. This *moderation* also must be used by all other Persons, to work themselves to be (if not *pleased*) contented with the decisions of a *free Parliament*. All must sit down *Losers* save such alone, who can plead, that they have been no *Sinners* in our Nation. The Grand design must be to have *none*, or, (if that be impossible) *as few as may be*, utterly ruined. I confess *two hungry meals makes a third a Glutton*, and such who have long *fasted* from their detained Estates, will be not onely *greedy*, but *ravenous* to recover them. Yea, such will shrewdly plead, that they now expect *moderation* from them, who never used *moderation* to them. However, in such a general danger, men must depose their animosities, labouring, first, to reconcile their *spirits*, then, their *perswasions*, the *later* being at less distance than the *former*. And men must divide, where they cannot get the whole, seeing few will pity his starving who will cast no bread at all, because he can recover but half of his own loaf.

16. It will be objected that such a *full P.* is still but an *empty Parliament* having no *House of Lords* therein: But know, if both hands of a man be bound, no hope of liberty from himself; but if one be untied, it may do the brotherly office to unloose the other: Let us be content to row in a *Sculler*, till we can get a pair of *Oars*. And such surely is the Ingenuity and publick spiritness of the *Peers*, that laying aside personal Interest (which upon debate may appear more) they will suspend their *Rights, Immunities, and Priviledges*, and submit all to the determination of a *Free Parliament* to acquiesce therein.

17. God give our Nation seasonably to understand their own strength, that the Wars begun may be ended amongst ourselves before Forreigners become the *Arbitrators* of our differences, who will demand great *wages* for little *work*, yea, and turn their owne *Paymasters* thereof. And may that *great General* (whose Intentions long have *stood in the dark* to our Nation,¹ whilst our Nations *desires* were all the while in [p. 73] light to him), understand that *Vox Populi* is *Vox Dei*, and interpret, that God calleth unto him by the *Declarations* of all *Counties*, to be chiefly instrumental in asserting our Liberties, and we shall have cause for ever to bless the day of his Nativity.

18. Indeed had Providence fixed our Nativities under the Duke of

¹ The state of affairs in January, 1660, is described by some rough lines, which then "were in almost everybody's mouth," in *Rugge's Diurnal* (Addtl. MSS., Br. M., 10,116-17), a manuscript which de-

serves the attention of some publishing society:—

"Monck under a hood: not understood,
The citty pulls in their hornes.
The Speaker is out and sick of ye goute,
And the parliament sits upon thornes."

Muscovy, whose *List* is his *Subjects Law*, we would (because we *must*) work our selves patiently to the obedience of his power. But seeing God hath given us, with *St. Paul*, to be *freeborn*, *Acts* 22. 28 (though also, with the *Centurion*, we have *given great summs, not to obtain, but contrive this freedom*) let us not tamely lose our Birth-right, and vigourously endeavour their preservation.

19. The story is well known of the old Woman, who having but a small parcel of Wood, would leasurably roast her Goose stick by stick, till her wood was all burnt, and her Goose still raw. If the several Counties singly engage one after another, all will be overthrown, and nothing effected as to our relief. Let the two-and-fifty Shires of ENGLAND and WALES (with the City of LONDON, which eminently is two and fifty more) be all as one, and unanimously advance the work, and not doe as they dealt with poor CHESHIRE, using it as *Joab* used *Vriah*, putting him forward on action, then falsly retreating from him, and leaving him a prey to his enemies. But I hope our old *Shipwracks* will be new *Sea-marks* to us, documented by former nocuments, to steer a course for the general good.

20. There is no Englishman so inconsiderable, but he may, at the least in a single capacity, be *contributive* to the happiness of his *Native Country*, the *Wise* with their *Brains*, the *Rich* with their *Purses*, the *Learned* with their *Pens*, the *Strong* with their *Persons*, all with their *Prayers*. And if now they suffer this opportunity which God puts into their hands, to slip through their *fingers*, they may hereafter have more *years to bemoan their folly*, than *minutes* to amend their *misery*; it being better now to say, *We will not*, than three years hence to say, *We cannot pay our Taxes*.

The last sentence is perhaps in reference to a resolution of the Common Council of London, that unless a full and free Parliament were summoned, they would not pay taxes. With the approach of fresh members to the House, nothing more was heard of the Oath. A search among the political pamphlets of the time might possibly result in the discovery of others written by Fuller, who seems to write with a practised hand.

The collection of addresses whence this *Alarum* is taken was made by the well-known publisher of the Cavalier ministers, John Williams, by whom many of them were probably separately issued. The title, which seems to be of Fuller's suggesting, was *A Happy Handful, or Green Hopes in the Blade; in order to a Harvest, of the Several Shires, humbly petitioning or heartily declaring for Peace*. It bore Fuller's favourite maxim, "Seek peace and follow after it;" the spirit of which advice is especially apparent in all that Fuller wrote about this time. The dedicatory epistle, signed by the publisher, but which in all probability came from the pen of Fuller,¹ was addressed to "His

¹ "What formerly was in single arrows is here bound in a sheaf. I conceive it good that by such conjunction they might mutually reflect light one on another. Posterity will probably be pleased to look

back on such passages. Some love to see the little coats they then did wear when children. Alas! these all were the essays in the infancy of our liberty, now grown a stripling: God send it to be a man! Yet

Higness the Lord General Monck ;” and from it we learn that the volume was made up of broad-sheets. Referring to Æneas, who begged the boon of the Sybil that she would not write her oracles (according to her usual course) in leaves of trees blown away with every wind, it is added : “ These Declarations formerly were printed in leaves or single papers, which are soon lost ; not to say, the best of papers so printed, are oft consigned to the worst of uses. This is a way to preserve, and to propagate them. I remember the verse of the poet—

‘Singula cum valeant sunt meliora simul,’

Take each of them asunder, good as either,
Then needs they must be best, all put together.

What (as single stars) was good, must be best in a constellation. God happily perfect what is so hopefully begun by your honour, though my voice is too weak to be the ecco to the sound of the whole nation.”

At pp. 81—83 (the last tract in the collection) is the “ Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the late King, in and about the City of London,” Tuesday, April 24, 1660.¹ After acknowledging Monk’s work, and their confidence in the Council of State, they express the desire that all might be of one name : “ that all mention of factions, and all rancour and animosities, may be threwn in and buried like rubbish under the foundation.” One naturally turns to the signatures to find Fuller’s name ; but, perhaps owing to his absence on the Continent, it is not there. The document is however signed by Tho. Fuller, Bp. of Kerry, and Jeremy Taylor, D.D. ; as also by many of Fuller’s associates.²

Our author, in his *Mixt Contemplations in Better Times*, alluded to the 11th Feb. 1660, as a national turning-point : “ I confess the 11th of March is generally beheld as the first day of the spring [O.S.], but hereafter London (and in it all England) may date its vernal heat (after a long winter of woes and war) from the 11th of February. On which day so many *boon* fires (the best NEW LIGHTS I ever saw in that city) were made ;

they differ rather in sound than in sense, variously expressing the same matter. So many men, and but one mind, is admirable ; prompted certainly by the spirit of unity inditing them. Factious petitions gave the beginning, and loyal declarations must give the end to our miseries. But here is the difference—the first were made by the scum, these by the cream of the nation.”

¹ The paper will be found in Kennet, p. 120, as also in Bonney’s *Taylor*, p. 294.

² Edward Riggall, Esq., of Bayswater, who kindly made examination of the *Handful*, and gave me copious extracts from it, agreed that the preface was undoubtedly written by Fuller, but could not detect his writing in the other declarations.

although, I believe, the fagots themselves knew as much as some who laid them on, for what purpose those fires were made.”¹ These rejoicings were consequent on the letter of Monk, “who did stand for the sudden filling up of the House,” says Pepys: “it was very strange how the countenance of men in the Hall was all changed with joy in half-an-hour’s time.” “In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow Bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. The common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires! there being fourteen between St. Dunstan’s and Temple bar, and at Strand Bridge, I could at one time tell thirty-one fires.”

The new Parliament met on 25th April. In anticipation of the event, which gave promise of restoring the nation to “its old good manners, its old good-humour and its old good-nature,” Fuller—eccentric and happy in his titles to the last—prepared his *Mixt Contemplations in Better Times*. The title was chosen, because, as Fuller explains, the volume, prepared in haste and hurriedly printed, was “a confused medley;” adding that it might pass for the lively emblem of those times. The book displays a singular foresight into the probable course of events, and advice is tendered accordingly. A happy motto, expressive of the spirit of the thoughts and the anticipation of the nation, was given to it: “Let your moderation be known to all men: the Lord is at hand.” In that particular emergency Fuller detected two parties encountering peace—those who were for the liberty of a Commonwealth, and those who were for an absolute monarchy; and he hoped that neither party would be so influential but that the moderate advocates for peace would prevail in the settlement. He prays, moreover, that God would give England moderation “safely to digest and concoct her own happiness, that she may not run from one extreme to another, and excessive joy prove more destructive to her than grief hath been hitherto.”² Many other thoughts bring into prominence the subject of moderation (“or sweet reasonableness,” as the word τὸ ἐπιεικὲς, Phil. iv. 5, has been happily rendered by an accomplished scholar); and the writer offers good counsel for the solution of the many troublesome questions awaiting settlement. The volume emphatically confirms Coleridge’s judgment in reference to Fuller’s most incomparable sensibleness and most unprejudiced mind. One or two passages are here quoted:—

“GIVE AND TAKE.—The Archbishop of Spalato [*sic*], when

¹ Part i. xvi. 26.

² Part i. xxxiii. 58; ii. xxiv. 37.

Dean of Windsor, very affectionately moved the Prebendaries thereof to contribute bountifully towards the relieving of a distressed foreigner, reporting him a person of much worth and want; to whom one of the company replied—*Qui suadet, sua det*, Let him who persuadeth others give something of his own. But the Archbishop, who was as covetous as ambitious, and whose charity had a *tongue* without *hands*, would not part with a penny. The *Episcopal party* doth desire and expect that the Presbyterian should remit of his rigidity, in order to an expedient betwixt them. The *Presbyterians* require that the Episcopal side abate of their austerity to advance an accommodation. But some on both sides are so wedded to their wilfulness, stand so stiff in their judgments, are so high and hot in their passions, they will not part in the least punctillo in their opinions and practices. Such men's judgments cannot pretend to the exactness of the Gibeonites (Judges xx. 16) that they hit the mark of the truth at an hair's breadth, and fail not; yet will they not abate an hair's breadth in order to unity; they will take all, but tender nothing; make motions with their *mouths*, but none with their *feet*, for peace, not stirring a step towards it. O that we could see some proffers and performances of condescension on either side!"¹

"As for other sects (the sons of Keturah, Gen. xxv. 5, 6), we grudge not that gifts be bestowed upon them. Let them have a toleration (and that, I assure you, is a great gift indeed), and be permitted peaceably and privately to enjoy their consciences both in opinions and practices. Such favour may safely (not to say ought justly) be afforded unto them, so long as they continue peaceably in our Israel and disturb not the estate."²

The latter passage is inserted in the anonymous Life "both for the cautelousness of the expression he used, and which those times required; and by which discreet and amicable way our differences and breaches were likeliest to be made up; the disguises of words to the undeceiving of a misled people into the right way of their felicity: who had all along been driven with speeches and such like parliament oratory, being the facilest method of introducing that peace which by the same arts was violated. Storms begin from, and end in, calms; the gentle breathings of soft and temperate spirits commencing the outrages of other men's violent passions, and terminating and stopping their fury."³

In another place Fuller likens England from 1642 to 1660 to the woman who had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was

¹ i. xix. p. 32.

² i. xxi. p. 35.

³ Page 94.

bowed together and could in no wise lift up herself. "A pitiful posture, wherein the face is made to touch the feet and the back is set above the head. God in due time set us right, and keep us right, that the Head may be in its proper place; next the neck of the nobility, that [then] the breast of the gentry, the loins of the merchants and citizens, the thighs of the yeomanry, the legs and feet of artificers and day-labourers. As for the clergy (here by me purposely omitted), what place soever shall be assigned them; if low, God grant patience; if high, give humility unto them. When thus our land in God's leisure shall be restored to its former rectitude, and set upright again, then I hope she may leave off her *steel bodies*, which have galled her with wearing them so long, and return again to her peaceable condition."¹

Other obstacles in the way of peace were found in the names of the ships of war which, as being called after some fatal fights, carried "a very great burthen." Though against the re-baptising of Christians, he was for the re-dipping of ships and giving them "ingratiating names."² This suggestion was partly carried out a few weeks afterwards; and it is alluded to in Fuller's *Panegyric* :—

"Not the least loss, only the *Naseby* mar'ls [marvels]
To see herself now drowned in the *Charles*."³

The duty of forgiving and forgetting was enforced by Fuller in another Meditation: "Let us forget all our plunderings, sequestrations, injuries offered unto us, or suffered by us. The best oil is said to have no taste, *i.e.* no *tang*. Though we carry a simple and single remembrance of our losses unto the grave, it being impossible to do otherways (except we raze the faculty of memory, root and branch, out of our mind), yet let us not keep any record of them with the least reflection of revenge."⁴

How entirely the spirit of Fuller's counsels was neglected was soon lamentably apparent. In the enthusiasm of the day "everybody was willing," as Pepys said, "to submit to anything." "The old clergy talk as being sure of their lands again, and laugh at the Presbytery." Calamy relates an anecdote of Dr. Wilkins, who when made Bishop waited among others upon Bishop Cosin to attend his consecration dinner. They discoursed "about moderation on the one hand and a vigorous supporting of the ecclesiastical constitution on the other.

¹ i. ii. p. 4.

² i. xxi. 32.

³ Dryden, *Astraea Redux* :—

"The *Naseby* now no longer England's shame,
But better to be lost in *Charles* his name."

⁴ ii. x. 16. There is a Declaration in the *Somers Tracts* (vii. 392) of the Royalist knights and gentry of Oxfordshire disowning purposes of private revenge in case of the King's return.

Bishop Wilkins frankly told his lordship that for his part it was his apprehension that he who was by many (with ill-nature enough) reflected upon for his moderation was a better friend to the Church than his lordship, who was for rigorously supporting the Constitution. Bishop Cosins seeming surprised, Bishop Wilkins added this as the reason of his assertion: 'For while you, my lord, are for setting the top on the piqued end downwards, you won't be able to keep it up any longer than you continue whipping and scourging; whereas I,' says he, 'am for setting the broad end downward, and so it will stand of itself.'" "'Tis a pity," adds Calamy, "this good bishop died so soon as 1672, and did not live till the revolution in 1688."

In his reflections on the times Fuller animadverts upon the influence of the weaker sex, they having been "overstrong in making and widening the breaches in our English Zion, both by their purses and persuasions."¹ He remarks that it is hard to say "which of these two things have done most mischief in England: public persons having private souls and narrow hearts, consulting their own ease and advantage; or private persons having vast designs to invade public employments. This is most sure, that betwixt them both they have almost undone the most flourishing Church and State in the Christian world."²

The personal references in the book are not numerous. The writer plainly evinces his attachment to the monarchy: "I must confess myself to be (what I ever was) for a *Commonwealth*; but give me leave to state the meaning of the word, seeing so much mischief hath taken covert under the homonymy thereof. A commonwealth and a king are no more contrary than the trunk or body of a tree and the top branch thereof: there is a republic included in every monarchy."³

In the following he speaks from bitter experience: "This is the sad fate which attended all moderate persons which will mediate betwixt opposite parties. They may complain with David, 'They have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my goodwill.' Yet let not such hereby be disheartened, but know that (besides the reward in heaven) the very *work* of moderation is the *wages* of moderation. For it carrieth with it a marvellous contentment in his conscience who hath endeavoured his utmost in order to unity, though unhappy in his success."⁴

This little work does not seem to have attained to the popularity of its two predecessors. It fell on evil days that were out

¹ No. ii. See Wallington's *Hist. Notices*, ii. 332.

² i. xlv. p. 71.

³ i. xxiv. p. 40.

⁴ ii. xviii. p. 28.

of sympathy with the lessons it enforced. It was not reprinted until 1830, when Mr. Pickering published it with the *Bad and Worse Times* series, making a beautiful specimen of typographic excellence. The editor, commenting on Fuller's works having been suffered to remain unread, says as regards these thoughtful works in particular that "they ill deserve the neglect they have experienced; for they abound in original thoughts and beautiful similes, displaying in almost every line the genius for which their author was distinguished. But this is far from being their only merits. Fuller was a divine of the strictest sincerity and most fervent piety; and this work bears the strongest evidence that his mind rarely wandered from the sacred purport of his ministry. From every event of his life, and many passages in history, he drew conclusions illustrative, either of the holy writings, or of the duties which they inculcate; and if it be the characteristic feature of wit to find resemblances between things apparently dissimilar, there is hardly a page of these *Thoughts* which is not as remarkable for that quality as for the devout object to which it is applied." The same writer adds that "the beauty, wisdom, and piety of the pieces collected in this volume would alone be sufficient to secure him celebrity and renown; for few will peruse them without being convinced that they did not derive a temporary claim to attention from being written under particular political circumstances, but that they are 'thoughts' calculated to strengthen the faith and increase the morality of the world in all 'Times' and in all ages."

The *Mixt Contemplations* was dedicated "to the truly honourable and most virtuous lady, the LADY MONCK." It is dated "Zion Col. May 2, 1660," the day after the reading of the King's letter to the Speaker, and the day before the proclaiming of the King. Fuller, alluding to the ill May-day of 1517, remarks "that this last *good* May-day¹ hath made plentiful amends for that evil one, and hath laid a foundation for the happiness of an almost ruined Church and State; which as under God it was effected by the prudence and valour of your noble and most renowned husband, so you are eminently known to have had a finger, yea, an hand, yea, an arm happily instrumental therein. God reward you with honour here, and glory hereafter, which is the desire of millions in the three nations."

A more particular reason for inscribing the work to Lady Monk was that the writer "had the happiness, some sixteen

¹ "Mr. Dunn, from London, with letters that tell us the welcome news of the Parliament's votes yesterday, which will

be remembered as the happiest May-day that hath been many a year to England." (Pepys, 2nd May.)

years since, to be minister of that parish wherein your Ladyship had your nativity; and this I humbly conceive doth afford me some title to dedicate my weak endeavours to your Honour."

This lady was Ann, daughter of John Clarges, a farrier in the Savoy, Strand. Fuller is therefore alluding to his connection with the parish in 1642 and 1643. Ann had been married in 1632 to a farrier in the Strand named Radford; and in 1652 became the wife of Monk. Her father was Monk's farrier, and she herself, according to Aubrey, was sempstress to Monk when imprisoned in the Tower. Clarendon comments upon her low extraction, adding that she had neither wit nor beauty. Pepys, in common with Aubrey, had a poor opinion of her. Fuller's remarks about her influence over her husband, whom she survived three weeks, are in accordance with what is known of her. The *Contemplations* contain also several eulogistic notices of her husband, who was connected with Exeter.

There is reason to suppose that Fuller was at the Hague shortly before the King's restoration. The anonymous biographer, who is very trustworthy in the last two years of Fuller's life, distinctly states that he went over in the retinue of "a right noble lord" as chaplain. Lord Berkeley, who is evidently alluded to, seems further to have interested himself in the preferment of Fuller; for he proposed to introduce him to preach before his Majesty,—an intention which was frustrated by the "haste and despatch which that great affair (the Restoration) required in the necessity of the King's presence here."¹ Oldys adds that Lord Berkeley wished that the King should hear Fuller's singular excellencies in the pulpit, and his grateful salutations upon the prevailing resolution of the King's subjects to receive and obey him. Fuller's visit to the Hague is further confirmed by two references in Pepys's *Diary*, which becomes one of the chief authorities in this chapter. Besides the various deputations that were sent over, many persons eager to hail the King betook themselves thither, insomuch that Breda is said to have "swarmed with English." Fuller in his *Panegyric* pictures the influx of visitors:

"The impatient land did for your presence long:
England in swarms did into Holland throng
To bring your Highness home, by th' Parliament,
Lords, Commons, Citizens, Divines were sent."

Among the latter was Dr. Hardy, who went over with the Commissioners of the City of London, and who preached May 20th, on Is. xxvi. 19, applying the text with elegance and

¹ *Life*, p. 104.

learning to the present affairs. Numerous and urgent claims for Church preferment were already being actively advanced.

Pepys, who has left lively notices of these events, was also on the spot, having gone over as the secretary to the generals at sea, in the *Naseby*, the flagship of his patron and kinsman, Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich. The diarist, who was very intimate with Fuller,¹ may have made our author's acquaintance at the time under notice, even if the connection of both with the same family had not already brought them together. Besides being connected with the Mountagus of Boughton,² Fuller also seems to have had relations with the family of Admiral Montagu, for Pepys records that when at Deal on the 31st May he began "to teach Mr. Edward [*i.e.* the young son of the Admiral], who has a very good foundation laid for his Latin by *Mr. Fuller*." The child came on board at Deal on the 10th with Mr. Edward Pickering, a younger brother (or eldest son) of Sir Gilbert Pickering, of Tichmarsh, near Aldwinckle. Pepys was by many importuned to obtain passages to Holland; and although the Admiral gave him "the greatest charge in the world to bring no passengers with the ships when they came after us to Scheveling Bay excepting Mr. Edward Montagu" (the Admiral's nephew, and Fuller's patron), several persons were conveyed across. Fuller sailed in the company of Lord Berkeley, who was one of the six commissioners for the House of Lords, and intimate friend of the Admiral. Three others of the Lords' Commissioners

¹ A kinsman of Pepys's, Edward Pepis of the Temple, is mentioned in the *Ch.-History* as Fuller's "worthy friend" (iv. 344). Pepys himself was intimate with Berkeley, whose country house at Dyrdans was very familiar to him.

² *Lord Mountagu*, Fuller's old friend, had opposed the King's trial; and upon that event he, with his relation the Earl of Rutland, disengaged himself from public affairs, but disapproved of the share his sons took in the Restoration. *Edward Mountagu* patronised Fuller's *Church-History*, where Fuller urged him to dignify himself by some "select and peculiar desert so to be differenced from your ancestors that your memory may not be mistaken in the homonymy of your Christian names." This gentleman persuaded his cousin, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, to declare for the King; and he first carried the news to the King that the fleet was at his service. He became a thorough courtier, but scan-

dal compelled him to leave the Court. He was killed in a sea-fight off Bergen in 1665, aged 25. *Ralph Mountagu*, "the last of the Cues," was, with his brother, actively engaged in the Restoration. He became ambassador to the Court of France, where he attended the dying bed of Fuller's former charge, the Princess Henrietta. She was supposed to have been poisoned by her husband, and being asked by Mountagu, in the presence of her confessor, if she suspected foul play, she answered by a shrug of the shoulder. One of her legacies to the English Court was the future Duchess of Portsmouth, who was escorted from Calais by Ralph Mountagu. He was driven from public life in the reign of James II.; and with other noblemen he made preparations for the great revolution. King William, who visited him at Boughton, created him earl, and he became duke 1705.

were known to Fuller, viz. the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Viscount Hereford, and Lord Brook. Several of Fuller's patrons were also among the Commissioners for the House of Commons, and for the City of London. Among others incidentally noticed by Pepys was Dr. Scarborough.

After the arrival of the ships in Holland Pepys makes his first mention of Fuller at the Hague, 17th May, 1660: "From the King [I went] to the Lord Chancellor [*i.e.* Hyde], who did lie bed-rid of the gout: he spoke very merrily to the child [*i.e.* young Edward Montagu] and me. After that, going to see the Queen of Bohemia, I met Dr. Fuller, whom I sent to a tavern with Mr. Edward Pickering, while I and the rest went to see the Queen, who used us very respectfully: her hand we all kissed." Fuller makes two references to Holland which are perhaps due to personal observation: one is referred to at page 28 *antèa*; and a second is his description of the waggons in Holland going and returning from their stages at set hours, though they carry but one passenger.¹

Restoration-day (29th May) gave as much satisfaction to Fuller as to Evelyn. In the contemplation of the event "the good Doctor," says our prolix authority, "was so piously fixt as nothing else might presume to intrude upon his raised gladdened spirits."² The exuberance of his joy called forth his long slumbering poetic muse to an ambitious effort, and he composed a loyal *Panegyrick* to his Majesty. This was a long poem of forty-two six-lined stanzas, which, if remarkable for its lack of poetry—for, as before, his laboured pieces, like Scaliger's poems, are "harsh and unsmooth as if he had rather *snorted* than *slept* on Parnassus,"—conveys a truthful impression of the sanguine hopes entertained of the new monarch at that delirious period. Fuller alludes to Charles's escapes after the defeat at Worcester, and to Colonel Lane's share in them. He also moralises upon the subsequent wanderings of the exile on the Continent, where he is said to have taken up "only the good" qualities of those with whom he sojourned:—

"Garbling men's manners, you did well divide,
To take the Spaniard's wisdom, not their pride:
With French activity you stor'd your mind,
Leaving to them their ficklenesse behind;
And soon did learn, your temperance was such,
A sober industry even from the Dutch."

The eulogium further notices the proffers of Rome to the King, which "you with sacred scorn refused;" his happy

¹ *Worthies*, chap. xxv.

² Page 49.

return without blood or "foreign hand;" the joy of the nation; the deserved fate of the regicides, and others, wandering from land to land, &c. He concludes by setting forth the high destiny of the monarch, whom he compares with Edward the Confessor.

Fuller's view of the character of Charles II. is, of course, that which the King ought to have aimed at rather than that which he actually displayed. Had the author of the sketch of *The Degenerous Gentleman* seen a little further into "the golden age of the coward, the bigot, and the slave," he could not have put such a eulogy on record. For a year or two after his arrival the King was being "pegged" by numbers of these effusions, the best known of which are the *Astraea Redux* of Dryden, and the congratulatory address of Waller, both of whom had, in verse, previously flattered the Protector. It is of Waller that the story is told, that when reminded by the King of the ode to Cromwell, he made the ready reply, "Poets, sire, succeed better in fiction than in truth."

Fuller deemed his *Panegyric* very fine; and in the *Worthies*, which he intended to dedicate to the King, after his mention of Worcester fight, his Muse "heartily craveth leave to make an humble address to his Majesty; depositing at his feet the ensuing *Panegyrick*." He gives accordingly a selection of twenty-five of the stanzas, with a few alterations. He then adds:—"And here my Muse craves her own *Nunc Dimittis*; never to make verses more; and because she cannot write on a *better*, will not write on *another* occasion, but heartily pray in prose for the happiness of her lord and master. And now having taken our *Vale* of verses, let us therewith take also our *farewell* of Worcestershire."¹

In the same year Fuller wrote some additional verses to Sparke's *Scintilla Altaris*, which were quite as outspoken as the former:—

"*Fiction* of Saints ne'er coyn'd so great a store
But *Faction* in our age hath minted more:
Commend themselves, and there is half their trade;
Condemn all others, then the saint is made."

Of two others who contributed verses at the same time, one was "Benevolus," *i.e.* Benlowes. Another poem praises Sparke's carriage in the troubles:—

"Endur'd Reproach and Want, all violent shocks,
Which row'd like Billowes, while you stood like Rocks. . . ."

¹ § Worcestershire, p. 184.

Submitting to all Rage, and lost your all,
Yea ne'er comply'd with, or bow'd knee to Baal."

Meanwhile the services of the Church were not suddenly changed. Under date of 1st July, we read in Pepys: "In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet." On October 4th, at the same place, "we saw Dr. Frewen translated to the Archbishopric of York. There I saw the bishops of Winchester [Duppa], Bangor, Rochester [Warner], Bath and Wells, and Salisbury [Henchman, who was now married to Fuller's cousin], all in their habits, in King Henry Seventh's Chapel. But, Lord! at their going out, how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect!"

Later in the month the Liturgy began to be publicly read; but even some months after this Pepys, at St. Olave's, notes that the minister began "to nibble at the Common Prayer by saying, 'Glory be to the Father,' &c. after he had read the two Psalms; but the people had been so little used to it, that they could not tell what to answer."

The ecclesiastical preferments were being rapidly exhausted; and to satisfy the numerous claimants for vacant benefices and dignities, honours were lavishly conferred upon batches of the Cavalier parsons and others. Fuller, who was not a self-seeker, was omitted from the former; but his first share in the latter bestowments was a doctorate degree. His deserts having been made known to the King, the latter issued the following letter to the University of Cambridge:—

"CHARLES R.

"Whereas the violence of the late Commotions hath had soe sad an influence vpon Our two Vniuersities that diuerse Schollars of integrity and good learning haue bin hindered in the due way of proceeding to their respectiue degrees: And Whereas We are well Satisfied of the full standing, Sufficiency and merit of *Edmund Porter, Richard Drake, Anthony Sparrow, Robert Pory, and Thomas Fuller* Batchelours in Divinity, *Richard Watts, William Belk, and John Breton*, M^{rs} of Art, as duely qualified for the degrees of Doctors in Divinity, and of *Robert Crane*, Master of Arts for the degree of Doctor in the Civill Law. And Alsoe well assured of their particular and eminent Sufferings for Our selfe and y^e Church during the late distraccions whilst We were kept from Our dominions Our Will and pleasure is That (dispensing with the irregularities that may relate to this affaire) you admitt them to y^e Degrees of Doctors in Divinity and Law without those previous vsages and performances which are ordinarily required in Our Vniuersity reserving to each his seniority. And further Wee require that all persons requisite to this action doe give their assistance to y^e compleat investing them in the saed degree Which We require may be without any subsequent conditions vpon which they shall not haue conveniency to attend

And for soe doeing this Shall be your Warrant Giuen at Our Court at Whit-hall this 2^d day of August in the Twelwe yeere of Our Reigne.

"To Our trusty & well beloued y^e Vice Chancellour & ProviceChancellour of Our Vniversity of Cambridge for the time being to be comunicated in the Convocation."

"By his Ma^{ties} Command
EDW. NICHOLAS."

Lrē to Cambride for D^{rs} Degree.¹

In that entertaining picture of London life at the period of the Restoration and subsequently, viz. the Diary of Samuel Pepys, there are several references to Dr. Fuller, whose acquaintance with the diarist was of an intimate character. Thus he writes under date of 5th Jan. 1660-1: "The great Tom Fuller come to me to desire a kindness for a friend of his [*Peter Beckford*, who resided near Cranford], who hath a mind to go to Jamaica with these two ships that are going, which I promised to do."

More interesting still is the following: "22nd Jan. 1660-1. "I met [viz. at the Mercers' Chapel] with Dr. Thomas Fuller. He tells me of his last and great book [*Worthies*] that is coming out: that is, the History of all the Families in England; and could tell me more of my owne, than I knew myself. [Fuller, apparently, had made known pretty widely his intention of keeping to divinity in future: the *Worthies* is his *last* book, says Pepys.] And also to what perfection he hath now brought the art of memory; that he did lately to four eminently great scholars dictate together in Latin, upon different subjects of their proposing, faster than they were able to write, till they were tired; and that the best way of beginning a sentence, if a man should be out and forget his last sentence, (which he never was,) that then his last refuge is to begin with an *Utcumque*."

¹ The above document, which is most incompletely given by Kennet (*Register*, p. 220), was very obligingly copied by Henry Bradshaw, Esq., M.A., from the volume labelled *Mandates*, vol. ii. (1660-84) in the University Registry. The mandate is endorsed (at Cambridge) thus:

- "Edward (*sic*) Porter ad. Nov. 5.
Rich. Drake adm. Sept. 14.
Anth. Sparrow admitted Aug. 31.
Robert Porey Xth ad. Sept.
Tho. Fuller admitted Aug.
Rich. Watts.
Will. Belke admitted Sept. 3.
John Bretton adm. Sept. 14.
Rob. Crane admitted Aug. 13."

Of the above names Sparrow had been ejected from Queens' College, of which he afterwards became Master, as also from his Suffolk living. He lived to be Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, and to write the *Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer*. Bretton became Master of Emanuel College, to which he left his copy of his colleague's *Appeal of Injured Innocence*. Drake became Chancellor of Sarum, and translated Andrewes's *Devotions*. Porter, "a man of parts and learning," had been ejected from a prebend and a Norfolk living. The other names are not mentioned in Walker's *Sufferings*.

Fuller seems to have performed this feat for the amusement of his friends. During his latter years especially, his reputation for a prodigious memory was great. Heylyn and South both called attention to it. His biographer, who puts this quality in the first place among his "intellectuals," says that he had "a memory of that vast comprehensiveness that he is deservedly known for the first inventor of that noble art, whereof having left behind him no rules, or directions, save only what fell from him in discourse, no further account can be given but a relation of some very rare experiments of it made by him. He undertook once in passing to and fro from Temple-bar to the furthest conduit in Cheapside, at his return again to tell every sign as they stood in order on both sides of the way, repeating them either backward or forward, as they should chose; which he exactly did, not missing or misplacing one, to the admiration of those that heard him."¹ So Aubrey: "He would repeate to you forwards and backwards all the signes from Ludgate to Charing-Crosse."² And another writer: "He had so great a memory (says Wanley) that he could name in order all the signs on both sides the way from the beginning of Paternoster Row to the bottom of Cheapside to Stocks Market," *i.e.* the site of the Mansion-house.³

These various accounts tend to show that Fuller must have considerably increased his powers of memory in this particular direction by his ready willingness to oblige friends who had his company when passing along the streets.

To understand these mnemonic feats, it should be remembered that the tradesmen's houses were not then numbered, but every house or shop displayed, with a picturesque effect, its peculiar *sign*. Fuller tells us somewhere that it was unknown to him how ancient their use was: "Sure I am they were generally used in the reign of Edward IV.; witness that dear jest of a well-meaning citizen who lost his life in those dangerous times for saying he would leave *the crown* to his son."⁴ The signs were put on posts set at the ends of poles (like the relics of the old custom in the well-known barbers' signs), or projected over the foot-path by means of iron frame-work. Cheapside was full of them. In consequence of their confusing numerousness, of the noise of their swinging, and of their

¹ Page 76.

² *Letters*, ii. 354.

³ Feinaigle, 424.

⁴ So, alluding to Stephen Langton's division of the Bible into chapters, he thus commends his ingenuity: "A worthy work, making Scripture more

manageable in men's memories, and the passages therein the sooner to be turned to; as any person is sooner found in the most populous city if methodized into streets and houses with signs, to which the figures affixed do fitly allude." (*Worthies*, § Canterbury, p. 98.)

frequent falling, they were ordered to be removed by Act of Parliament in 1762. Some of these old signs were very familiar to Fuller. Thus, in his *Church-History*, he canvasses the question whether Dunstan, having taken the devil by the nose with red-hot tongs, did willingly or unwillingly let him go. “But away,” he concludes, “with all suspicions and queries! None need to doubt of the truth thereof, *finding it in a sign painted in Fleet-street, near Temple-bar!*”¹

Fuller’s biographer mentions other curious and wonderful examples of his powers of memory: “The like [repetitions] also would he do in words of different languages,² and of hard and difficult prolation, to any number whatsoever; but that which was most strange and very rare in him, was his way of writing, which (something like the Chinese) was from the top of the page to the bottom: the manner thus: He would write near the margin the first words of every line down to the foot of the paper, then would he (beginning at the head again) fill up every one of these lines, which without any interlineations or spaces, but with the full and equal length, would so adjust the sense and matter, and so aptly connex and conjoin the ends and beginnings of the said lines, that he could not do it better, as he hath said, if he had writ all out in a continuation.”³ This singular mode of composition is certainly not a bad method, securing, as it would, fleeting ideas by means of key-words. Mr. Kerslake made allusion to the plan in one of the short papers or essays that generally accompany his book-catalogues: “These (*i.e.* the first words of each line) must have contained the foundation stones of his antitheses, parallels, contrasts, surprises, and even the targets of his puns; afterwards worked out by filling in the lines.”⁴

A further proof of the reputation Fuller had acquired is found by a mention of him in a very popular work called *The New Help to Discourse*. The 1669 edition had the following passage: “Q.—Who is the most renowned for memory that we have read or heard of? *An.*—In former times *Seneca*, who writes of himself that he was able to recite two thousand words after

¹ Book ii. 129.

² Lloyd says that Fuller was able to repeat 500 strange words after hearing of them, and to make use of any man’s exercise or sermon *verbatim*, if he once but either saw or heard it.” (*Memoires*, 523.) And see Pepys’s account of Mr. Meheux’s singular memory, iv. 359.

³ *Life*, p. 77.

⁴ Page 4, Cat. 1869. The essay is a defence of Fuller’s use of St. Vedastus

as meaning St. Forster, about which a Saturday Reviewer, Dec. 19, 1868, had said that there was no authority for the existence of such a saint beyond the odd misnomer which has arisen from the accident of St. Vedast’s Church standing in Forster Lane. Mr. Kerslake conclusively shows the identity of the names. The detached essay is bound up in the *Review* in question at the Free Library, Manchester.

they were once read unto him; and of late dayes we find Mr. Fuller to be therein most exquisite, who is reported that he would walk any street in *London*, and by the strength of his memory tell how many and what signs they were hanging in that street, from the one end to the other, according as they were in order: As also if five hundred strange names were read unto him, after the second or third hearing of them he would repeat them distinctly, according as they had been read unto him.”¹

There cannot be a doubt that Fuller used some rough method² in these displays of memory, which were always performed with singular exactness.³ A most methodical man himself, he put much faith in “Great nature’s Sergeant—Order.” And though an “Art of Memory” has been persistently applied to him by South and others, his own words are against it: he would say (as Lloyd tells us) that the *art* of memory was art to corrupt the nature of it. The same authority adds that “he was master of a good method,” and that his excellence in this respect qualified him for an historian. But Fuller himself said that the artificial memory as practised in his time was “a trick,” and not an “art,” and flatly denied that he used artificial aid. When commending the arrangements of the Records in the Tower by their keeper, William Collett, he uses a phrase—Method is the Mother of Memory—which was afterwards engraved appropriately over Loggan’s portrait of Fuller.⁴

“The treasury of this happy memory,” continues his eulogist, “was a very great advantage to his preaching; but being assisted with as rich invention and extraordinary reading, did absolutely complete him for the pulpit. His great stores both of School and case-divinity, both of History and philosophy, of arts and tongues, his converse in the Scriptures, the Fathers and humane writings had so abundantly furnished him, that without the other additaments he had been very eminent

¹ Page 25.

² Fuller says (*Church-History*, book ix. 101) of Jewell that several eminencies met in him: “*Naturals, Artificial*” (amongst which I recount his studied memory, deserving as well as Theodectes the Sophister the surname of *Mnemonicus*), *Morals*,” &c. On the other hand, speaking of Archbishop Laud, *Appeal*, iii. 67 (641), he classifies his “firm memory” under his “*Intellectuals*.” Again: “Good *natural parts*” in a schismatic made up for learning; “especially *memory* (which

is *θαυματουργός*, a ‘wonder working’ faculty.” (See *ante*, p. 72.)

³ Heylyn carped at the *slips of memory* in Fuller’s *Church-History*; but Fuller declared that these—“not the sleeping, but winking of an author”—were not so heinous as Heylyn made out. Nor were they frequent, being four in number: “a number low enough, I hope, for the ingenuous reader to grant, though perchance too high for me to request.”

⁴ *Worthies*, § Camb. p. 161. See also p. 414 *ante*.

among his function. Now all so happily met together ; such a constellation could portend no less than some wonder of men who should be famous in his generation. Not to omit to this purpose (however to the first intuition it may seem to the reverend and graver divines a precipitancy and a venturous rashness in any man with such unprovidedness to step into the pulpit), that this venerable Doctor, upon some sudden emergent occasions, upon two hours' warning, and upon a subject of his friends choice, which was knotty and very difficult, hath performed the task enjoined him with much accurateness ; such his Art of Method, besides that his understanding was strangely opened for the unlocking and opening of Scriptures, which he would do very genuinely and evidently, and then embellish his explication with curious variety of expression." ¹

About this time, no doubt to the worthy parson's contentment, Fuller was "invited to his former Lecturer's place at the Savoy." His biographer asserts, that during Fuller's absence the parish had "suffered under an insufficient or disloyal and malicious clergy, and therefore stood in need of an able and dutiful son of the Church to reduce and lead them in the right way and the old paths. For this people, his ancient flock," adds he, "the Doctor had always a more especial respect and kindness, which was the rather heightened in him out of a compassion to their state and condition. Nor did he more tenderly affect them than they universally respect him, receiving him (as indeed he was) as an Angel of God, sent to minister unto them heavenly things ; in exchange whereof they freely gave him their hearts and hands." ²

Fuller preached, as of yore, to crowded audiences. It was there, probably, on a great occasion, that he expatiated on his favourite text. "He was wholly conversant, during the broils and dissensions of the clergy, in the thoughts and considerations of that text, 'Let your *moderation* be known to all men,' on which place he once preached, a while before his Majesties restitution, to a very great auditory, little imagining the subsequent words, 'for the Lord is at hand,' were so near the fulfilling, in the merciful visitations of God towards these miserable nations." ³

Pepys occasionally dropped in at the Savoy to hear his acquaintance preach ; and to his delightful and valuable *Diary* we are accordingly indebted for a few rough notes of Fuller's sermons, with criticisms on them. These references present our "faithful minister" in a light which puts him in contrast to

¹ *Life*, p. 79.

² Pp. 49, 50.

³ *Life*, p. 87.

many of the sermon-writers of the time. On the eve of many disgraceful acts of revenge, Fuller, as if he foresaw them, reminded his auditors to Whom vengeance belonged. Pepys's first note is as follows: 3rd Feb. 1660-1 (Sunday): "This day I first begun to go forth in my coate and sword, as the manner now among gentlemen is. In my way heard Mr. Thomas Fuller preach at the Savoy upon our forgiving of other men's trespasses, showing among other things that we are to go to law never to revenge, but only to repayre, which I think a good distinction."

Three months later Pepys again heard Fuller, and revoked the commendation in his last entry: 12th May, 1661 (Sunday): "At the Savoy heard Dr. Fuller preach upon David's words, 'I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time until my change comes' [or rather, *Job's* words, 'All the days of my appointed time will I wait till my change come,' *Job* xiv. 14]; but methought it was a poor, dry sermon (!). And I am afraid my former high esteem of his preaching was more out of opinion than judgment." This judgment may well go along with the diarist's criticisms on *Hudibras* and *Shakespeare*.

Fuller was again so much connected with the Savoy that Aubrey was led into the mistake of twice stating, in his brief notice of Fuller, that "he died and is buryed" there.

At that time, Dr. Gilbert Sheldon being Master of the Savoy, the assembly called *The Savoy Conference* was held "at the Master's lodging," to consult about the revision of the Prayer-book. It had begun on the 15th April, a few days before the coronation of the King, and continued till the 25th July, when it separated without having come to any conclusion, owing to the reserve and caution of the bishops. On the part of the Church were twelve bishops, with nine coadjutors; and twenty-one leading divines attended on the part of the Presbyterians. Among the former were Cosin Bishop of Durham, Warner of Rochester, Henchman of Sarum, Gauden of Exeter, &c.; and Heylyn, Hacket, Gunning, Pearson, &c., among the coadjutors. Among the Presbyterians was Dr. Lightfoot.

Pepys, in 1667, referred once more to his acquaintance Fuller, in a manner which shows that the recollection was still fresh with him, spite of the intervening years. The entry, being unindexed, has escaped the notice of writers on Fuller. Being at the King's Head, Epsom, for the sake of the waters (14th July, 1667), "Tom Wilson come to see me, and sat and talked an hour; and I perceive that he hath been much acquainted with Dr. Fuller (Tom), and Dr. Pierson, and several

of the great cavalier parsons during the late troubles; and I was glad to hear him talk of them, which he did very ingenuously, and very much of Dr. Fuller's art of memory, which he did tell me several instances of." Wilson was one who helped Pepys in writing as he (Pepys) read, and in his accounts (20 Aug. 1666).

About the same time Fuller came again into possession of his prebend in Salisbury Cathedral. He had been "barred of all profits" therefrom for twenty years; but during this time he had not scrupled, on the title-pages of his works, to term himself "Prebendary." We have already seen that it was a rich prebend. "This accession and additional help did very much encourage the Doctor in the carrying on of his book [*The Worthies*], which, being large, would require an able purse to go-through with; and he was very solicitous, often presaging that he should not live to see it finished, though satisfied of his present healthy constitution, to have it done out of hand; to which purpose part of the money accruing to him from his Salisbury Prebendariship was designed."¹ Upon Fuller's death, which was due to this very canonry, Thomas Henchman succeeded (Aug. 17, 1661).

It was probably business connected with his old appointments in the West that took him there in this year (1661). Writing his *Worthies*, he says: "When some five years since I visited Winchester, it grieved me at the heart to behold that stately structure so far run to ruin. . . . But it rejoiced me when coming there this last year to find it so well amended by the sovereign medicine of gold or silver, charitably applied by its good bishop [Dr. Duppa]. I wish all cathedrals in England, sick of the same distemper, as quick and happy a recovery."²

It was perhaps on the same occasion, if not the former also, that he visited his old pastoral charge at Broadwindsor, now again in his own power. One John Pinney, who belonged to a local family, had, it appears, been set over the church during the troubles, and him Fuller found in possession. Fuller acted in a worthy spirit in regard to the occupant of his pulpit. Coming to take possession, he heard Pinney preach, it is said; and was so pleased with his ministrations, and their acceptance by the parishioners, that he told the latter afterwards that he would not deprive them of such a man. Thus his charity "sought not her own." It is not said whether Pinney received the entire income of the benefice, or was simply curate to Fuller till the death of the latter. Before January of 1662, *i.e.* before the

¹ *Life*, pp. 50, 51.

² § Hants. p. 16.

passing of the Act of Uniformity, Pinney was dismissed, one Edmund Sly being appointed. The former, after being greatly harassed by excommunications, fines, and imprisonment, retired to Dublin, where he succeeded Dr. Harrison as minister to a Dissenting congregation, and continued there near ten years. The Revolution afforded him the means of settling among his former people in Dorsetshire, to some of whom he continued to preach till death put a period to his labours. The character of the man who won Fuller's regard is thus given by Calamy: "He was much of a gentleman, a considerable scholar, a very facetious, yet grave and serious companion, and an eloquent charming preacher."¹ Amongst the succeeding notable vicars of Broadwindsor were Dr. Murray, Bishop of Sodor and Man, Archdeacon Denison, and its present accomplished possessor, the Rev. S. C. Malan.

Fuller's visit to the West extended, according to his own notices, into the year 1661, or mayhap he made a second visit. He went on to Exeter; for, speaking of the parish churches, he says that at his return thither "this year" (1661), he found them fewer than he left them at his departure thence, "fifteen years ago." "The demolishers" of those churches "can give," he says, "the clearest account how the plucking down of churches conduceth to the setting up of religion."² Thirteen of them were exposed for sale by the public crier, and being bought by the loyal inhabitants, were preserved.

In this district Fuller's connections were most probably brought into contact with the WESTLEYS, the ancestors of John Wesley, who according to the occurrences of the name in local records had been settled in the neighbourhood of Fuller's Dorsetshire parish.

In the return to the Ecclesiastical Commission of 1650 *Bartholomew Westley*, the great-grandfather of the founder of Methodism, is given as the incumbent of Charmouth, a seaside picturesque village on the great western road hard by Lyme and some half-dozen miles from Broadwindsor. Westley was then about forty years of age, and had held the living since 1640.³ He was also returned to the same Commission as rector of Catherston, one mile north of Charmouth. He is said to have preached with a peculiar plainness, on which account he was not popular with his flock. His force of character was such that he would be widely known. Calamy says that at Oxford he studied both physic and divinity; and

¹ Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, i.

² *Worthies*, § Exeter, p. 273. [444.]

³ Beal's *Fathers of the Wesley Family*,

27. The former rector, Samuel Norington, was sequestered in 1640. (Hutchins's *Dorset*, i. 316.)

that after his ejection he practised medicine in the county. It has been stated by Æ Wood and others¹ that when the King in 1651 attempted to escape by sea from Charmouth, Westley had nearly caused his capture. The King's party, when afterwards leaving the village, were pursued towards Dorchester, but they turned off the main road and came to Broadwindsor, where they rested, although a body of Cromwell's troops was then in it. One of the *Boscobel* tracts gives a brief notice of the scene of Fuller's former pastoral charge: "Broadwindsor afforded but one inn, and that the *George*, a mean one too (and which was worse) the best accommodations in it were, before his majesty's arrival, taken up by rebel soldiers." The houses of the Royalist gentry in the neighbourhood were afterwards searched, it being supposed that the royal fugitive was in hiding. Among the number, visits were paid to Fuller's patron and former neighbour, Sir Hugh Wyndham, of Pilsden, who with his family assisted the King in his movements in the neighbourhood.²

John Westley, son of the above-named, the husband of Fuller's niece, was born (as I take it) about 1636. He describes himself as a "son of the prophets," having been religiously brought up and intended for the ministry. He was entered a servitor of New Inn Hall, Oxford, where he gained the friendship of Dr. Owen, then Vice-chancellor. He was matriculated 23rd April, 1657, and subscribed the usual declaration on the 10th May following.³ He attained to the degree of M.A., and acquired a knowledge of the Oriental tongues. Beginning to preach when twenty-two, he exercised his vocation in the seaports of Dorset and elsewhere. He laboured in particular among the seamen about Weymouth, being sent thither by "the Church of Christ at Melcombe" of which he was a member. In his conduct at this time, Dr. Clarke sees "a kind of epitome of Methodism." In May, 1658, he was appointed by the trustees to the vicarage of Winterborne Whitchurch, near Blandford, for which he obtained the approbation of the Triers. In view of these particulars it seems more likely that Westley met with Fuller's niece (not in Essex, as is said by Davids, who made an improbable

¹ See *Miraculum Basilicon*, &c., by A[braham] J[ennings], Eireno-philalethes, 1664, where Bartholomew is called "Westley, the puny parson of the place (Charmouth),"—*puny*, as the Rev. C.W. Bingham, who gave me this note, supposes, perhaps meaning young, or possibly assistant. It is more probable that it is a word of contempt, applied in reference to his stature. Dr. Clarke endeavours to

show that Æ Wood's statement is incorrect.

² *Boscobel*, ed. 1680, pt. ii. 79; ed. 1743 (published by Mrs. Ann Windham), p. 92.

³ For these dates, omitted in all existing accounts of the Wesleys, I am indebted to Dr. Cornish, who further informs me that there is no record of John Westley's age, his birthplace, or his father's name, in any of the University books.

statement that he was beneficed at Stanway in that county before he obtained the Dorset living,¹ but) in the west, with which both families were connected. The sisters of Fuller may have settled at Broadwindsor; and it was one of their children who was won by the young preacher.

The name of Westley's wife, and the date of the marriage, are not known at present. The lady was perhaps a daughter of Fuller's eldest sister *Elizabeth* (aged twenty-eight in 1637), whose name reappears in one of the children. The date was later than 1656, and before 1658. The eldest child, Timothy, was born at Winterborne Whitchurch, about April 1659; Elizabeth in January 1661; and Samuel (the father of John and Charles) in December 1662.² There was also another son, Matthew, who became a successful physician.

The mention of Fuller's name in connection with the Westleys rests on good evidence. I trace the first statement of it in the *Nonconformists' Memorial* by Calamy, who had authentic documents before him when writing his account of John Westley. His words are: "Having married a niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller."³ Dr. Whitehead, in his life of Wesley, 1796, repeated the statement, adding that it did not seem that John's two sons received any assistance from the Fuller branch of the family.⁴ He was followed by Dr. Adam Clark, *Memoirs of the Wesley Family*, 1823: "Mr. Wesley was respectable in his matrimonial connections. He married a niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller."⁵ To the latter Mr. Russell referred in his *Memorials of Fuller*, remarking that it might be questioned whether sufficient proof of the statement was adduced by the author.⁶

John Westley got into trouble at the Restoration, arising from his scruples as to the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Afterwards his neighbours, among whom appears Fuller's patron, Sir Gerard Napier (or Napper, as it was commonly spelt), complained to the Bishop of Bristol that he would not use the Liturgy, and that his title to the vicarage was not valid. The Bishop sent for Westley to see him; and in Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*⁷ will be found a most interesting account of their conversation, taken from John Westley's own diary. The Bishop, after telling his visitor that he had been "informed by sufficient men, gentlemen of honour of this county, viz. Sir Gerard Napper, Mr. Freak, and Mr. Tregon-

¹ *Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 576. So Winter's account of the family, 1874.

² Davids, p. 576. He says that Westley was married about 1654, and died about 1670.

³ i. 178.

⁴ i. 16.

⁵ Page 24. So also Beal in his *Fathers of the Wesley Family*, 1833, p. 73.

⁶ Page 311.

⁷ ii. 165.

nel, of your doings," questioned him about certain "civil imprudences" of which he had been guilty, and also about his authority to preach. Westley firmly and respectfully denied the Bishop's authority in the former, and advanced his right to the latter. The Bishop told him, "We must have no gathered churches in England; and you will see it so." Perhaps noticing anger in the Bishop, Westley said, "I have been informed by my cousin¹ Pitfield and others concerning your lordship, that you have a disposition opposed to morosity. However you may be prepossessed by some bitter enemies to my person, yet there are others [mentioning Mr. Glisson and Sir F. Fulford, who belonged to the neighbourhood of the Bishop's Dorsetshire living, the first being akin to the Bishop's wife] who can and will give another character of me." After discussing Westley's title to his vicarage, the Bishop said, "I question not your gifts, Mr. Westley; I will do you any good I can; but you will not long be suffered to preach unless you do it according to order." Westley justified his preaching, declaring that he thought "the old Nonconformists were none of his Majesty's enemies." The conversation concludes thus:—
Bishop: You will stand to your principles, you say?—
Westley: I intend it through the grace of God; and to be faithful to the King's Majesty, however you deal with me.—
Bishop: I will not meddle with you.—
Westley: Farewell to you, Sir.—
Bishop: Farewell, good Mr. Westley." The good Bishop kept his promise not to molest Westley.

This prelate was Gilbert Ironside, Fuller's former associate at the disastrous Convocation of 1640, who in the year 1659 was still his "worthy friend."² May we not see in his conduct towards a connection of Fuller's family the influence of Fuller himself?

Notwithstanding the Bishop's favour, Westley, through the agency of Sir G. Napier, was, early in the following year (1662), cast into prison at Blandford and ejected from his living, his

¹ A well-known Dorsetshire archaeologist (Rev. C. W. Bingham) asks: "Is it possible that this expression '*my Cousin Pitfield*' will give some clue to the name of Fuller's wife? I do not at all know whether there is any other notice of him, which will explain their connection; but I do not find him in Bishop Davenant's will among his maternal relatives; nor is it extremely probable that a paternal relative would have been sojourning in these parts. There is a respectable family of the name still in existence at

the parish of Symondsbury, near Bridport, of which Sir Charles Pitfield, of Hoxton, whose heiress married Humphrey Sturt, Esq. (a descendant of Sir Gerard Napier), is supposed to have been a member, and it would be anything but improbable that Fuller should have married into it." (Beal, in his *Fathers of the Wesley Family*, p. 72, says that the Pitfields held lands near Beaminster, in Dorset.)

² *Appeal*, pt. ii. (81) 495. The notice of him in *Ath. Ox.* refers to his wealth.

father losing his rectory on the same occasion.¹ During his subsequent wandering life, he underwent more persecution, but finally settled with his family near Weymouth. He occasionally conformed, and died before 1670. His wife seems to have long survived him. Her son Samuel allowed her £10 a year, to prevent her, as he said, from starving. In the literary remains of the Wesleys we have only found one notice of her: Samuel Wesley, in 1710, "visited my grandmother Wesley, then a widow of almost 48 years."² It does not appear where she died, or was buried.

Fuller's "last felicity" was his creation as "Chaplain in Extraordinary" to the King, on which occasion a time was arranged for his preaching at Court. The preparation of this sermon, which was never delivered, was one of the last of Fuller's literary employments. The eulogist declares that the King's "most judicious and exact observation" would have happily suited the "remarks of the Doctor's learned preaching."³

In spite of the persistently-advanced applications for preferment from clergymen of less retiring character than Fuller, the latter was, we are told, "in a well-grounded expectation of some present further advancement." The reference is to his elevation to a bishopric; for it was generally understood that had he lived a few months longer he would have been placed over the see of Exeter or of Worcester. The former, first bestowed on Dr. Gauden, was in July, 1662, given to Dr. Ward; and the latter was filled by Dr. Morley, upon whose intended advancement Dr. Gauden succeeded. The proposed promotion of Dr. Fuller was urged by Lord Berkeley, the Queen-mother, and the Princess Henrietta, whose visit to England happened about this time, and the motion also met with the countenance of other great friends.⁴ All that the King knew of Fuller would enlist his sympathies on his behalf. "Who among Jeremy Taylor's contemporaries could prefer an equal claim [to ecclesiastical preferment]? Hall, the imaginative and devout, and Ussher, the sagacious and learned, in the same year were called to their crown, without beholding the faintest dawn of the renovation of that Church, which they defended by their talents, and beautified by their lives. Hammond and Fuller enjoyed a clearer prospect; they perished in the hour of victory; henceforward to be numbered with the chosen worthies of England."⁵

¹ Calamy's *Memorial*, i. 442.

² Clarke's *Memoirs*, i. 71.

³ Pp. 53, 103.

⁴ *Life*, page 53; Oldys's *Biog. Brit.*,

who quotes from p. 9 of J. F.'s *Church Revised*, 1663.

⁵ Willmott's *Life of Bishop Taylor*, p. 196.

The selection of Exeter must have been peculiarly gratifying to Fuller, and is a proof that the promotion was actually intended. Touching his preferment, the biographer says:—

"It will make it also the less wonder why a man of so great merit and such conspicuous worth should never arrive to any eminent honour, and dignity, or church revenue, save that of Prebend in Salisbury, being also of competent age to become the gravity of such preferments: for he could not afford to seek great matters for himself, who designed his all for the public good and concerns of his precious soul. Questionless he could not have wanted friends to his advancement, if he would have pursued such ends, who would have been as great furtherers of himself out of a particular affection (which is always ambitious of laying such obligations upon virtue) to his person, as they had assisted him in his works and labours. He was reward and recompense enough to himself, and for his fame and glory certainly he computed it the best way; 'tis the jewel that graces the ring, not so contrary. High places are levelled in death and crumble into dust, leaving no impression of those that possessed them, and are only retrievable to posterity by some excellent portraits of their nobler part; wherein it will on all hands be confessed, the Doctor hath absolutely drawn himself beyond the excellentest counterfeit of art, and which shall outlive all addition of monument, and outflourish the pomp of the lasting'st sepulchral glory.

"But had the worthy Doctor but some longer while survived to the fruition of that quiet and settlement of the church, of which by God's goodness and favour we have [1661] so full a prospect, and that the crowd of suitors for Ecclesiastical promotions had left thronging and importuning their great friends, to the stifling and smothering of modest merit, it may be presumed the royal bounty would favourably have reflected on, and respected that worth of the Doctor (which was so little set by and regarded of himself in his contented obscurity), by a convenient placing and raising of that light to some higher orb from whence he should have dilated and dispensed his salutiferous rays and influences."¹

Towards the end of the summer of 1661, Fuller again went to Salisbury, "to settle and let his revenue as prebend of that deanery," and to arrange other matters connected with it. His return to London occurred when it was a very sickly time in the country, the distemper that was most rife being vaguely called "feverish agues, the disease of which our Doctor died."

¹ Pp. 101—103.

The biographer, who gives a most minute account of Fuller's last days, and whom we must now closely follow, supposes that Fuller brought back this "new disease" with him; for he says that Dr. Nicholas, the reverend Dean of St. Paul's, died near the same time upon coming from the same place.¹ Be that as it may, shortly after the arrival of Dr. Fuller in London this so-called aguish disorder attacked him. By the 12th August, symptoms of the disease had already shown themselves. On that day, being Sunday, he had promised to preach at the Savoy a marriage sermon, for a kinsman who was to be married on the succeeding day, it being then customary to have the sermon upon the Sunday preceding a wedding. Notwithstanding indisposition, the "good Doctor lovingly undertook" to oblige his relation. During the Sunday dinner, however, he complained of a dizziness in his head, upon which his son John entreated him to go and lie down on the bed, and to forbear preaching that afternoon, reminding him how dangerous the symptoms were. "The Doctor would not be persuaded, but to church he would go and perform his promise to his friend; saying, He had gone up often into the pulpit sick, but always came well down again; and he hoped he should do as well now, through God's strengthening Grace."²

The preacher, however, found himself very ill in the pulpit, and he then really became apprehensive of his danger. Accordingly, "before his prayer," he thus addressed his congregation: "I find myself very ill; but I am resolved, by the grace of God, to preach this sermon to you here, though it be my last." After this "sad presage, and more sadly verified," he proceeded in his prayer. Then he passed to his sermon, delivering it, as was his wont, without notes, "other than the beginning word of each head or division." He went on "very perfectly" till about half-way through, when he began to falter, "but not so much out but that he quickly recollected himself, and very pertinently concluded." But having sat down in his pulpit, he was unable to rise, and two men led him down the pulpit stairs "into the reading-place."

The stricken Doctor, it appears, had also promised to christen the child "of a very good friend of his" upon that same day. His friend was then in the church, and earnestly importuned

¹ Dr. Matthew Nicholas, whose family resided near Salisbury, and who was brother to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles II, died two days before Fuller. He had been elected Dean on 10th July, 1660; and was also a

Prebendary of Westminster and Canon Residentiary of Sarum. Under date of 16th August Pepys notes his death of "the sickness," as also that General Monk was dangerously ill.

² Page 55.

the minister to perform the ceremony. Fuller, good-natured to the last, "was as willing as he desiring;" but his son, John Fuller, now interfered on account of the extreme danger his father was in; and the request was not persevered in.

"Much ado there was to persuade the Doctor to go home in a sedan." Unused to sickness, the invalid kept saying he should be well by and by, and would walk along with them. He grew rapidly worse, however, and at length "he yielded to go, but not to his old lodgings (which were convenient for him in the Savoy), but to his new one in Covent Garden." He was here put to bed, and Fuller's "worthy friend," Dr. Scarborough,¹ who was one of Fuller's parishioners, was summoned to attend him.

Dr. Scarborough being, however, in the country, the patient came into the hands of Dr. Walter Charlton, "who, with the exactest skill and care possible, address himself to the recovery of the good Doctor." Charlton was a royal physician, and belonged to the College of Surgeons. He pronounced that Fuller was labouring under a violent malignant fever, "such as then raged everywhere, and was better known by the name of *the new disease*, which, like a plague, had swept away a multitude of people throughout the kingdom." The epidemic is noticed by Pepys, under date of 16th August: "It is such a sickly time both in the city and country everywhere (of a sort of fever), that never was heard of almost, unless it was in a plague-time."

As usual, blood-letting was resorted to, twenty ounces being withdrawn, "and yet, nevertheless," says the biographer, looking for a different effect, "the paroxysms continued, having totally bereft the Doctor of all sense," so that he was incapable of giving any account of his condition. No other remedy than bleeding seems to have suggested itself; "the physician's art being at a loss, and not able to advise any further against the insuperable violence and force of the distemper."²

"Yet in this sad and oppressed condition some comfortable signs and assurances were given by the good Doctor, by his frequent lifting up his hands and his eyes; which devotion

¹ DR. SCARBOROUGH was a skilful anatomist of his day, settled in London. He had studied at Cambridge, belonging to Caius College—"a little Montpelier." Fuller mentions him among twenty-seven other eminent physicians, "all bred in this house, Doctors of Physic, and extant in my memory." At Cambridge he had

read lectures in conjunction with Dr. Seth Ward. This physician, with Fuller, betook himself to the Hague on board the *Naseby*. He became Chief Physician to Charles II., who knighted him in 1669. See Fuller's reference to him, *ante*, p. 48, also 406 and 670.

² Pages 55—58.

ended in the folding of his arms, and sighs fetched questionless from a perfect contrition for this life, and from an earnest desire after, and hope of that to come."¹

By Tuesday it was seen that he was fully under the influence of the fierce fever, and Dr. Charlton despaired of his recovery. The complaint resisted all remedies. From the first he lost the use of his faculties. Falstaff, we are told, "babbled of green fields" on his death-bed; Fuller's ruling passion now appeared in the same way, for in his occasional talk he spoke "of nothing more frequently than *his books*, calling for pen and ink, and telling his sorrowful attendants that by and by he should be well, and would write it out, &c." This passage attracted the attention of one of the commentators of the Malone *Worthies* in the Bodleian, who notes on the title-page that Fuller "died August 16, 1661, aged 53, at his lodgings in Covent Garden, of a violent fever, crying out for his pen and ink to the last."

On Wednesday the invalid was much worse; by noon "the presages of a dislodging soul were apparent in him." As his strength abated with the fever, it pleased God to restore his senses, "which he very devoutly and thankfully employed in a Christian preparation for death." Many of his friends ("reverend brethren") were at his dying bed, and Fuller implored their prayers. They prayed for him, "the good Doctor, with all the intentness of piety, joining with them, and recommending himself, with all humble thankfulness and submission, to God's welcome providence." It is also said that, "so highly was he affected with God's pleasure concerning him, that he could not endure any person to weep or cry, but would earnestly desire them to refrain, highly extolling and preferring his condition as a translation to a happy eternity. Nor would he therefore endure to hear anything of the world or worldly matters, for the settling and disposition whereof he had before made no provision,² and was desired by some to give some present direction for the better accommodating the several concerns of his family; but the Doctor totally rejected any thoughts of those

¹ Page 58.

² Fuller's sudden sickness and death explains the fact that he left no will. Oldys explicitly stated that he made one before leaving Essex, and gave the reference to one. This proved, upon examination, to be one of the Fullers of Barking of that name. Yet Fuller had said fourteen years before, "I will be careful not to die intestate, as also not to

defer my will-making" (*Good Thoughts in Worse Times: Med. on Prayers*, ix.); that when he came to die, he might have—as, indeed, it happened—"nothing to do but to die" (see *ante*, p. 354). But, as the old clerk of Spenlow and Jorkins said, "There is no subject on which men are so inconsistent, and so little to be trusted." (*David Copperfield*, chap. xxxviii.)

matters, having his mind engaged and prepossessed with things of ravishing and transcendent excellencies. Even his beloved book aforesaid, the darling of his soul, was totally neglected, not a syllable dropping from him in reference to the perfecting and finishing thereof, which he had now brought so near to the birth. Nothing but heaven and the perfections thereof, the consummation of grace in glory, must fill up the room of his capacious soul, which now was flitting and ready to take wing to those mansions of bliss."¹

On Thursday morning, 16th August, the divine breathed his last, "to the irreparable loss and very exceeding sorrow of all men to whom religion, piety, virtue, and super-eminent learning were ever acceptable." His wearied spirit passed "into the hands of his Redeemer to his own everlasting Fruition and Consolation." He was in the 54th year of his age.

"God rest his soul!—He was a merry man!"

The last view of the Faithful Minister thus represents him as assuming, in place of the lawn of the prelate, the shining raiment, exceeding white as snow, so as no fuller on earth can white it; a whiteness, to use Bishop Hacket's words, mixed with no shadow; a light dimmed with no darkness.

His biographer says that after he had laid a while dead, an eruption of blood burst from his temples, "which was conjectured to have been long settled there, through too much study in the methodising and completing those various pieces in his *Worthies General*, of which he was prophetically afraid he should never live to see the finishing."²

From the symptoms given in this account, from their progress, and from the mode of death, it is almost certain that the disease Dr. Fuller died of was *typhus fever*, with a predominance of head symptoms—a form of that disease which has received the name of putrid brain fever. The treatment was as bad as could be devised. Medical skill now-a-days would have left him his blood and administered stimulants, that so a chance of life might be left him. It is said that not very long since an Edinburgh quack used to have a large placard outside his door with the statement, "The lancet kills more than the lance;" but if he had lived in Fuller's days, he could have made the assertion with far more truth.

The so-called eruption of blood from the temples might be explained thus: After typhoid fevers of type just-named there is *very* frequently a copious discharge of bloody fluid from the

¹ Page 61.

² Page 63.

external orifices, especially from the nostrils. This is due to the fact that the blood in such malignant fevers becomes very *thin*; the blood corpuscles accordingly break down, allowing the colouring matter to transude with the watery part of the blood through the walls of the blood-vessels. In Fuller's case there was most probably, after death, discoloration of the temples, which was brought about by the blood transuding through the blood-vessels, causing the skin of the temple to assume that livid hue called *post-mortem* lividity; there could be no actual escape of blood *from the temple*. It is most probable that the flowing of blood did occur in greater or less quantity *from the nostrils*, the discoloration of the temples occurring after death leading the spectator to suppose that it came from thence.

Passages are not infrequent in the writings of our divine conceived in contemplation of his death, his views of which were "verified and accomplished in his most immature and sudden decease."¹ It was one of his prayers in 1645—"Teach me the art of patience whilst I am well, and give me the use of it when I am sick. In that day either lighten my burthen or strengthen my back. Make me, who so often in my health have discovered my weakness, presuming on my own strength, to be strong in my sickness when I solely rely on Thy assistance." Moralising upon the two hundred and upwards who in 1647 made up "the constant weekly tribute paid to mortality in London," he was keenly alive to the thought, "Must my shot be called for to make up the reckoning? . . . I am therefore concerned seriously to provide lest that death's prize prove not my blank." He acknowledges, too, that he had often thought with himself what disease he would be best contented to die of. "None please me. . . . May I not be so curious to know what weapon shall wound me, as careful to provide the plaister of patience against it."

In consequence of the heat of the season, a very brief time intervened between Fuller's death and burial. The latter was undertaken by desire, and at the expense, of our clergyman's kindest patron, Lord Berkeley. Accordingly the body was taken to the parish of Cranford, being attended thither by at least two hundred of his brethren of the ministry. "Such a solemn assembly," says the biographer, was "scarce to be paralleled." The remains were interred in the chancel of the small edifice according to the ritual of his Church, his "dear mother." Fuller's old wish, that he might die in the doctrine and dis-

¹ See p. 297; and *Life*, p. 20.

cipline of the Church in which he was born and bred,¹ was fulfilled.

The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. NATHANAEL HARDY, a Churchman quite of Fuller's type. He had during the Interregnum, without suffering or molestation, preached sermons in commemoration of the "royal martyrdom," on which occasions he is said to have collected money for the poor clergy. He went over to the Hague, being one of the ministers who were deputed to attend the Commissioners for the City of London. At the Restoration he was made D.D., Dean of Rochester, and Rector of St. Martin's in the Fields. Being a popular preacher, he was on domestic occasions often called upon to preach sermons, of which he has left a quarto volume. His discourse on Fuller is said to have been "a very elegant and extraordinary pathetical deploration of so great a loss." He seems to have bestowed upon his friend every praise and commendation, and "excellently well" transmitted him to his everlasting rest. The hope was expressed that this discourse would pass the press; but, unfortunately, it is not to be found amongst the Dean's published pieces, nor is it mentioned elsewhere as having been published. Oldys noted it as one of the authorities to consult when writing Fuller's life, "but whether printed I know not." It is somewhat singular that while the anonymous life of the popular divine rapidly passed through at least two editions, the publication of Hardy's funeral discourse was neglected.

The register of Cranford contains the following entry, which gives the date of Fuller's burial: "Tho. Fuller, D.D., his Majesties Chaplain, Prebend of Salisbury, and minister of this parish of Cranford, was buried in the chancell, August 17, 1661."

Eighteen years afterwards the remains of Fuller's affectionate wife—the only contemporary notice of whom since her marriage is found in the amusing speech of South in 1657—were brought for burial near her husband: "Mary Fuller (the Widow of Thomas Fuller sometime Rector of this Church) dying at Endfield was buried . . . May the 19th, 1679."²

Shortly afterwards a mural tablet, consisting of a small oval slate slab, surrounded by an emblematic border in white marble, was placed on the north side of the chancel of Cranford Church.

¹ *Ch.-Hist.* v. 194.

² The Rev. H. W. Hickee, M.A., the present Rector of Cranford, courteously gave me access to the church, &c., and in other ways in respect of this biography placed me under deep obligations to him. One word in Mrs. Fuller's burial register

is illegible. The date, &c., is mentioned in Hearne's *Diaries*, as a note from Rawlinson, *Bibl. Bodl.*, vol. lxxx. p. 209; and Fuller's is at p. 204, his monument p. 209. Fuller's death, &c. is noted in Kennet's *Register*, p. 523; Smith's *Obit. Cam. Soc.*, &c.

A representation of it, with a correct copy of the inscription, has been printed for this work.¹ The epitaph is perhaps longer than Fuller's Essay on Tombs would allow him to approve, but it contains a conceit worthy of his own pen.

Upon the death of Fuller, JAMES HEATH, the author of a chronicle of the intestine war, as well as of a life of "The late Usurper" (for which latter Carlyle termed him "*Carrion Heath*"), indited an Elegy in memory of the circumstance. It affords an illustration of the popularity of Fuller and of his works. The same writer also commemorated the death of Dr. Sanderson in 1662. Heath was buried at St. Bartholomew the Less in 1664. "The clarke told me," says Aubrey, "that once he had a pretty good estate, but in his later time maintained himselfe much by writing bookes. He was hardly 40 years old when he died."² The judgment of the Oxford antiquary upon him was that "he wanted a head for a chronologer," adding significantly that he "was esteemed by some a tolerable poet." He mentions the Elegy as a broadside.³ It is now extremely rare; but a copy was lately found preserved in the Bodleian.⁴ From this original the following is taken:—

AN ELEGIE UPON

DR. THO. FULLER,

That most Incomparable Writer, who Deceased *August* the 15th, M.DC.LXI.

Room for a *Saint*, set open Heavens Gate,
Here comes the AUTHOR of the *Holy State*.
See with what Train and Troops he now ascends
Of Blest acquaintance, and Cœlestial Friends!
Blest Ones, he comes to make your number more,
His *Life* did much, his *Death* improves your store;
Such modest merit crowds not for a seat,
Bliss covets to be FULLER and compleat.
A Cherubs wing hath soar'd him to this Hight,
And Heaven is now in stead of *Pisgah Sight*:
His *Holy War* but now is finished,
When the reward of Glory crowns his Head.

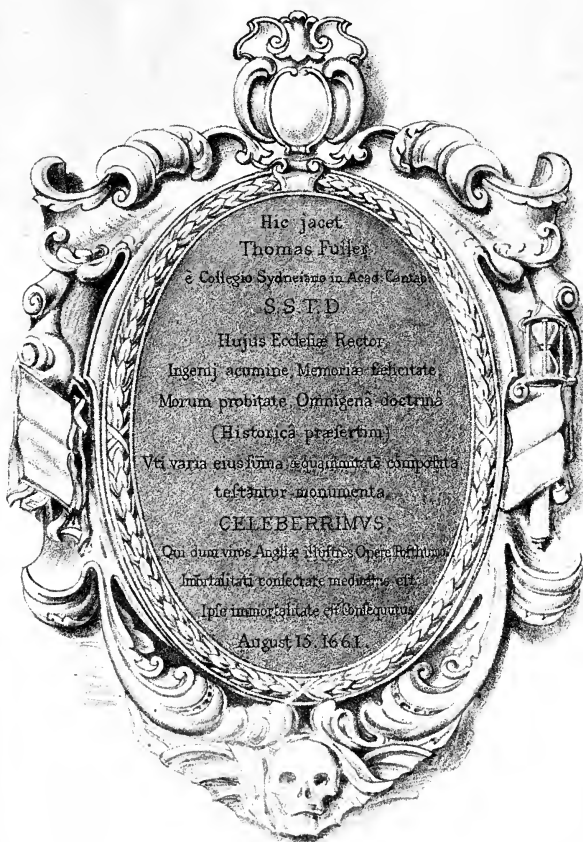
¹ The inscription was first printed in Le Neve's *Mon. Ang. v. (i.e. Suppl. 24)*. It is also found in Kennet's *Register*, p. 523, with other Fuller notes; in Peck's *Desid. Curiosa*, p. 541, who says: "I have been told he had the epitaph, 'Here lies Fuller's earth,' but that I perceive is only a conceit in imitation of 'Camden's Remains,' 'Walker's Particles,' and the like." I also met with it in MSS. Addtl. Brit. M. 4422—78; and in Lansdown MS. 985, fo. 270, pencil fo. 132. It is found in one of Hearne's *Diaries* as a note from Rawlin-

son, vol. lxxx. p. 209, Bodl. Lib. The modern notices of Fuller mention it, as also does *Notes and Queries*, 1st Ser. x. 245 (where the editor remarks, that a good Life of Tom Fuller would be an acquisition to our biographical literature). These inscriptions not only differ from each other, but are at variance with the original.

² Aubrey's *Letters*, &c. ii. 387.

³ *Athen. Oxon.* iii. 364.

⁴ Wood, 429, No. 17.



Hic jacet
Thomas Fuller
e Collegio Sydenhamo in Acad. Cantab.

S. S. T. D.

Hujus Ecclesiae Rector

Ingenij acumine Memoriae Vehementi

Morum probitate Omnigenâ doctrinâ

(Historicâ præsertim)

Vt varia eius summa æquanimittâ composita
testantur monumenta.

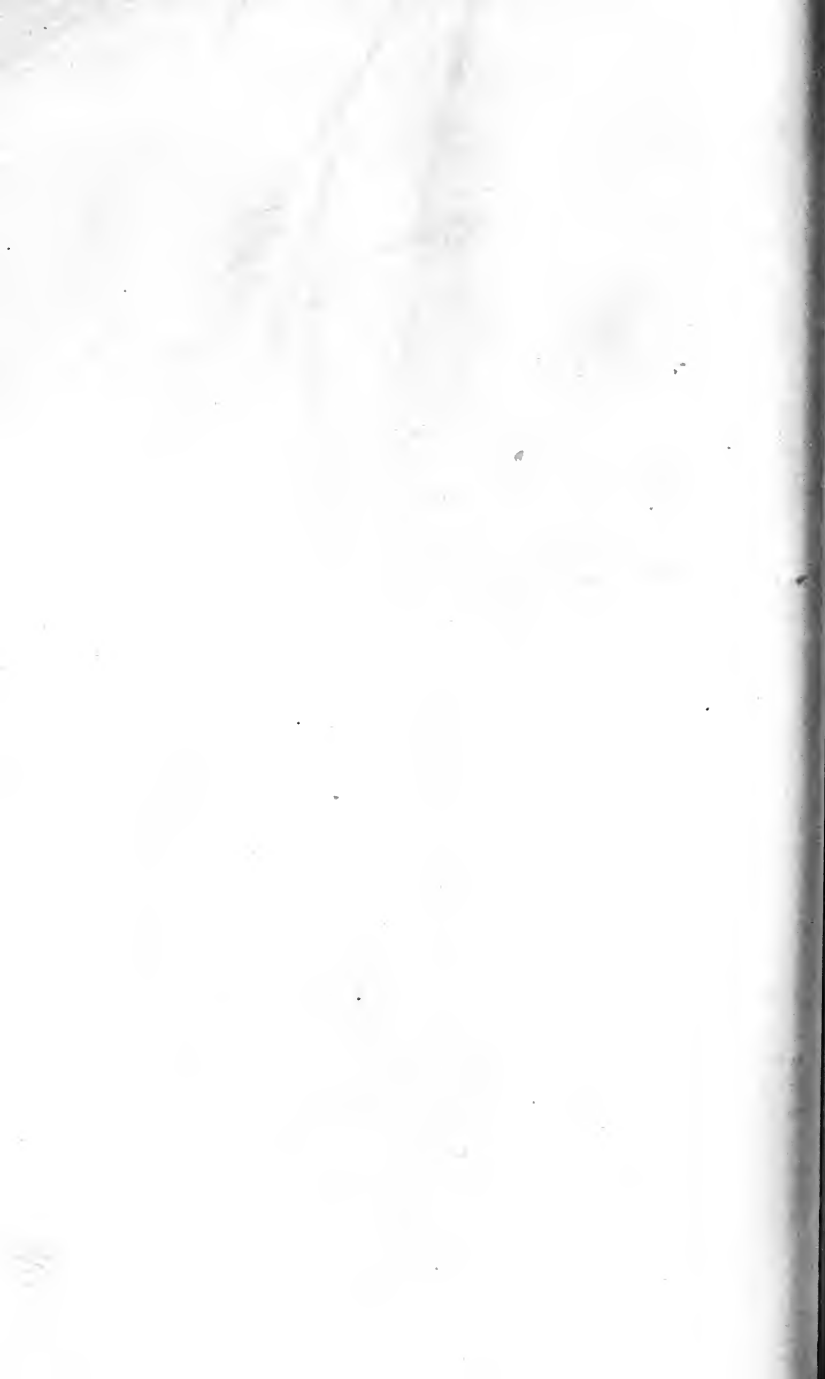
CELEBERRIMVS

Qui cum viros Angliæ Muffini Opere fuffitima

Imortalitati conlectare meditante eff.

Iple immortalitate eff. Confequutus

August 15. 1661.



Each *Tract* (like *Jacob's Ladder*) still did rise,
Directed Souls, and fixt them in the Skies :
There are his Books transcribed and compriz'd
Within the *Book of Life* Epitomiz'd :

And if th' *Herculean Labours* found a place
Assign'd in Heaven by the Gods, then Grace
So well employ'd and exercised here
Will shine far brighter in its Glories sphere.

The kinder *Parcæ* yet forbore the Thred
Of that *Invincible* ; till Vice was dead,
And he had quell'd the Monsters, and suppress
All growing Ills, and set the World at rest :
But this our *Hercules* was snatcht from hence
I th' middle of his ¹ Work, while in defence
Of squalid Vertue through Injurious Age
'Gainst monstrous Antiques he a *War* did wage ;
Broke off its *Adamantine* bonds of Sleep,
The Dusty Marbles could their guests not keep :
Had rouz'd *our* World again, and Truth appears
Like Stoln Goods, by jarring of the years.

¹ An excellent
Piece in folio now
in the Press.

Prodigious Luxury of Cruel *Death*
To stifle Thousands through His loss of Breath !
Who shal redeem our ² WORTHIES from the grave
When he is gone who them alone could save ?
Oft have we strain'd *Caligula's* wish, to make
Death odious for some great and good mans sake,
But here how truly sad it fits our Turn
Where Fate is *multiply'd* in FULLER'S Urn.

² The Worthies
general of England
is the Title of the
said Book.

Take then the Triumphs of his Noble Pen
To tell the World the Learned'st are but Men ;
And that the *rescue* of their worth from Time
Death in his Fate hath made a cap'tal crime.

But know Illustrious Soul that we do see
Those higher Reasons which transported thee
From the black Art of Dark *Antiquity*
To th' speculation of *Eternity* :
Let the Beatitudes there fill thy Mind
While We'r content with what thou leav'st behind ;
And if forgetful be, or sparing Fame,
Thy ART of MEMORY shall Preserve thy Name.

LONDON, Printed M.DC.LXI.

Sic mæret JAMES HEATH.

A very fair estimate of Dr. Fuller was penned by Echard, who said that " by his particular Temper and Management he weather'd the late great Storm with more Success than many other great Men. He was a general Scholar, an extensive Historian, and a walking Library, and had a prodigious Memory, a most quick wit, and a luxuriant Fancy and Invention, but not the most exact Judgment : He publish'd many Pieces, but was most of all distinguish'd by that laborious, but imperfect work, *The History of the Worthies of England.*" ³

³ *Hist. Eng.* iii. 71.

A few personal characteristics remain to be noticed. Fuller's popularity amongst his friends was due as much to his well-informed mind as to his wit. "He was a perfect walking library,¹ and those that would find delight in him must turn him; he was to be diverted from his present purpose with some urgency; and when once unfixed and unbent, his mind freed from the incumbency of his study, no man could be more agreeable to civil and serious mirth, which limits his most heightened fancy never transgressed."²

Despite South's representation of Fuller as a dinner-hunter, he is said to have been very sparing and temperate in his diet, taking but two meals a day. His friend further states that he was "no lover of dainties, or the inventions of cookery; solid meats better fitting his strength of constitution, but from drink [he was] very much abstemious, which questionless was the cause of that uninterrupted health he enjoyed till this his first and last sickness: of which felicity as he himself was partly the cause of by his exactness in eating and drinking, so did he the more dread the sudden infliction of any disease, or other violence of nature, fearing this his care might amount to a presumption in the eyes of the great Disposer of all things, and so it pleased God it should happen."³

It was natural that one who was brought up in the neighbourhood of Ely should have a fondness for eels. He gives quaint expression to his taste in a passage in his *Worthies*.⁴ From the same work we gather that he was not a smoker; for he leaves the praise of tobacco, with the virtues thereof, "to the pens of such writers whose palates have tasted of the same."⁵

There seems to have been in Fuller as great a moderation in his sleep as in his diet. In the former he is said to have been

¹ The title is an old one. I possess a work entitled *The Walking Librarie, or Meditations and Observations, Historical &c., written in Latin by P. Camera-rius . . . and done into English by John Molle, Esq.* London, 1621, fo.—The term was applied to Andrew Downes by Montagu (*On Tithes*).—Dr. A. Willet was called "the living library" on account of his great memory.—The erudition of the "ever-memorable" John Hailes, of Eton, obtained for him the name of "the walking library."—Dr. Miles Smith, Bishop of Gloucester, "that gulf of learning" who wrote the preface to the Bible, was, from his great expertness in languages, called "the

very walking library."—Dr. Edward Staunton, President of Corpus,⁶ Oxford, was called, on account of his minute knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, a "walking Concordance."—Vernon says of Heylyn that he "was a living library (as Euscapius said of Longinus), a locomotive study."—John Quarles, in his "Elegy," says of Ussher:—

"He was a *living Library*, in whom
A man might read things past and things to
come." (Page iv.)

² *Life*, p. 69.

³ *Ibid.* p. 70.

⁴ § Cambridgeshire.

⁵ § Gloucestershire.

abstemious. "Strange it was that one of such a fleshy and sanguine composition could overwatch so many heavy propense inclinations to rest. For this in some sort he was beholden to his care in diet aforesaid (the full vapours of a repletion in the stomach ascending to the brain, causing that usual drowsiness we see in many), but most especially to his continual custom, use, and practise, which had so subdued his nature that it was wholly governed by his active and industrious mind."¹

"And yet this is a further wonder: he did scarcely allow himself, from his first degree in the university, any recreation or easy exercise, no not so much as walking, but very rare and seldom; and that not upon his own choice, but as being compelled by friendly, yet forcible invitations; till such time as the war posted him from place to place, and after that his constant attendance on the press in the edition of his books: when was a question, which went the fastest, his head or his feet: so that in effect he was a very stranger, if not an enemy to all pleasure. Riding was the most pleasant, because his necessary convenience; the doctors occasions, especially his last work, requiring travel, to which he had so accustomed himself: so that this diversion (like Princes' banquets only to be lookt upon by them, not tasted of), was rather made such than enjoyed by him. So that if there was any felicity or delight which he can be truly said to have had, it was either in his relations or his works."²

Of the latter the biographer says expressively that he was more than fond, "totally abandoning and forsaking all things to follow them. And yet if correction and severity (so this may be allowed the gravity of the subject) be also the signs of love, a stricter and more careful hand was never used. True it is they did not grow up without some errors like the tares: nor can the most refined pieces of any of his antagonists boast of perfection. He that goes an unknown and beaten track in a dubious way, though he may have good directions, yet if in the journey he chance to stray, cannot well be blamed; they have perchance ploughed with his heifer, and been beholden to those authorities, for their exceptions, which he first gave light to."³ Fuller was a very great reader, "devouring all the books he read and digesting them to easy nutriment." This taste, added to his antiquarian pursuits, enfeebled his eyesight, for he confesses in his later years that his eyes were none of the best.

Professor Rogers has remarked that in a moral and religious

¹ *Life*, p. 71. "This may account for the number of books he read and wrote, for, as South says, 'they who are ablest

at the bed and barrel are generally idlest at the book.'" (Knight, vii. 82.)

² *Life*, p. 72.

³ *Ibid.* p. 74.

point of view the character of Fuller is entitled to our admiration, and is altogether one of the most attractive and interesting which that age exhibits to us. The eulogy, as read in the light of the respect which Fuller commanded, is well deserved. His piety is dwelt upon by the anonymous friend, being most earnest in the duty of prayer, strictly keeping throughout life to his morning and evening devotions. His diligence in his holy duties was as marked as that shown in his literary recreations. "For his own particular, very few Sundays there were in the year in which he preached not twice; besides the duties performed in his own house, or in his attendance on those noble persons to whom successively he was chaplain."¹

¹ Page 100.





CHAPTER XXII.

“THE WORTHIES OF ENGLAND.” (1662.)

PREPARATION OF THE “WORTHIES.”—FULLER’S REFLECTIONS ON MAKING BOOKS.—DESIGN OF THE “WORTHIES.”—ITS FOREIGN TOPICS.—FULLER’S “EXCEPTIONS” TO HIS OWN BOOK.—THE LIVES: THEIR COMMENDATIONS BY LAMB, KNIGHT, ETC.—WM. WINSTANLEY.—THE SOURCES OF THE WORK.—FULLER’S FRIENDS: HIS CORRESPONDENCE.—PEPYS, NEWCOME, ETC., AND “THE WORTHIES.”—THE ERRORS, ETC., OF THE WORK.—ITS PATRON.—JOHN FULLER: HIS INTEREST IN THE WORK.—HIS COLLEGE FELLOWSHIP AND THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

“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.” (*Worthies.*)

ACCORDING to the anonymous *Life*, Fuller began to collect the materials for his last and only incomplete work when chaplain in the field to Lord Hopton.¹ During the seventeen or eighteen subsequent years, he kept the project steadily in view. The occasional dates and references in the work evidence a lengthened preparation. Oldys, following his predecessor, sees in the work “the main channel of his thoughts ; but, through the whole course of this current, they branched out into little streams or rivulets. The said intermediate publications were mostly occasional, or offered from time to time as so many little whets or stays to the keen appetites of his curious readers, while his larger and more splendid entertainments for them were getting ready.”

The time occupied in the controversy with Heylyn greatly interfered with the preparation of the book for the press. “I have a book of *The Lives of all English Worthies* (God send it good success !), which had been in print if not obstructed by the intervening of this contest.” And in his letter to Cosin in 1657 he speaks of being then about to set forth a book *Of the Worthies of England.*² There is thus therefore no ground

¹ See p. 333 *ante*.

² *Appeal*, pt. i. pp. 42 (333), (669).

whatever for the unfair charge advanced by Nicolson that it was "huddled up in haste for the procurement of some moderate profit for the author." At the time of his death all was printed except about twelve counties (Durham, Derby, Dorset, Gloucester, Norfolk, Northampton, Northumberland, Nottingham, Oxford, Rutland, with part of Kent, Devonshire, and the cities of London and Westminster), and an appendix.

We have already seen that Fuller has alluded with a degree of sadness to his love of historical research taking him from his high vocation. He added: "I now experimentally find the truth of Solomon's words: 'Of making many books there is no end,' Eccl. 12. 12. Not but that all perfect books (I mean perfect in sheets, otherwise none save Scripture perfect) have *Finis* in the close thereof; or that any author is so irrational, but he propounds an end to himself before he begins it; but that 'in making of many books there is no end,' that is, the writers of them seldom or never do attain that end which they propound to themselves, especially if squinting at sinister ends, as who is not flesh and blood?" His remarks are directed chiefly against those who had to write in their own vindication; "which is my case; enough to take off my edge, formerly too keen in making multiplicity of books. I confess, I have yet *one History* ready for the press, which I hope will be for God's glory and honour of our nation. This new-built ship is now on the stocks, ready to be lanced; and being a vessel of 'great burden,' God send me some good adventurers to bear part of the expense. This done, I will never meddle more with making any books of this nature. It is a provident way, before writing leaves us to leave off writing, and the rather because scribbling is the frequentative thereof. If therefore my petitioning and optative *Amen* shall meet with God's commissioning and imperative *Amen*, I will hereafter totally attend the concernments of my calling, and what directly and immediately shall tend to the advance of devotion in my self and in others, as preparatory to my dissolution out of this state of mortality."¹

After the publication of the *Appeal*, Fuller made great efforts to complete the book, it having been his intention to have continued it to the end of 1659, "and had therefore writ it in such language as those times of Usurpation (during the most part of which it was compiled) would suffer such a subject." Towards the beginning of the year 1660 he had it ready for the press. But before finally printing it, "he reviewed it over,"

¹ *Appeal*, chap. xiii. Fuller's reference to his love of writing is curiously illustrated in the *Oratio* of South, p. 613 *ante*: "He is ever doing what you are doing—writing."

says the *Life*, "giving Truth and his own most excellent fancy their proper becoming ornaments, scope and clearness. But neither the elevation of Usurpers, nor the depression of the Royalists, and the *vice versa* of it, did ever incline or sway him to additions, intercalations, or expunctions of persons, whom he hath recommended to the world for Worthies; no such thing as a Pym or Protector whom the mad world cried up for brave: drops of compassionate tears they did force from him, but his resolute ink was not to be stained by their black actions. A pen full of such would serve to blot out the whole roll of fame. This constancy of the Doctor's to his first model and main of his design doth most evidently argue his firm persuasion and belief of the reviving of the royal cause, since he wrote the most part during those improbable times of any restitution; and he had very ill consulted his own advantage if he had not well consulted the Oracles of God."¹

The design of Fuller's thoroughly English work is set forth in the elaborate introductory chapters,—not the least entertaining portion. It affords a testimony to his love of fatherland, and by consequence of topographical pursuits. He observes that "England may not unfitly be compared to an house, not very great, but convenient; and the several shires may properly be resembled to the rooms thereof. Now as learned Master Camden and painful Master Speed ["Father Speed" he is called elsewhere], with others, have described the *rooms* themselves, so it is *our* intention, God willing, to describe the *furniture* of those rooms; such eminent commodities which every county doth produce, with the persons of quality bred therein, and some other observables coincident with the same subject.

"Cato, that great and grave philosopher, did commonly demand, when any new project was propounded to him, *Cui bono?* What good would ensue in case the same was effected? A question more fit to be asked than facile to be answered in all undertakings, especially in the setting forth of new books; insomuch that they themselves, who complain that they are too many already, help daily to make them more. Know then, I propound five ends to myself in this book: first, to gain some glory to God; secondly, to preserve the memories of the dead; thirdly, to present examples to the living; fourthly, to entertain the reader with delight; and lastly (which I am not ashamed publicly to profess), to procure some honest profit to myself."

¹ Pp. 51, 49, 52, 53.

Under the fourth head, he confesses his subject "is but dull in itself, to tell the time and place of men's birth and deaths and therefore this bare skeleton of time, place and person must be fleshed with some *pleasant passages*. To this intent, I have purposely interlaced (not as meat, but as condiment) many delightful stories, that so the reader, if he do not arise (which I hope and desire) *religiosior* or *doctior*—with more piety or learning, at least he may depart *jucundior*—with more pleasure and lawful delight." Fuller's delight in such "pleasant passages" was the true reason of their insertion. He somewhere apologises for his partiality to a good tale or anecdote, with the remark that even Cato himself might sometimes smile. Oldys, who made a careful analysis of the *Worthies*, added to it a lengthy essay on the toleration of wit in grave subjects; for he was annoyed at the dull criticisms upon a work that he frequently consulted.

As for his last "end"—compensation for his pains—on which point alone Nicolson unfairly fastened, he observes that it was "a proper question which plain-dealing Jacob pertinently propounded to Laban his father-in-law: 'And now when shall I provide for mine house also?' Hitherto no stationer hath lost by me; hereafter it will be high time for me (all things considered) to save for myself."

Fuller's design took in a variety of other topics, as a kind of safety-valve to his besetting literary sins. We have, *e.g.*, a geographical description of every county, with their productions, edifices, wonders, battles, proverbs, &c. There are besides, in all but ten counties, lists of the gentry whose names were returned by the commissioners in 1433; with lists of the sheriffs, and their arms, down to recent times. Even this multiplicity of subjects did not satisfy the wandering pen of the author, who has introduced in the body of the work—not to speak of the sixteen sheets of preliminary matter—numberless unlooked for digressions. He has also made the work a storehouse of much of the gossip that he had heard during his busy life, and imported into it out of the way and well-nigh forgotten lore.

These features add to the attraction of the work. Alluding to it and to the *Church-History*, Rogers said that: "Perused as books of amusement, there are few in the English language which a man, with the slightest tincture of love for our early literature, can take up with a keener relish; while an enthusiast, whether by natural predisposition or acquired habit, will, like Charles Lamb, absolutely riot in their wild luxuriance." No work is so well calculated to run counter to the saying, "a

great book, a great evil;” or to reverse Dr. Johnson’s dictum that only those authors are popular whose works are in pocket volumes.

Fuller concluded his introductory matter with the usual chapter called “Exceptions against the style and matter of the author prevented.” It contains some personal references. Thus, an exception is made to the fact that occasionally Fuller remitted the reader for further information to the lives of certain worthies which he had already written in his other works. “Such references,” says he, “are very sparing. . . . And I appeal to all writers of many books (of which fault I myself am guilty) whether such references be not usual in the like cases. I will *not* [!] add that I have passed my promise (and that is an honest man’s bond) to my former stationer [Williams and the *Church-History* and *Holy State* seem to be referred to] that I will write nothing for the future which was in my former books so considerable as may make them interfere one with another to his prejudice.” A fault is found that the book is surcharged with “Scripture observations and reflections in divinity.” Fuller hereupon quotes the use by Luke the physician of the word used in his faculty, *παρόξυσμος*, ‘dissention,’ Acts xv. 39. “So that the spirit of God, guiding his pen, permitted him to make use of the language proper to his vocation. And I presume the same favour will be indulged to me by all ingenuous persons, to have (I will not say a partiality, but) an affection to the expressions of, and excursions into, my own calling. Secondly, I plead conscience, that seeing some may cavil this work to be a deviation from my function (and I myself perchance sensible of some truth therein), I will watch and catch all opportunity to make a fair regress to my profession.” The references to Scripture passages are accordingly perhaps more numerous in the *Worthies* than even in the *Church-History*.

The lives of worthy natives, which form the bulk of the work, constitute its great value. They are classified in an original manner, which he explains in the opening chapters. He says that he had not “wittingly, willingly, or wilfully shut the door against any worthy person which offered to enter into my knowledge; nor was my prejudice the porter in this kind to exclude any who brought merit for their admission.”¹ Some, indeed, to whom he has, as it were, said “Come up hither,” and introduced into his gallery of illustrious Englishmen, were—though worthy by their lives and writings to be held forth as examples—passing out of recollection in his day. By far the

¹ Chap. xxv.

most valuable of the *Lives* relate to those who flourished about his own or his father's time; and their authoritative value is acknowledged by the constant references that are made to them.¹ His notices of them generally contain some personal anecdote or other details, that open up a view of character not touched upon before; and they not infrequently illustrate the social life of his day. His treatment is sagacious; and the lessons he inculcates are quaintly expressed. An entertaining gossipy vein pervades the whole. Spite of his critics, he is as humorous as ever. His wit is his second nature; still kindly and unsoured, it "never strikes harshly a personal enemy, or an adverse sect." But his grotesqueness and jocularities are incurable: his *facetiae* are scattered about regardless of effect, and are met with in all manner of connections. One critic sees in his power of drawing comparisons little inferiority to Butler himself.

Professor Craik dwelt very fondly upon Fuller's sketch of Old Philemon Holland, the translator, "who was translated to a better life, A.D. 1636;"²—a sketch (he says) which "is Fuller all over, in heart as well as in head and hand—the last touch especially, which, jest though it be, and upon a solemn subject, falls as gently and kindly as a tear on good old Philemon and his labours. The effect is as if we were told that even so gently fell the touch of death itself upon the ripe old man—even so easy, natural, and smiling, his labours over, was his leave-taking and exchange of this earth of many languages, the confusion or discord of which he had done his best to reduce, for that better world, where there is only one tongue, and translation is not needed or known. And Fuller's wit and jesting are always of this character; they have not in them a particle either of bitterness or irreverence."³

Charles Lamb has a very felicitous criticism upon Fuller's notice of Henry de Essex, who, in a battle with the Welsh, "betwixt traitor and coward, cast away both his courage and banner together. . . . He himself, partly thrust, partly going into a convent, hid his head in a cowl, under which, betwixt shame and sanctity, he blushed out the remainder of his life."⁴ Lamb observed that the "fine imagination of Fuller has done what might have been pronounced impossible: it has given an interest and a holy character to coward infamy. Nothing can

¹ He only professes to write of the dead. Notwithstanding he inserted many *living* worthies, giving as a reason that they were *partly dead in the list of a prevalent party!*

² § Warwickshire, 128.

³ *History of Literature and Learning*, iv. 81.

⁴ § Beds. 121.

be more beautiful than the concluding account of the last days, and expiatory retirement, of poor Henry de Essex. The address with which the whole of this little story is told is most consummate: the charm of it seems to consist in a perpetual balance of antitheses not too violently opposed, and the consequent activity of mind in which the reader is kept: 'Betwixt traitor and coward'—'baseness to do, boldness to deny'—'partly thrust, partly going into a convent'—'betwixt shame and sanctity.' The reader by this artifice is taken into a kind of partnership with the writer,—his judgment is exercised in settling the preponderance,—he feels as if he were consulted as to the issue. But the modern historian flings at once the dead weight of his own judgment into the scale, and settles the matter."¹

The following is one of those Worthies with whose goodness Fuller was in full sympathy, and whose character he loved to depict. It has always occurred to the writer of these pages that there is in it very much of Fuller himself:—

"JAMES CRANFORD was born at Coventry in this county (where his father was a divine and schoolmaster of great note), bred at Oxford, beneficed in Northamptonshire, and afterwards removed to London, to St. Christopher's. A painful preacher, an exact linguist, subtil disputant, orthodox in his judgment, sound against sectaries, well acquainted with the Fathers, not unknown to the Schoolmen, and familiar with the modern divines. Much his humility, being James the Less in his own esteem, and therefore ought to be the greater in ours. He had, as I may say, a broad-chested soul, favourable to such who differed from him. His moderation increased with his age, charity with his moderation; and had a *kindness* for all such who had any *goodness* in themselves. He had many choice books, and (not like to those who may lose themselves in their own libraries, being *owners*, not *masters* of their books therein) had his books at such command as the Captain has his soldiers; so that he could make them at pleasure go or come, or do what he desired. This lame and loyal Mephibosheth (as I may term him) sadly sympathising with the sufferings of Church and State, died rather infirm than old, Anno 1657."²

It would be tedious to collect all the commendations that have been bestowed upon these brief biographies. Two or three must suffice. *William Cole*, the very sedulous antiquary

¹ § Specimens from Fuller. "We may add that the phrase 'hid his head in a cowl' is also figuratively striking, and seems to have been remembered by She-

ridan, who used a similar expression 'to hide his head in a coronet.'" (Chambers's *Eng. Lit.* i. 433.)

² § Warwickshire, p. 129.

of Cambridge, defending Fuller against a censure of Baker's, penned the following: "Dr. Fuller with wit and pleasantry has enlivened every subject he took in hand, and the Lovers of History and Anecdotes can never sufficiently return him their Thanks for a 1,000 Circumstances which would have been lost but for his Industry: and I take this opportunity of returning him my own. WM. COLE. Aug. 1, 1777. Milton, near Cambridge."¹

Oldys, who made good use of Fuller's labours, left it on record that, notwithstanding *Nicolson's* hasty and immoderate aspersions,² "the characters or memorials here assembled of so many great men will always make the book necessary to be consulted; especially as there are preserved therein abundance of lives then first or newly written, and nowhere else to be had, which have been of good service to many grave writers of substantial credit even in history, antiquities, and heraldry."

The compilers of biographical dictionaries have often made the *Worthies* a basis of their works. Among others, *Allibone*, in his huge *Critical Dictionary of English Literature* (which contains a pleasantly-written biographical memoir of Fuller), expresses his indebtedness to the *Worthies*, "as our frequent acknowledgments testify." *Knight* also remarked that for years he had been in the constant habit of referring to the *Lives*, and believed that a less fitting description could not possibly have been framed than *Nicolson's* "mis-shapen scraps mixed with tattle and lies," even by a man coarser and duller than the Bishop.

Its first editor, *Mr. Nichols*, alluded to the pleasure to be derived from consulting the book; while *Mr. Crossley* thus comprehensively judged it: "His *Worthies* is, we believe, more generally perused than any of his productions, and is perhaps the most agreeable; suffice to say of it that it is a most fascinating storehouse of gossiping, anecdote, and quaintness; a most delightful medley of interchanged amusement, presenting entertainment as varied as it is inexhaustible."³

It seems that about the year 1659, *Wm. Winstanley*, an industrious biographical writer, was projecting a similar work, which was indeed published before Fuller's under the title of *England's Worthies*. In the subsequent edition of 1684 he added *Observations on the Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller*, and related the following incident: "I remember when my first

¹ Cole's MSS., Brit. M., vol. xlix. fol. 152. See also Prof. Mayor's *Hist. St. John's College*, p. 603, l. 9.

² "The lives of his greatest heroes are

commonly misshapen scraps mixed with tattle and lies." (*English Historical Libraries*.)

³ *Retrospective Review*, iii. 54.

impression of this book of England's Worthies came forth, it being in the year 1659, a time (like that when the Doctor's *Church-History* came out) the truth could not be spoken with safety; the Doctor was half offended with me as anticipating him in the title of a designed work of his. But when he understood my ignorance of his design, and my constant cordialness to the royal cause, his anger was turned to amity, as by his expressions to me at W[altham] A[bbey] he manifested himself. And indeed it is great pity he lived not to finish his *Worthies*, which had it had his last hand unto it would no doubt have come forth into the world far more complete than it is.”¹

In chapter xxiii. Fuller indicated the chief sources whence he derived his materials, referring them to four heads: (1) Printed books; (2) Records in public offices; (3) Manuscripts in the possession of private gentlemen; (4) Instructions from the nearest relations to many worthies.

Under the second head he first mentions the Records in *the Tower*. “Master William Ryley was then master of those jewels; for so they deserve to be accounted, seeing a scholar would prefer that place before the keeping of all the prisoners in the Tower. I know not whether more to commend his care in securing, dexterity in finding, diligence in perusing them, or courtesy in communicating such copies of them as my occasions required, thanks being all the fees expected from me.”

He next mentions the Records in *the Exchequer*. “Here let not my gratitude be buried in the graves of Master John Witt² and Master Francis Boyton, both since deceased; but whilst living advantageous to my studies.” To these he adds the *Church Registers* in several parishes, very many of which, during his wandering life, he carefully examined. “The last port to which I trafficked for intelligence was by making my addresses, by letters and otherwise, to the nearest relations of those whose lives I have written. Such applications have sometimes proved chargeable; but if my weak pains shall find preferment (that is, acceptance) from the judicious reader, my care and cost is forgotten, and shall never come under computation. . . . This I must gratefully confess, I have met with many who *could* not, never with any *would* not, furnish me with information herein.” And he says elsewhere: “I have gone, and rid, and wrote, and sought and searched with my own and friends' eyes, to make what discoveries I could.”³

¹ Page ... The Life of Fuller was added to the later editions of Lloyd's *State Worthies*, Appendix, ii. 518 seq., ed. 1766.

² His “official industry” is commended in *Ch.-Hist.* vi. 366.

³ Chap. xxv.

Dedications such as Fuller had before indulged in were abandoned in this last folio. But in the body and margins of the work he makes most frequent mention of those from whom he derived his multifarious information. The list of names is a very long one, and is of itself a witness to his unwearied diligence: it comprises the famous antiquaries, the keepers of archives, and a miscellaneous assortment of people from collegiate officials to sextons, stone-cutters, ancient gossips, and hand labourers.

In an age devoted to historical inquiry the author was brought in contact with the chief antiquaries. In addition to his coadjutors in the *Church-History*, we have notices of *Dugdale*, "now Norroy," his "worthy friend," whose example as a county historian he commends to others.—The MS. notes of "that industrious and judicious antiquary," "the great antiquary *Mr. Dodsworth*," are frequently used.—"That skilful antiquary," *Dr. Barlow* of the Bodleian, is named.—The arms of the Cheshire Sheriffs were derived from *Daniel King* ("who to me really verifieth his own anagram 'I kind Angel'"), the publisher of the *Vale Royall*. With the latter work was associated *Master William Smith*, to whom in turn Fuller expresses obligations.

For the particulars obtained from the keepers of the national documents, and public libraries, he is also grateful. From *Mr. Highmore* of the Pipe Office he obtained a copy of the Sheriffs, which he compared with a copy of *Sir Winkefeld Bodenham's*.—There is occasional mention of *Thomas Hanson*, *John Spencer*, and *Mr. Goland* "the learned Library-keeper of Westminster Library."—Many masters of colleges, and other officials, gave him access to their registers, from which he frequently quotes.—Another authority is *Mr. John Burroughs*, Clerk of Stationers' Hall, formerly attendant on the Princess Elizabeth.—The relations of many Worthies, to whom Fuller made a point of appealing, are often named as authorities.—The mansions of the nobility were opened to Fuller as, like another Pausanias, he travelled in the districts near them; and he thanks them for copies of documents in their possession. Many others helped him with their "pains and purses;" and he expresses his happiness in having "knowing and communicative friends;" adding that if he were to present with copies of his work all "who courteously have conduced to my instruction," the whole impression would not suffice.

It is a somewhat inexplicable circumstance that spite of the voluminous *correspondence* on the part of Fuller that his two great books called forth, not a single letter is known to re-

main.¹ Oldys placed an item “correspondence” under Fuller’s list of works, but does not appear to have known of any letters. He says: “Several letters to his friends at Cambridge, and other places, which as he had so many patrons, so many occasions of intelligence from his correspondents in relation to their own knowledge, or the particulars in many books concerning the eminent and learned persons he so much inquired after, must have been so numerous that a good volume might doubtless have been collected out of them, especially if the answers he received had been added thereunto.”

The contents of Fuller’s last folio have always made it a favourite book. It has ever been familiar to English gentlemen and country squires of the old school. A worthy clergyman of my acquaintance, who had loved and admired Fuller for over sixty years, was on one occasion asked by a country justice in the house of the latter, “Do you know that book?”—pointing to a copy of the *Worthies*. “Yes,” said the minister; “nearly every word of it.” Hereupon the squire remarked, “I don’t care much about books; but the Bible and Fuller’s *Worthies* satisfy me in the matter of reading.”

Fuller, as we have already seen, interested his friend Pepys in the book. The latter had not forgotten Fuller’s conversation, but seems to have misunderstood the scope of the work. Upon its publication he set his covetous eyes upon it. He must relate his intercourse with it:—10 Feb. 1661-2: “To Paul’s church-yard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller’s *England’s Worthies*, the first time that I ever saw it; and so I sat down reading in it; being much troubled that, though he had some discourse with me about my family and armes, he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolk! But I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable.” Pepys does not say that he bought the book; but he perhaps did so for Fuller’s sake. On the 23rd Feb. same year: “My cold being increased, I staid at home all day, pleasing myself with my dining-room, now graced with pictures, and reading of Dr. Fuller’s *Worthies*: so I spent the day.” The next entry seems to show that he had had a borrowed copy:—10th Dec. 1663: “To St. Paul’s Church Yard, to my bookseller’s, and, having gained this day in the office by my stationer’s bill to the King about 40s. or £3,

¹ B. H. Beedham, Esq., of Kimbolton, carefully examined on my behalf a considerable number of sale catalogues of autographs, including those of Upcott, Stowe, Donnadieu, Dawson Turner, Moore, Manners, Dillon, &c. &c., and could not find a single letter of Fuller. The Histo-

rical MSS. Commissioners, to whom most of the choicest private collections in England, as well as in Ireland and Scotland, have already been opened, do not record one letter written by Fuller or to him. Letters in private hands must therefore be extremely rare.

calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon, and found my self at a great loss where to choose, and do see how my nature would gladly return to the laying out of money in this trade. Could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's *History of Paul's*, Stow's *London*, Gesner [the German Pliny], *History of Trent*, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last choose Dr. Fuller's *Worthys*, *The Cabbala* or *Collections of Letters of State*, and a little book *Délices de Hollande*, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and *Hudibras*, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies [!]. My mind being thus settled, I went by link home, and so to my office and to read in Rushworth; and so home to supper and to bed." On the 10th April (Lord's Day), 1664:—"My wife dressed herself, it being Easter Day, but I, not being so well as to go out, she, though much against her will, staid at home with me. . . . We spent the day in pleasant talk and company one with another, reading in Dr. Fuller's book what he says of the family of the Cliffords and Kingsmills"—*i.e.* the connections of the diarist's wife.

The *Worthies* was eagerly read by Henry Newcome, of Manchester, who on 15th Feb. 1662 "went out and bought Fuller's last piece" for a friend; but at various odd times in the months of April and May read it himself. Thus on 21st April he "read something in the book called *Pulpit Conceptions*, and after read a deal in Mr. Fuller and noted." On the 3rd of May he makes a closer acquaintance with his author: "Read something in Mr. Fuller and read over Fuller's *Life* and the speeches of the Regicides."¹

Charles Lamb, too, found a keen delight in this book, and the *Church-History*. Writing to Bernard Barton, Dec. 8th, 1829, he says: "I write big not to save ink but eyes, mine having been troubled with reading through three folios of old Fuller in almost as few days, and I went to bed last night in agony, and am writing with a vial of eye-water before me, alternately dipping in vial and inkstand!"² Again: "You don't know the treasure of the Fullers; I calculate on having massy reading this Christmas."

The errors and omissions in the book are undoubtedly large, particularly in those parts which Fuller left unprinted. Many blanks were left for dates, or were given conjecturally. These

¹ *Diary*: Chetham Society.

² *Works*, fo. ed., p. 161.

defects are, with a fellow-feeling, excused by Oldys, on the ground that Fuller designed to be more exact upon better opportunities of examination; and that dates were little in use with any writers in this particular branch of history at those times. “It was a general or fashionable neglect, especially in the more polite and ornate writers, as if they thought that arithmetical figures would look like so many scars in the sleek face of their rhetorical phrase.” And with especial reference to Nicolson he added: “Few have been so much pillaged who have been so much disparaged; he has been reproached for his ingenuity by those who have no wit, and robbed of his knowledge by those who have no gratitude.” Fuller himself made an ingenuous excuse of his errors, observing, with reference to Foxe, that it was “impossible for any author of a voluminous book, consisting of several persons and circumstances (Reader, in pleading for Mr. Fox, I plead for my self) to have such ubiquitary intelligence as to apply the same infallibly to every particular.” And elsewhere in regard to the blanks for dates, he penned one of his proverbial sayings—“A blank was better than a blot;” adding that, for those “bald places” the reader might, if so pleased, provide “a Pere-wake.”¹ It is in part due to these blank dates, and in part to its incompleteness, that so many copies are found with the annotations of their possessors. A few copies noteworthy on the latter account are mentioned in the Bibliography. John Fuller, its first editor, informed the reader that the collection “might have appeared larger, had God spared my dear father, the author, life.” After enumerating the counties, &c. left unprinted, he states that they were then made public according to the copy the author left behind him, without the least addition. He also says here that “the *discounting* of sheets (to expedite the work at several presses) hath occasioned the often mistake of the folios.” All faults are to be scored on his account, and are not to reflect on the credit of his dead father.

The “discounting” of certain portions arose from the fact that no one printer would undertake so huge a work, and it was given out to several. Besides errors arising on this account, it contained no contents or index, so that (as one of his editors has said) “the *fullness* of *worthy Fuller’s* worth was not *fully* developed.” The appearance of the book as published fulfils Fuller’s prophecy: “A stranger to my method [of composition? or of writing?] would hardly rally my scattered and

¹ § Berkshire, p. 92; and chap. xxiv. p. 77.

posthume notes.”¹ The methodical author proposed an appendix, for he refers to “our additions,” where the Life of Dr. Duppa was to be placed.²

The *Worthies* was dedicated to King Charles II. in these terms: “Most dread Sovereign: The tender of these ensuing collections is made with as much fear and reverence, as it was intended with duty and devotion by the Author whilst living. The obligation that lieth upon me to endeavour him all right, forced me unto this presumption. It is the first voice I ever uttered in this kind; and I hope it will be neither displeasing to your Majesty, or blamed by the world; whilst (not unlike that of the son of Cræsus) it sounds loyalty to my Sovereign, and duty to my father. . . . May your Majesty’s raign be happy and long, to see your country’s commodities improved, and your *Worthies* multiplied! So prayeth your Majesty’s meanest subject, the Author’s orphan,
JOHN FULLER.”

JOHN FULLER, after remaining at Paul’s School for five years, had July 8, 1657, been admitted at his father’s old college, Sydney-Sussex, then under Richard Minshull, S.T.B.: he became B.A. in 1660. At page 113 *ante* is a reference to his copying at Ely Cathedral an inscription for his father’s *Worthies*. In 1661 he is called “a hopeful plant;” but he possessed none of his father’s care or of his wit. His dedication of the *Worthies* to the King brought him into favourable regard. Early in 1662, immediately after the publication of the volume, he made an application for the protection of his rights in the volume, and obtained from Secretary Nicholas the following prohibition, now preserved in the State Paper Office:—

“Whereas John Fuller is y^e right owner of y^e originall Copie of a Booke intitled The History of y^e Worthyes of England, compiled by his late Father Dr. Thomas Fuller, which Booke he hath caused to be imprinted, att y^e humble request of y^e said John Fuller, his Ma^{ty} is graciously pleased and hath commanded me straightly to charge and require in his name, That no person or persons whatsoever presume to print y^e said Booke or any part thereof within y^e terme of five yeares next ensueing y^e date of these presents, without y^e consent and approbation of y^e said Iohn Fuller, or his Assignes, as they and every one of them so offending will answer y^e contrary, att their utmost perill. Whereof y^e Warden & Company of Stationers of y^e City of London, are to take particular notice and care, that due obedience be giuen to his Ma^{ty}s command in this particular. Giuen att y^e Court att Whitehall y^e 3d day of March in y^e 14th yeare of his Ma^{ty}s Reigne: 166½.

EDW. NICHOLAS.”³

¹ Chap. xxv.

² § Kent, 73.

³ Vol. lii., Domestic Papers, 1662, March 3, No. 7.

Out of regard to the memory of his father the younger Fuller not only presented a copy of the work to Sion College, but also to Sydney-Sussex College. The latter contains the following inscription on the back: *Liber Collegii D. Franciscæ Sidney Sussex ex dono Johannis Fuller Art. Baccal. ejusdem Colⁱⁱ scholaris discipuli. Anno Dⁿⁱ 1662.* This volume is remarkable as having a most elaborate independent index of great value made by the daughter of the present Master, Dr. Phelps, who has courteously supplied to this biography some particulars relating to Fuller and the college.

Fuller's son remained at Cambridge with a view to the next degree. He obtained a fellowship in 1663, and became M.A. in 1664. Four years later, he was in near danger of expulsion from his fellowship. From a report afterwards made of the affair it seems that on the Act of Uniformity, May 1662, John Fuller was the first to subscribe renunciation of the Covenant; but through ignorance he did not subscribe it till three days after his admission to the fellowship, of which he enjoyed no profits till he became M.A. a year later.¹ The irregularity was unjustly taken advantage of. On the 29th January, 1667, the King, writing to the Master and Fellows of the college, requested them to admit Edward Alston to the fellowship void by the failure of — Fuller to subscribe the Act of Uniformity.² John Fuller hereupon petitioned. On the 7th March following there is the reference to the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Fleetwood, and such other Doctors as are the ordinary visitors, of the petition of John Fuller, Fellow of Sydney-Sussex College, complaining of the injury done him through the representations of some people.³ On the 12th April Dr. Richard Coling writes to Williamson, who was editor of the *London Gazette* (in succession to Roger L'Estrange), that the Lord Chamberlain wishes no letters to be sent to Sydney-Sussex College or the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge for John Fuller against Edward Alston without his knowledge. Shortly afterwards the King in a letter to the Master of the College says that as John Fuller had subscribed the Declaration pursuant to the Act of Parliament before his enjoyment of any privilege of a fellowship, though not before his admission, he is to receive all privileges as fully as though he had subscribed before Christmas; and that the letters on behalf of Edward Alston, B.A., are to be complied with on the next vacancy of a foundation fellowship.⁴

On the 4th April a report of the entire circumstances is

¹ Cal. State Papers, Dom. Ser., April 5, 1667, pp. 11, 12.

² *Ibid.* p. 476.

³ *Ibid.* p. 551.

⁴ Page 29.

made by Dr. Frans. Wilford, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. James Fleetwood, Provost of King's, and Dr. George Chamberlain, Vice-Master of Trinity, concluding that if Fuller is restored, D[ominus] Alston, who was recommended for his fellowship, may be so for the next foundation fellowship.¹

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1667, pp. 11, 12. In common with his uncle of the same name, all trace of John Fuller is lost after this date.





CHAPTER XXIII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.¹

“Hitherto no Stationer hath lost by me.” (*The Worthies*, chap. i. p. 2.)

“Some will say, ‘The charge [producing of numerous needless books] may most justly be brought against yourself, who have loaded the land with more books than any of your age.’ To this I confess my fault, and promise amendment, that, God willing, hereafter I will never print book in the English tongue but what shall tend directly to Divinity.” (*Ibid.* chap. x. p. 30.)

“But what do I speaking against multiplicity of books in this age, who trespass in this nature myself? What was a learned man’s complement (Erasmus in *praefat. in 3 Seriem*, 4 *Tomi Hieron.* pag. 408) may serve for my confession and conclusion, *Multi mei similes hoc morbo laborant, ut cum scribere nesciant, tamen à scribendo temperare non possint.*” (*Holy State*, § Of Books, p. 187. See also *Worthies*, chap. x. 29.)

§ I. AS AUTHOR.

¶ I. 1631: **Dauids** { **Wainous sinne**
HEARTIE REPENTANCE } ... By Thomas
HEAVIE PUNISHMENT }

Fuller Master of Arts of Sidnye Colledge in Cambridge. London, Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Iohn Bellamie, dwelling at the three Golden Lyons in Cornehill. 1631. 8vo. 39 leaves. Brit. Mus.; Lincoln Cathedral Lib.

“In the British Museum copy, which is bound in saffron morocco, but cropped, mended, and soiled, there is a Memorandum that it had sold for £17 at Brand’s sale (whose book-plate is on it).” This is cut from a recent book-catalogue; but the £17 should be 17s. There is another note on the fly-leaf: “A copy of this very scarce book sold at the sale of Dr. Farmer’s Library for 9s. 6d. See priced catalogue, p. 289, No. 6275.” See also p. 125.

Lilly, in a catalogue marked as issued in September, 1861, had a copy “very elegantly bound in blue morocco sides, tooled with gold, gilt edges, by Pratt, very fine copy, £8 18s. 6d.” He called it the rarest of all Fuller’s works.—Ellis, more recently, had a “fine, clean copy, morocco extra, gilt edges, £6 6s.,” adding, that it was most difficult to find so fine a copy of this rare volume. Mr. Pickering has had two different copies of the book.

¹ After the title-pages of the books here mentioned follow their owners’ names, or the collections where they are found. In nearly every case the copies specified have been examined. This § I. gives the works

proper; § II. (p. 744) Contributions to other works, &c.; § III. (p. 758) Doubtful pieces; and § IV. (p. 758) Spurious works.

(1) *As a separate work:*

1869: London: By Basil Montagu Pickering. "A reprint of this rare and only poetical volume published by that 'facetious' old divine, the eloquent author of 'Good Thoughts in Bad Times.' The original is scarcely ever to be met with; this reprint is a facsimile *verbatim et literatim*, and is on hand-made paper. Only 100 copies have been printed, of which a few only remain unsold." Crown 8vo., uncut, 7s. 6d.

(2) *With other works:*

1867: London: In Tegg's edition of "Joseph's Party-coloured Coat." Crown 8vo. (See ¶ 3.)

1868: Edinburgh: In Fuller's "Poems and Translations in Verse," &c. By Rev. A. B. Grosart, Liverpool. "Printed for private circulation." Crown 8vo., and large paper.

Mr. Grosart's volume is disappointing in regard to typography, misprints, and omissions. Blunders occur on almost every page; sometimes three or four on a page. In the Latinity we meet with such forms as *in sternum*, *virio*, *ad vester*, *quinqvæ*. Cum multis aliis, quæ nunc perscribere longum est.

The Poem is reviewed or noticed by Wm. Oldys (*Biog. Brit.*, sub nom.); by Brydges (*Restituta*, iii. 164); by Knight (*Cabinet Port. Gal. Brit. Wor.*, vol. iii. p. 61); in Grosart's Introduction, &c. See also the *Life*, ante, pp. 124-130.

¶ 2. 1639: The title upon the engraved front, by Wil. Marshall is: **The Historie of the Holy Warre.** By Tho. Fuller, B.D., Prebendarie of Sarum, late of Sidney Coll. in Cambridge. . . . At the foot of the plate the words: Printed by Thomas Buck, one of the Printers to the University of Cambridge, & are sold by Iohn Williams at y^e Crane in St. P. Church-yard. The printed title-page is thus given: THE HISTORIE OF THE HOLY WARRE; by Thomas Fuller, B.D. Prebendarie of Sarum, late of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge. The Camb. Press device.¹ *Printed by Thomas Buck, one of the Printers to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1639. The Preface is dated March 6, 1638-9. Folio, pp. xvi. + 286 + 28. In five books. J. E. B.; the Rev. T. L. O. Davies, Southampton; Brit. Mus.; Trin. Coll. Camb. See ante, p. 173 seq.; a fac-simile of the title-page at p. 174.

This edition, which is rare, contained in verse a "declaration of the frontispiece," 100 lines, by "J. C." (Qy. John Cleveland, author of *The Rebel Scot*); ten sets of commendatory verses, followed by a list of errata (which were corrected in the other editions); a folding map of Palestine,² engraved by W. Mar-

¹ A figure of Truth with teeming breasts, the sun in her right hand, and a cup in her left; the words *Alma Mater Cantabrigia* in the foreground; and the motto: *Hinc lvcem et pocula sacra.*

² Note that, writing in 1650, Fuller speaks of the map prefixed to the *Holy War* "some seven years since." (*Pisgah*, book v.) For a singular inscription upon it, see page 175.

shall, facing p. 1; and on the last page the University license (see page 177, *anted*): "Imprimatur Cantabrigiae per Thomam Buck."

The copy at Sydney-Sussex College contains on the back: *Liber Collegii Dnae Fr. . . . -Sussex ex dono Authoris*. 16..7. And on the title-page in another hand: *Liber Collegii Dae Franciscae Sydney-Sussex, ex dono Authoris*. 1639.

1640: 2ND EDITION. The type has been set up afresh; but the pages, lines, &c. correspond pretty exactly. The same engraved title, map, &c. and the same printed title, adding *The second edition*. After the device, as above: *Cambridge, Printed by R. Daniel, for Thomas Buck, and are to be sold by John Williams at the signe of the Greyhound in Pauls Church-yard*. 1640. Folio, pp. &c. as above. The *imprimatur* is omitted in this and the subsequent editions. J. E. B.; Brit. Mus. (no engraved title); Bodl. (Seld. AA. 50); Trin. Coll. Camb., Emanuel Coll. Camb. (with Sancroft's initials).

1642: The Rev. J. S. Brewer (*Church-Hist.* vol. i. page 1) mentions an edition of this year; also Allibone; and Lowndes (from whom the former perhaps copy) notes it "with the *Holy State*."

1647: 3RD EDITION. As before. The type has been set up afresh, but the pages nearly correspond. In this edition the plate has been re-engraved coarsely and with less detail, Marshall's name being taken out. The wording upon it corresponds, except that *Prebendarie* is spelt *-ary*, *John* is altered to *Io.*, and "*ye Crane*" is changed to "*the Crane*." On the printed title-page: *The third edition*. Same device. *Cambridge, Printed by Roger Daniel, and are to be sold by John VWilliams at the signe of the Crown in Pauls Church-yard*. 1647. Folio, pp. as above. J. E. B.; Chetham Library, and Free Library, Manchester; Bodl. (Douce, F. 504).; Brit. Mus.; Trin. Coll. Camb.

Best edition (Lowndes). To this edition Fuller referred when he said: "My *Holy War*, though (for some design of the stationer [Williams]) sticking still [1659] in the title-page at the *third* edition (as some unmarried maids will never be more than eighteen!), yet hath it oftener passed the press."—*Appeal*, p. 6 (293).

1651: 4TH EDITION. As above. *The fourth edition*. ¶ *Printed by Thomas Buck, one of the Printers to the Universitie: And are to be sold by Philemon Stephens, at the signe of the gilded-Lion in Pauls Churchyard. Anno Dom. 1651*. Folio, pp. as before. The plate has Phil. Stephens's name. Brit. Mus.; Sion Coll.; Bodl. (Th. Seld. C. III. 16).

1652: Lowndes and Brewer name an edition of this year.

1663: Millar's catalogue, January, 1872.

On the fly-leaf at the end of a folio copy of the "Holy Warre" recently on sale, was the autograph of Roger Pepys, a Barrister, M.P. for Cambridge [1661], and afterwards Recorder of that town, cousin to Samuel Pepys. He has also added this couplet:—

"Now in this book I put my name,
Because I would not lose ye same."

Mr. Crossley tells me of a copy that he had once seen containing an old memorandum to the effect that it had been given to the writer, a physician, in place of a fee!

Mr. Davies's copy contains an attempt at a verse in a seventeenth-century handwriting:—

“Great Fuller! fuller than thy name”

but the second line only contains the words “— thy fame,”—one line for rhyme, the other for reason.

An evidence of the great popularity of the *Holy Warre* in Fuller's days is afforded by a reference to it in an anonymous comedy, entitled *The Hectors; or the False Challenge*, 4to., 1656, attributed to Edmund Prestwich, by Phillips and Winstanley: “*Know-well*: Upon a rainy day, or when you have nought else to do, you may read Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Lord *Bacon's* Natural History, the *Holy Warre*, and *Brown's* Vulgar Errors. You may find, too, some stories in the English *Eusebius* and the *Book of Martyrs*, to hold discourse with the Parson on a Sunday dinner.—*Mrs. Love-Wit*: Sometimes to your wife you may read a piece of *Shak-speare*, *Suckling*, and *Ben Jonson* too, if you can understand him.” (Dr. Nicholson in *N. & Q.* 5th Ser. i. 304.) “The English *Eusebius*” is not Fuller, as I at first supposed (i. 354), but the English translation of *Eusebius*, by *Meredith*, &c., 5th ed., 1650.

There is mention of it also in London's *Catalogve of The most vendible Books in England, orderly and alphabetically Digested . . . The like Work never yet performed by any. . . London*, 1658, 4to.:—“We may by History reconcile the future and present tense: See *Asia* in *England*, travell the *Holy Land*, and go to the *Holy Warre* with Mr. Fuller: see the *Grand Seignory* in the *Seraglio*, compass the world with *Drake*,” &c.—Sig. F 4 verso.

The Holy War was often bound up with copies of *The Holy State*.

1840: London: ALDINE edition: “The . History . of . the . Holy . War . By . Thomas . Fuller . D.D. London Wm Pickering 1840,” fcap. 8vo. 328 pp. + xii. 6s. (This edition is still on sale by Mr. B. M. Pickering, 12mo. 4s.) Three commendatory poems (viz. those on the first two pages of the original editions) by *Gomersall*, *Tyrling*, and *Duport*, do not appear in this edition.

1841: Mr. James Nichols, at page v. of his edition of *The Holy State*, published this year, alludes to an edition of *The Holy War* copiously prefaced by him. This work was never published.

¶ 3. 1640: **Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat, Containing, A Comment on Part of the II. Chapter of the I. Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians. Together with severall Sermons: . . . By T. F. . . . London, Printed by Iohn Dawson, for Iohn Williams, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Signe of the Crane, in Pauls Church-yard. 1640.** On leaf at end: “Imprimatur, Thomas Wykes, May 30. 1640.” 4to. pp. iv. + 191. Bodl. (Tanner, 265: contains autograph of “Thom. Tanner”); Brit. Mus. (1024 a, 30); Sion Coll.; J. F. Fuller, Esq.; E. Rig-gall, Esq. See p. 196 seq.

1648: Oldys and Mr. Brewer mention this ed.

London

Printed by

W. & A. G. & Co.

Printers

15, Abchurch Lane

London, E.C. 4

W

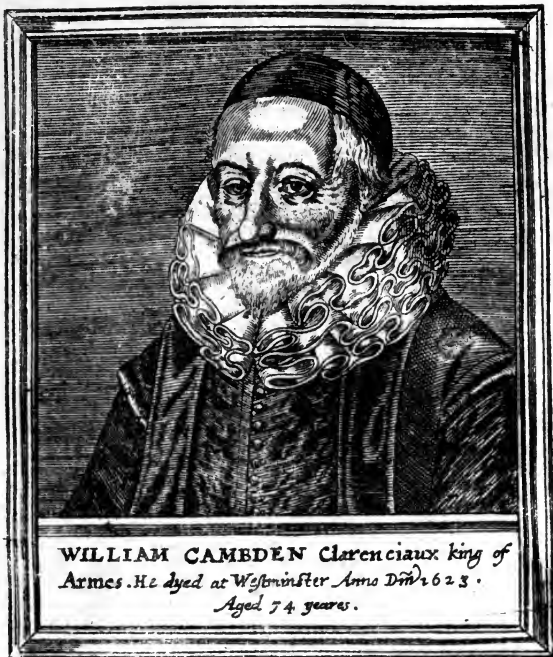
Printed by

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CHAP. 24.

The life of Mr VV. CAMBDEN.

William Cambden was born *Anno 1550* in old Baily, in the City of London. His Father, Sampson Cambden, was descended of honest parentage in Staffordshire; but by his Mothers side he was extracted from the worshipful family of the * Curwens in Cumberland.

He was brought up first in Christ-Church, then in Pauls School in London, and at fifteen years of age went to Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, and thence to * Broadgates Hall,

N 2

where

* A quibus nobis (ablit invidia)genus maternum, *Cambd. Bris. in Cumber. Ex Parentatione Degorio Wheat.*

1867 (Aug.): "Joseph's Party-Coloured Coat: A comment on 1 Cor. xi., with several Sermons: and David's Heinous sin, Hearty repentance, Heavy punishment: a poem. By Thomas Fuller, D.D., edited by William Nichols. London: William Tegg 1867." Crown 8vo. pp. vi. + 252, 4s. 6d., 3s. The title-page contains the medallion full-faced portrait of Fuller, as given *anted*, p. 620.

This vol. formed one of a series of nine, issued at a moderate price, and prepared for popular reading. They are clearly printed, and the spellings and proper names modernised. Most of them were prefaced, and all contained occasional annotations, by Mr. Wm. Nichols, the son of Fuller's editor, Mr. John Nichols.

¶ 4. 1642: **The Holy State and the Profane State.** The title upon the emblematic plate, "W. Marshall, sculpt:" is as follows: THE HOLY STATE. *By Thomas Fuller Bachelour of Divinitie, & Prebendar^y of Sarum, late of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge. Cambridge, Printed by R: D: for John Williams at the Signe of the Crowne in S^t. Pauls Church-yard. 1642.* "Sent to the press a twelve month ago." Upon the Printed title-page, thus: THE HOLY STATE. *By Thomas Fuller, B.D. and Prebendarie of Sarum. Zechariah 14. 20: 'In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, Holinesse unto the Lord.'* The Camb. Press device. *Cambridge: ¶ Printed by Roger Daniel for John Williams, and are to be sold &c. (as above).* Here is inserted a leaf of the Prince of Wales' Feathers with coronet, *W. M. Sculp: Facing page 354: THE PROFANE STATE. By Thomas Fuller, B.D. and Prebendarie of Sarum. Isaiah 32. 5; Ezek. 44. 23.* The Press device (a smaller block). *Cambridge: ¶ Printed by Roger Daniel for John Williams, and are to be sold &c. (as above) 1642. Zz. 2. Folio, pp. xii. + 441 [really 446, pp. 119-122, 434 and 436 being repeated; and p. 432 omitted]. In five books. 20 Portraits on the letter-press. Annexed is a fac-simile of the page containing Camden's portrait. There is no *imprimatur* to this work. E. Riggall, Esq.; W. Booth, Esq., Manchester; Trin. Coll. Camb.; Brit. Mus.; Bodl. (Douce, F. 504). The two last alone contain the Feathers plate.*

Mr. Kerslake catalogued a copy of this edition "with autograph and anagram of 'Io. Gorges,' 'En Gregi hoos es.' Also of 'Ferdinando Gorges,' and much more old writing."

1648: 2ND EDITION. Engraved title-page as above, but dated 1648. The printed title-page, dated 1648, is also the same, except that the words are added, *The second Edition enlarged, with a crown.* Upon page 341: *The Profane State,* with the device

of the Cambridge University Press, "1648 (Ff. 4)." No feathers plate to this or later editions. Folio, pp. vi. + 510. In five books. J. E. B.; Brit. Mus.; Free Lib. Mchr.

The enlargement consists in the addition of the extended life of the Tyrant Andronicus (chap. xviii. pp. 448—502). Amidst other irregularities in paging in this and subsequent editions, pp. 395-434 are omitted. "Best edition" (Lowndes).

1652: 3RD EDITION. The type is set up afresh. The engraved 1648 title-page, as before. *The third Edition. London: ¶ Printed by R. D. for John Williams, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crown in St. Pauls Churchyard, 1652.* The other particulars as in 1648 ed. The *Crown* devices are used. J. E. B.; Lee Lib., Owens Coll. (once belonging to Duke of Sussex); Chetnam Lib.; Brit. Mus.; Bodl. (Th. Seld. C. III. 16).

In 1659 Fuller said that this work, with others, had passed the press oftener than stated upon the title-page.

1663: 4TH EDITION. The type set up afresh. The engraved title-page as in the 1648 edition. The printed title-page as above. The words *The fourth edition* are added with the *Crown*. *London: Printed by John Redmayne for John Williams, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Crown in St. Pauls Churchyard, 1663.* At page 341 *The Profane State, &c.* with the *Crown*. *London: Printed by J. R. for John Williams, &c. 1663.* Folio, pp. vi. + 510. In five books. J. E. B.; Brit. Mus.; Trin. Coll. Camb.

1815: "SELECTIONS from the Writings of Fuller and South; with some account of the Life and Character of the former. By Rev. Arthur Broome." Lond. 1815, 12mo. 5s. 6d. (The Selections pp. 1—154 are taken wholly from *The Holy State*.) There was another edition in 1817.

1829: "SELECTIONS from the Works of Taylor, Hooker, Barrow, South, Latimer, Brown, Milton, and Bacon. By Basil Montagu, Esq., A.M. [the editor of Bacon]. Third edition. Lond.: Wm. Pickering. 1829." Fcap. 8vo. The first two editions (1805, 1807) had no extracts from Fuller. The extracts in the edition noticed (section vii. pp. 289—328) are all from the *Holy State*, excepting five pages. The names of Fuller and Hall were added to the title-pages of the subsequent edition. In the *fourth* edition (1834, W. Pickering, fcap. 8vo.) the Fuller extracts occupied pp. 235—264; and in the *fifth* (1839, ditto) pp. 241—273. In *Thoughts of Divines and Philosophers* (Lond. Wm. Pickering, 1832, 16mo.), by the same editor, are a few extracts from Fuller.

In Montagu's "Essays and Selections," a different book from the above "Selections," there is "The Character of a Barrister," "after the manner of Fuller."—There are about thirty extracts from *The Holy State* in Spencer's *Kava*, § II. ¶ 19.

1831: AMERICAN EDITION: "The Library of the Old English Prose Writers. Vol. I. Containing The Holy and Profane States, by Thomas Fuller; with some Account of the Author and his Writings. Cambridge [Massachusetts]. Hilliard and Brown, 1831." 16mo. pp. xxxix. + 293.—The sketch of Fuller's life was prepared by Rev. Alex. Young, D.D., who died in 1854.

He was the editor of the series.—There was a reprint of this edition, handsomely printed, with the same sketch of *Life*, in Boston (Little, Brown & Co.), 1863, the date on the title-page being changed in 1864 and 1865. The criticism on Fuller's writings is taken from the *Essay* by James Crossley, Esq., of Manchester.

The following advertisement sufficiently criticises this edition:—"In order to bring this volume within a reasonable compass, portions, including the *Lives*, have been omitted, as less peculiar and interesting. Many passages and a few chapters have been excluded, as incompatible with the refined delicacy of modern manners. The most valuable parts, however, it is believed, are retained—everything, indeed, which readers in general, at the present day, would wish to have inserted. To ascertain the true texts, the editions of 1642 and 1648 have been carefully collated." (1865 edition. 8vo. pp. vi. + 325.)

1840 : ALDINE EDITION : "The . Holy . State . and . the . Profane . State. By . Thos . Fuller . D.D. London Wm. Pickering 1840." Fcap. 8vo. pp. viii. + 400, 6s. (A reprint of Fuller's second edition.)

1841 : LONDON : "The Holy State, and the Profane State. . . . A new edition. With notes, by James Nichols, editor of Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, &c. London : Printed for Thomas Tegg. 1841." With three plates containing twenty portraits "from the best originals." 8vo. pp. xvi. + 464. 12s.; 10s. 6d.; 5s. 6d. (1860); 7s. (1872).

This edition was carefully edited and arranged, but the old English form of many good words was spoiled by giving them a modern dress. Other words are "retained, though they are rarely used by modern writers!" The editor followed Roger Daniel's third edition; but says that the fourth, or London edition, was greatly improved in the orthography.

The Holy State has been admirably reviewed by Mr. James Crossley, of Manchester, in *The Retrospective Review* (1821), vol. iii. pt. i. art. 4, pp. 51—71. See this *Life*, p. 220 seq.

In No. x. p. 49 of *Bibliographiana* (a series of papers reprinted in 1816 from the *Manchester Exchange Herald*) Mr. F. R. Atkinson, of Pendleton, contributed addenda to Mr. Bliss's list of "character" books, as given in the 1811 edition of Earle's *Microcosmography*, alluded to *antea*, p. 223. He observes, in allusion to the *Holy and Profane States*, that "It is very remarkable how Mr. Bliss could overlook the works of a man like Fuller, who has given us, in his usual trite and acute peculiarity of style, the following characters in the above works. . . ."

There is also an article on Old English Prose Writers generally, and of Fuller and *The Holy State* particularly, in *The Christian Examiner* (Boston, U.S.) for Sept. 1831. New Series, No. xvi. pp. 1—22. The writer (the late Rev. Convers Francis, D.D., a scholar of Harvard College, gr. 1815, died 1863) observes: "Fuller's works are full of wisdom conceived and exhibited in his peculiar fashion. For sagacious observations on life and manners, on the curious mechanism of character and action, and for a fine flow of manly and sometimes beautiful thought, spiced sufficiently with the quaintness of a facetious spirit, we know not to what works we should turn more readily than to the *Holy* and the *Profane State*. They are the overflowing of a mind, which had been intently engaged in taking note of the moral phenomena of man. They are well adapted to perform one of the best offices which a book can perform, that of making the reader think; not only furnishing him with

suggestions of great practical importance, but awakening and stimulating his mind to reflections of its own. For works like these, the times of peculiar agitation in which Fuller lived, and in which every form of character, whether generous and pure, or fantastic and vile, was strongly developed, may have furnished unusually ample materials and excitement." (P. 20.) Mr. Sibley of Cambridge (U.S.A.) kindly presented me with the volume of the *Examiner* whence this passage is quoted. Allibone says that the article has been "highly lauded by an eminent English authority."

A notice of it will also be found in *The Literary World*, vol. ii. 1840, p. 280, edited by John Timbs, who speaks of the work as "not so well known as it deserves to be, no edition of it having been published from the year 1657 till 1814, when its substance was reprinted in a pocket volume of Selections by the Rev. A. Broome."

¶ 5. 1642: **A Fast Sermon** *preached On Innocents-Day* [Wednesday, 28th Dec., 1642] by *Thomas Fuller, B.D. Minister of the Savoy.* 2 Sam. 2. 26. . . . London, Printed by L. N. and R. C. for John Williams at the signe of the Crowne in Saint Pauls Church-yard. 1642. 4to. pp. ii. + 31. Bodl.; Brit. Mus. (E. 86. 16); J. E. B.; Lincoln Cath. Lib. See the *Life*, p. 240 *seq.*

Text: Matt. v. 9.

1643: London: Russell says it was again printed this year.

1654: London: With the "Inauguration" Sermon, ¶ 6, which it follows, out of chronological order. The fast-sermon has no title-page. 12mo. It is registered C₂ onwards in succession to the first sermon, but separately paged 1—37. See ¶ 23.

¶ 6. 1643: **A Sermon** *preached at the Collegiat Church of S. Peter in WESTMINSTER, on [Monday] the 27. of March [1643], being the day of his MAJESTIES Inauguration.* By *Thomas Fuller, B.D.* London, Printed for John Williams, at the signe of the Crowne in Saint Pauls Church-yard, 1643. 4to. pp. iv. + 26. J. E. B.; Bodl. (Ash. 1181); Brit. Mus.; Duke of Bedford's Lib., Woburn; Trin. Coll. Camb.

Text: 2 Sam. xix. 30.

See ¶ 23. By Oldys, Russell, and Brit. Mus. Cat. (1654 ed.), the delivery of this sermon is erroneously attributed to 1642. See the *Life*, p. 250.

1654: London: Title as above. An oval device of the sun is an escutcheon encircled by the legend "Deus est nobis Sol et Scutum." London, Printed by Will. Bently, for John Williams at the Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard. Anno Dom. 1654. 12mo. pp. iv. + 30. J. E. B.; Bodl.; Brit. Mus.; E. Riggall, Esq., &c. Followed by the Innocents'-Day Sermon, ¶ 5.

¶ 7. 1643: (London Edition): **A Sermon of Reformation.** *Preached at the Church of the Savoy, last Fast day, July 27 [July 26th], 1643. By Thomas Fuller B.D. and Minister there. I approve this Sermon as Orthodox and usefull, John Downam. London, Printed by T. B. for John Williams, at the signe of the Crowne in Pauls Church-yard. 1643. Ent. Sta. Hall, 2nd Aug. 4to. pp. ii. + 28. J. E. B.; Bodl. (4° Th. B. 6 B.S.); Brit. Mus.; Trin. Coll. Camb.*

Text: Heb. ix. 10.

P. 28, *ad calcem*: "I approve this Sermon as Orthodox and usefull.—John Downame."

There was another London edition without any printer's name, and without Downam's approbation on *title*, though it has it at the end. The former has a border of fleur-de-lys, the latter one of acorns. B. M. Pickering.

1643 (Oxford Edition): *A Sermon of Reformation. Preached at the Church of the Savoy, last Fast day, July 27 [July 26th], 1643. By Thomas Fuller B.D. and Minister there. London, Printed in the yeare of our Lord. 1643. 4to. pp. 24. (A 1 blank, A 2 title, A 3 Sermon.) Bodl. (4° Th. B. 6. B.S.); E. Riggall, Esq.; Trin. Coll. Camb. See the *Life*, p. 258.*

There are more verbal mistakes in this edition than in the former; but the punctuation is better. The use of *I* for *ŷ* is pretty uniform, but the latter is used in Williams' edition. This edition was that which was issued with *Truth Maintained*, ¶ 8.

The sermon was attacked by Saltmarsh in the following tract, the title of which is here given more exactly than at page 285. The *date* of the *Sermon of Reformation* proves to be Wednesday, July 26th (see p. 258): "Examinations, or, a Discovery of some Dangerous Positions delivered in A Sermon of Reformation Preached in the Church of the Savoy last Fast day, July 26. by Tho. Fuller B.D. and since printed. 2 Tim. 3. 5. . . . By Iohn Saltmarsh, Master of Arts, and Pastor of Heselton in Yorkshire. *Raptin Scripta*. London . . . 1643." 4to. pp. iv. + 12. J. E. B. The superscription of the author's dedication to the Assembly has been altered in the above copy. That which Fuller criticised was inscribed "To the Most Sacred and Reverend Assembly for the Reformation of the Church, now convened by the Parliament" (see p. 286). It then seems to have been amended as it here stands: "To the Reverend Divines now convened by authority of Parliament, for consultation in matters of Religion." The Assembly probably themselves made objection to Saltmarsh's epithets.

¶ 8. 1643: **Truth Maintained, Or Positions Delivered in a Sermon at the Savoy: Since Traduced For Dangerous: Now Asserted For Sound and Safe.** *By Thomas Fuller, B.D. late of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge. The Particulars are These. . . . [see page 293]. . . . Printed at Oxford, Anno Dom. 1643. 4to. pp. 24 (unpaged) + 78. J. E. B.; Brit. Mus.; Trin. Coll. Camb.; Edw. Riggall, Esq. See the *Life*, ante, p. 286 seq.*

- ¶ 9. 1644: **Jacob's Vow.** A Sermon Preached before His Majesty, and The Prince His Highnesse, at St. Maries in Oxford. The tenth of May 1644, being [Friday] the day of Publique Fast, by Thomas Fuller, B.D. and published by speciall command. Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University. 1644. 4to. pp. 27 and title. Edw. Riggall, Esq. See Fuller's *Life*, p. 325 seq. Text: Gen. xxviii. 20-2 (on back of title).

- ¶ 10. 1645: **Good Thoughts in Bad Times,** Consisting of Personall Meditations. Scripture Observations. Historicall Applications. Mixt Contemplations. By Thomas Fuller. Psal. 4. 4. 'Commune with your hearts in your Chamber, and be still.' Exeter, Printed for Thomas Hunt, 1645. 16mo. pp. x. + 250. Mr. Thomas Kerlake, of Bristol; Brit. Mus. (Thomason Collection of Civil War Tracts); Mr. B. M. Pickering lately had a copy. See the *Life*, p. 351 seq.

1645: London: By R. C. for Andrew Crook and John Williams, 18mo. (Russell).

This edition I have never met with. There is another copy in the Bodleian (Tanner, 637), different from the 1646 ed., *without title-page*, 12mo. pp. vi. + 179, which may perhaps be the missing edition. This Tanner copy is wrongly indexed in the Bodleian catalogue as *the Exeter edition*.

1646: London: Title as in Exeter ed. By Thomas Fuller, B.D. late of Sidney Coll. in Cambridge. . . . London, Printed by I. D. for John Williams at the Crowne in Pauls church-yard. 1646. 12mo. pp. viii. + 179. Bodl. (Douce, F. 14).

The 1645 London edition was first entered at Stationers' Hall on 27th Sept., 1645, by Mr. Rowntwaite, "under the hands of Mr. Crauford;" and next on the 13th Oct. in the same year, by John Williams, "by vertue of a note under the hand and seale of Mr. Routhwaite," the title in both cases being exactly given.

For other editions see ¶ 14.

- ¶ 11. 1646: **Feare of Losing the Old Light.** Or, A Sermon Preached in Exeter. By Thomas Fuller, B.D. (A crown with roses.) London, Printed by T. H. for John Williams, at the signe of the Crowne in Pauls Church-yard. 1646. 4to. pp. iv. + 26. Edw. Riggall, Esq.; King's Coll. Camb.; Bodl. (4° H. 10, Th. B.S.) Brit. Mus. (dated in a contemp. hand "June 26); J. E. B. See the *Life*, p. 363. Text: Rev. ii. 5.

¶ 12. 1646: **Andronicus, or, The Unfortunate Politician.** *Shewing* {*Sin; slowly punished.* *Right; surely rescued.* Eccles. 8. 11. 'Because sentence against a dull [sic] worke is not executed speedily, therefore,' &c. By Tho. Fuller. B.D. London, Printed by W. W. for John Williams, at the Crowne in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1646. (Ent. Sta. Hall, 24th Aug.) 12mo. 159 pp. + 16. This edition is unpagged. J. E. B.; Lee Lib., Owens Coll.; Brit. Mus. (E. III5. 1-2.); Signet Lib., Edin.

1646: SECOND EDITION: Title-page, &c. as above, except that the bracketed words are *Sin Stoutly punished. Right surely rescued.* W. W. is given in full as *W. Wilson.* Emanuel College, Camb. (12. 5. 35), the copy of Archbp. Sancroft, sometime Master, with his book-plate impaling the arms of the see of Canterbury, with the inscription, *Ex dono,* &c. The same library has another copy, T. 6. 35, without title-page); H. H. Gibbs, Esq.; Trin. Coll. Camb.

1646: London: THIRD EDITION: Title-page as 1st ed., except that "a *dull work*" is corrected to "an *ill work*," and that the words *The Second Edition* are added. The edition is, in all other respects, the same as the above. J. E. B.; Bodl. (Douce, F. 68).

1648: Included, without the preface and index, in the so-called "second" edition (1648) of *Holy and Profane State*, pages 448-502, and in all subsequent editions (see ¶ 4).

1649: London: FOURTH EDITION: Title-page as in the second edition, except that the words *The Third Edition* are added, and that it is *Printed by G. D., "1649."* In this edition the type has been set up afresh, "hee," in lines 5 and 6 of "To the Reader," being changed to "he," "molestation" at the end of the sentence to "molestration." The edition is unpagged, but there are the same number of pages as in the first. J. E. B.

This popular work was on sale in its separate form so late as 1658, it being included in that year in London's *Catalogue of the most Vendible Books in England*, sig. V 3, verso.

"One of the least-known, if not the rarest, of the productions of the quaint writer. . . . The subject of this piece is the usurpation of Andronicus, an obscure portion of the history of the Eastern Empire, which the writer has chosen for the purpose of moralising its facts and epigrammatising the records that remain concerning it." (*Ret. Rev.* New Ser. i. 396.)

1659: Amsterdam: The DUTCH EDITION. *Andronicus, Of Rampsalige Arghlistigheyt; vervattende De vvaerachtighe Historie van de korte, doch vvreede en tyrannige Regeeringe; schielijcke ondergang, en schrickelijcke doodt van ANDRONICUS COMNENUS, Keyser van Constantinopelen. Onlangs in't Engels beschreven door den Eervv. Hooggeleerden, en Zinrijcken DR. THOMAS FULLER, Hof-predicker van CAROLUS den I, Koning*

van Groot Britagnien H.L.M. En nu eerst in't Nederlants vertaelt by Iohannes Crosse, Notaris Publ. tot Amsterdam. Amsterdam, Voor Joust Playmer, Boeckverkooper op den Dam, 1659. (See translation, 383.) There is also an engraved title-page divided into nine compartments, representing various incidents, &c., and the following words: *Andronicus Comnenus, off Rampsalighe Arghlistigheyt; vervattende Syne Wreede Regieringe en Schrickelycken Doot. In 't Engels beschreven By Dr. T. Fuller, ende nu Vertaelt By I. Crosse, N.P. 12mo. pp. xxii. + 154. Brit. Mus. 12580. a. 1-3.*

This translation is not to be found in Van Abkoude's *Naamregister*, 1600—1761.

There is a review of *Andronicus* (query, by Henry Southern) in the *Retrospective Review* for 1827, 2nd Ser., vol. i. (vol. xv. from the beginning) pp. 396—406. See also this *Life*, p. 379 seq.

- ¶ 13. 1647: **The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience.** By Tho: Fuller, B.D. Prov. 18. 14. 'But a wounded conscience who can beare?' London. Printed for John Williams, at the Crowne in S. Pauls Churchyard. MDCXLVII. The preface is dated "Jan. 25, 1646." Ent. Sta. Hall "18th Feb. 1646." (Lowndes and Brewer erroneously ascribe an edition to 1646.) 12mo. pp. xiv. + 160. See the *Life*, p. 393 seq. Bodl. (8° L. 613, B. S., thus inscribed: "Fs. Wrangham, 1816. From Basil Montagu"); Cheth. Lib.; Trin. Coll. Camb.; Brit. Mus. (875, b. 6).
- 1649: London. As above. Printed by G. D. for John Williams, &c. 1649. 12mo. pp. xvi. + 160. On the fly-leaf facing the title-page is the wood-block of a crown. J. E. B.; Lee Lib. Owens Coll. (a copy of interest by reason of its containing some MS. references to extracted passages in Spencer's *Things New and Old*, § II. ¶ 19); E. Riggall, Esq. (without the crown page, the dedication beginning on A 2).
- 1810: London: 16mo. Pp. viii. + 126. Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810. Lib. Congress, U.S.
- 1812: London. "The second edition, with corrections and improvements. 'The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity; but a wounded spirit' &c. Prov. xviii. 14. London. Printed for C. Brown, 18, Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. 1812." 12mo. pp. viii. + 126. J. E. B.
- 1815: London. Another edition of the foregoing. "Printed for Booth & Co. Duke Street . . . and Nisbet . . . 1815." J. E. B.
- 1830: London. Fcap. 8vo. See under this year and 1841 in ¶ 31.
- 1863: Boston. 16mo. See ¶ 31.

1865: London. Reprinted with a few omissions, and with extracts from Fuller's *Thoughts, Holy State, &c.*, in "The Wisdom of our Fathers. Selections from the Writings of Thomas Fuller. With a Memoir. London: The Religious Tract Society [1865]." 8vo. *The Cause, &c.* occupies pp. 134—207. "This treatise, though somewhat long, is so excellent as a whole, and its parts are so closely knit together, that it scarcely admits of abridgment. It is therefore given *in extenso*, with only a few slight unimportant omissions" (p. 135).

1867 (May): London. "The Cause and Cure, &c.; also Triana; or, a Threefold Romanza, of Mariana, Paduana and Sabina; Ornithologie, or, the Speech of Birds; and Anthologia, or, the Speech of Flowers. By Thomas Fuller. D.D. . . . London: William Tegg. 1867." Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d., 3s. The first piece (which alone is by Fuller) occupies pp. 1—123.

¶ 14. 1647: **Good Thoughts In Worse Times.** *Consisting of: Personall Meditations. Scripture Observations. Meditations on the Times. Meditations on all kind of Prayers. Occasionall Meditations.* By Tho. Fuller. B.D. London, Printed by W. W. for John Williams at the Crowne in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1647: 12mo. pp. xvi. 236. The fly-leaf facing the title has a large crown, the preceding leaf the letter A (*recto*). Bodl. (Douce, F. 14); J. E. B.; Brit. M. (E. 1132); Emanuel Coll. Camb. (on back of title "Hen. Myles Coll. Emanu. praet. 8d.") The three latter copies repeat page 231 twice. Lowndes, followed by Brewer and Allibone, is of course in error when naming an edition of 1640.

JOINT EDITIONS OF THE GOOD THOUGHTS IN BAD, AND
IN WORSE TIMES, ¶¶ 10 & 14:—

1649: London: 1ST EDIT. GOOD T. IN BAD T. TOGETHER WITH GOOD T. IN WORSE T. *Consisting of Personall Meditations. Scripture Observations. Historicall Applications. Mixt Contemplations. Meditations on the Times. Meditations on all kind of Prayers. Occationall Meditations.* By Thomas Fuller. B.D. Psalm 4. 4. 'Commune with your own heart, and in your chamber, and be still.' London, Printed by W. B. for J. Williams at the Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1649. The fly-leaf facing the title has "A" on one side and a small crown on the other. Pp. vi. 86. Then succeeds a page with large oval of sun and shield, with legend. On the pages of the next leaf, "A" and the crown. A new title succeeds: GOOD T. IN WORSE T., as in orig. ed. By Thomas Fuller. B.D. Sun and shield device. London, &c. as above. 12mo. pp. viii. + 108. J. E. B. (Autograph of "Johannes Farrington. An: Do: 1649-50."); Bodl. (Ash. 1314); Brit. M. (874. b. 10).

- 1652: London: 2ND EDIT. Title as in last ed., *Hist. Applications* being omitted. Pp. iv. + 86. The second title, &c. as in last edition. 12mo. pp. viii. + 112. Brit. Mus. (874, b. 9); Lambeth Lib.
- 1657: London: 3RD EDIT. Title as in 1649. *Printed by R. D. for J. Williams at the Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard.* 1657. Pp. vi. + 86. The second title as in orig. ed. *London*, &c. as above. 12mo. pp. viii. + 112. Brit. Mus. (873. b. 33); Lee Lib. Mchr.

This is the edition evidently intended by London (who was fond of varying the titles of books) under the title: *Good Thoughts in Bad Times, Better Thoughts in Worse Times*, 12mo. (*Catalogue of most Vendible Books*, 1658, Sig. M.)

- 1659: London: 4TH EDIT. Title as in 1649. *London, Printed by I. R. for I. Williams at the Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard.* 1659. Pp. vi. + 86. The small crowns seem to be removed from both fly-leaves. The second title is the same as the 1649 ed. except that the cut is changed to a head with two small figures on each side. *London*, as above. 12mo. pp. viii. + 112. Mr. T. Atkins, of Manchester.

The Rev. A. B. Grosart's copy of this edition contains the youthful autograph of Bishop Tanner thus: "Thomas Tanner, his book. Nov. 9. 1694." Fuller, in 1659, said that his *Thoughts*, in common with other books, had passed the press oftener than was indicated on the title-page.

- 1665: London: 5TH EDIT. Title as in 1649. *London, Printed by S. G. for John Williams at the Crown and Globe in St. Pauls Church-yard* 1665. Pp. vi. + 86. Facing the title, *Fuller's Meditations* written up the page. Four blank pages, and on the next leaf *A*, and *Fuller's Meditations*. Second title also as 1649, but with a crown and globe side by side. *London. Printed by S.G., &c. as above.* 12mo. pp. viii. + 112. Bodl. (8vo. L. 616. B.S., with autograph "F. Wrangham, 1814.")

- 1669: London: 6TH EDIT. Titles again the same. *London, Printed by J.R. for John Williams.* 1669. Pp. vi. + 86. Second title also the same. 12mo. pp. viii. + 112. Brit. Mus. (856. a. 15).

- 1680: London: 7TH EDIT. Same titles, but without crown. *By Thomas Fuller, D.D. London, Printed for John Williams, &c.* 1680. 8vo. pp. iv. + 86 + 2 leaves blank + vi. + 112. Sion Coll.; H. H. Gibbs, Esq.; J. F. Fuller, Esq.; Sign. Lib. Edin.

- 1810: Oxford: 8TH EDIT. "Printed by and for J. Bartlett," &c. With a very indifferent "head" of Fuller (see *anted*, p. 500), subscribed "Tho. Fuller B.D. Pub. by I. Bartlett, Oxford, 1810." Prefaced by James Hinton, A.M. J. E. B.

"The Editor hopes that by reprinting it he shall be found to have rendered an acceptable service to the interests of religion." He says that no edition of this work appeared to have been published "since that in 1657, which has now become exceedingly scarce." Mr. Hinton's edition has, in its turn, also become scarce. Pp. xii. + 206.

1865 : London : There are extracts from the two series in "The Wisdom of our Fathers," pp. 32—122. (See ¶ 13, *sub. an.*)

: For other reprints, see ¶ 31.

- ¶ 15. 1647 : **A Sermon of Assurance.** *Fourteene yeares agoe* [i.e. 1633] *Preached in Cambridge, since in other Places. Now by the importunity of Friends exposed to publike view. By Thomas Fuller. B.D. late Lecturer in Lombard Street. (A crown.) London, Printed by J. D. for John Williams at the Signe of the Crowne in Pauls Church-yard. 1647. (See ante, p. 592.)* 4to. pp. viii. + 31. Brit. Mus. (4475. b); Bodl. (4to. B 6. Th. B. S.)
Text : 2 Pet. i. 10.

The bibliographers, &c. do not mention this edition. See the *Life*, p. 419.

1648 : London. Title as above, but dated 1648. 4to. Bodl. (Sermons, F 7); Trin. Coll. Camb.; E. Riggall, Esq.

- ¶ 16. 1648 : **A Sermon of Contentment.** *By T. F. a Minister of God's Word. Phillip. 4. 11. 'I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content.'* (A crown.) *London. Printed by J. D. for John Williams at the Crown in St. Pauls church-yard. 1648. 12mo. Unpaged. A to C in 8° including title D 2 = pp. 52. E. Riggall, Esq.; Emanuel Coll. Library, Camb. There is no copy at Brit. Mus. or Bodl.; and it is not mentioned by Lowndes or Brewer. See ante, p. 422.*
Text : 1 Tim. vi. 6.

The Emanuel Coll. copy has Sancroft's arms and inscription, *Ex dono Reverendiss. in Christo Patris Will. Sanc. A. C.* It is bound up in a volume containing several other pieces, and prefixed is an index and contents supposed to be in Sancroft's handwriting. On the title-page of the first sermon is written, "Sum ex libris Henrici Vome June 20 1646 Eton."

- ¶ 17. 1649 : **The Just Mans Funeral.** *Lately delivered in a Sermon at Chelsey, before several Persons of Honour and Worship. By Thomas Fuller. (A crown.) Printed by William Bentley, for John Williams at the Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1649. 4to. pp. ii. + 31. A deep mourning border round the title-page. Page 31, ad calcem : the wood-block of the sun and shield. Geo. W. Napier, Esq. (formerly Dr. Bliss's); Brit. Mus. (E. 582. 5, dated Nov. 27, 1649); Bodl. (Serm. 92); Trin. Coll. Camb. See ante, p. 431 seq.*
Text : Eccles. vii. 15.

- 1652: London: 12mo. Appended to the Sermons on Christ's Temptations, ¶ 19, q. v. This edition is omitted in the bibliographies.
- 1660: London: folio. At pp. 575-585, Sermon li., of *Θρηνηκος* *The House of Mourning*, without the title-page or dedication (see § II. ¶ 21).
- 1672: London: folio. As before.

¶ 18. 1650: **A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine and the Confines thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testament acted thereon.** By Thomas Fuller B.D. Gen. 43. 11, and Jer. 8. 7. . . . A crown. London, Printed by J. F. for John Williams at the signe of the Crown in Pauls Church-yard. MDCL. Ent. Sta. Hall, 15th April, 1649. Folio, pp. viii. + 442 + 202 + xviii. The engraved title-page is as above, except that History is spelt *-ie*, and that it is Printed by M. F. for Iohn Williams at ye Crowne in St. Pauls Churchyard" (no date). The shields in the Plate of Arms are all filled but one. Variations are mentioned in note 2, page 473. There are 28 other plates (as described pp. 472-476), which are mostly included in the above pagination. J. E. B.; G. W. Napier, Esq.; Chetham Lib.; Brit. Mus. (690. h. 13); Bodl.; Emanuel Coll. Camb.; Duke of Bedford's Lib., Woburn.

1652: Lowndes and Brewer mention an edition thus dated. The *Pisgah* was in 1658 advertised as on sale by London as by "Mr. Fullar."

1662: London: Engraved title-page as above (no date). The printed title as above. Printed by R. Davenport for John Williams at the Sign of the Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard. MDCLXII. Kennet (p. 724) notes its appearance in June of this year. Folio, pp. &c. as above. Rev. T. L. O. Davies, Southampton; Brit. Mus. (690. h. 14); Magdalen Coll. Lib. Oxon., with Bp. Warner's initials; Lib. Corpn. Lond.

1869 (July): London: Title as above. "With Fac-similes of all the quaint maps and illustrations of the original edition. London: William Tegg, 1869." Crown 8vo. pp. vi. + 670. 15s.; 7s. (1872).

This is a very faulty edition; printed, but not edited. The marginal notes and comments are omitted; and such spellings as *manumitted*, *array*, *knotted*, *gaiety*, &c. are put in the stead of Fuller's *manumised*, *ray*, *notted*, *gayitry*, &c. It was printed at Aberdeen.

The *Pisgah* is noticed by Oldys, *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2058-9. The *Life*, chap. xvi. Fac-similes of the Title-page and Plate of arms, pp. 470, 473. Many extracted passages are in Southey's *Common-place Books*, especially in vols. iii. and iv.

¶ 19. 1652: **A Comment on** *The eleven first Verses of the fourth Chapter of S. Matthew's Gospel, Concerning Christs Temptations.* *Delivered In XII. Sermons, at St. Clements Eastcheap, London: By Tho. Fuller, B.D. and Minister of Waltham-Abbey in Essex. London, printed by Ja: Cottrel, for George Eversden, at the golden Ball in Aldersgate-street. 1652. pp. xiv. + 188.* After two blank leaves, a fresh title (*recto*): *The Just man's Funeral. Lately delivered in a Sermon At Chelsey, before several Persons of Honour and Worship. By Tho. Fuller. London, Printed by J. C. for J. W. and G. E. and are to be sold at the golden Ball in Aldersgate-street. 1652.* The next page is blank. Page 195 begins with the Sermon, which is continued on to p. 239, the registers (O to Q) also running on from the foregoing. 8vo. J. E. B.; Richmond Lib.; Brit. Mus. (3227, a.); Trin. Coll. Camb.; E. Riggall, Esq. Bodl. (8°. δ. 63. B.S. with autograph, "Fs. Wrangham, 1814.") See *ante*, p. 510 *seq.*

Under the title of *A Treatise of Temptations* &c. this volume has a place in the 1658 *Catalogue of the most Vendible Books in England.* Sig. M 4, *recto.*

¶ 20. 1653: **Perfection and Peace:** *Delivered in a Sermon preached in the Chappel of the Right Worshipful Sir Robert Cook at Dyrdans. By Tho. Fuller B.D. London. Printed by Roger Norton for Iohn Williams at the Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard. M.DC.LIII. 8vo. pp. viii. + 24.* Brit. Mus. (E. 1244. 3, with the date Jan. 27, 1652); Bodl. (8°. C. 445 Linc.); E. Riggall, Esq.
Text: Psalm xxxvii. 37.

1653: London: another edition with title thus abridged: *Delivered in a Sermon By Tho. Fuller B.D.* (Two cuts, of a crown and rose, and crown and fleur-de-lis.) *London Printed by Roger Norton, &c. 1653. 8vo. pp. viii. + 24.* J. E. B.; Bodl. (as above).

This edition is found appended to ¶ 21. See the *Life*, p. 519.

¶ 21. 1653: **The Infants Advocate.**

Of $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Circumcision} \\ \text{and} \\ \text{Baptisme} \end{array} \right\}$ on $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Jewish} \\ \text{Christian} \end{array} \right\}$ Children.

Deut. 29. II, 12; Origen. lib. 5. ad Rom. c. 6. . . . By Thomas Fuller, B.D. London, Printed by R. Norton, for J. Williams, at the Crown in S. Pauls Churchyard.

M.DC.LIII. 8vo. pp. xxiv. + 176. The foregoing consists of Sermons delivered at Waltham Abbey. Then follows *The Infants Advocate*. Chap. xxi., consisting of a Sermon on Phil. iii. 15, *preacht at Mercers Chappel*. Febr. 6. 1652, separately paged 1—39, A to C. 8vo. J. E. B.; Brit. Mus. (E. 1431. 1, dated "May 2"); G. W. Napier, Esq.; E. R., Esq. ("Ex Libris Francisci Wyrley ex dono Authoris").

This work is advertised in London's *Catalogue of the most Vendible Books*, 1658. Sig. M 4. In old bindings *Perfection and Peace* (see ¶ 20) is added to the foregoing, the paging, &c. recommencing.

Reviewed in Russell's *Memorials*, p. 187 *seq.* A Wood (*Athen. Oxon.* iii. 1065) says that the second, 1654, and third, 1657, parts of Tombes's *Anti-paedo-baptism* have "full reviews" of the dispute on the question against (*inter alia*) Tho. Fuller. See this *Life*, p. 521 *seq.* & 526.

¶ 22. 1654: **A Comment on Ruth; Together with two Sermons:** *The one* [preacht at St. Clements; text: Ps. xi. 3], *Teaching how to Live well*. *The other* [Preacht at St. Mary's, Camb.; text: Rev. xx. 12], *Minding how to Dye well*. By Thomas Fuller, B.D. London, Printed for G. and H. Eversden, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Greyhound in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1654. The Brit. Mus. copy is dated "June 14." On the opposite page is printed from bottom to top in two lines: *Fuller's Comment on Ruth; with two sermons on speciall occasions*. 8vo. Pp. viii. + 77, A to E. A new title-page then succeeds: **A COMMENT ON RUTH: By T. F. B.D.** London, Printed for G. and H. Eversden, and are to be sold at the sign of the Greyhound in Pauls Church-yard. 1654. This page, with the dedication, occupies pp. i.—vi. There is then a fresh pagination, pp. 1—223, the signatures being continued from F to T. 8vo. Brit. Mus. (E. 1456. 2); Trin. Coll. Camb.; Richmond Library. There was another title to this edition, as follows:—

1654: **TWO SERMONS:** *The first, Comfort in Calamitie, teaching to Live well*. *The other, The Grand Assizes, minding to Dye Well*. By Thomas Fuller, B.D. London, Printed for G. and H. Eversden, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Greyhound in Pauls Church-yard. 1654. Then follows the fresh title to *Ruth*, as above, with the same pagination. 8vo. pp. vi. + 77. J. E. B.; Bodl. (Marshall, 289); Trin. Coll. Camb.

Mr. Pickering believes this to be the first printed, the order of the contents being afterwards changed. It is included among the Divinity in London's *Catalogue of the most Vendible Books*, 1658. Sig. M 4, *recto*.

Modern Editions of "RUTH:"

1865 : Edinburgh. Nichol's Series of Commentaries : "Stock and Torshell on Malachi ; and Bernard and Fuller on Ruth." The Comment on Ruth is at the end of the volume (pp. 1—40), and is edited by Rev. Thomas Smith, M.A., general editor of the series ; who says that "it were altogether out of place to give a biographical notice of Thomas Fuller, one of the best known writers of his age, in connection with the reprint of one of the smallest of his numerous writings. It may be allowed us to mention that Mr. Grosart, who has contributed so many biographical notices to the present series, has in preparation a Life of Fuller, which will be published shortly, prefixed to an edition of some of his writings about to be issued by other publishers."

1868 : *The Comment on Ruth with Notes on Jonah* (but not the above-mentioned *Two Sermons*) were published in London, edited for William Tegg by William Nichols. Crown 8vo., with electrotype medallion portrait of Fuller, 4s. 6d. ; 3s. (1872).

- ¶ 23. 1654 : **A Triple Reconciler**, *Stating the Controversies Whether Ministers have an Exclusive power of [barring¹] Communicants from the Sacrament. [Whether] Any persons Unordained may lawfully Preach. [Whether] The Lords Prayer ought not to be used by all Christians.* By Thomas Fuller, B.D. London, Printed by Will. Bentley, for John Williams at the Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard. Anno Dom. 1654. The Brit. Mus. copy is dated October 23. 8vo. pp. viii. + 144. J. E. B ; G.W.N.(whose copy once belonged to "Sim: Fuller"); E. R. The Bodl. copy has a fly-leaf with "A," and crown impress. See our *Life*, p. 535 seq.

The first subject is founded on Lev. xiii. 3 ; the second on Acts xiii. 15 ; and the third on Luke xi. 2. Preached as Sermons in London, &c.

Along with the *Reconciler* was issued, in incorrect order, ¶ 24, ¶ 6, ¶ 5, all separately paged, but thus bound up together in the two copies noticed. Bodl. (8° Th. P 8, B.S.) They are generally found in this order ; but Mr. Gibbs's copy is arranged ¶¶ 6, 5, 24.

There is mention of this treatise in the 1658 *Catalogue of the most Vendible Books in England*, Sig. M 4, *recto*. In one of the catalogues of Lilly, the Bookseller, this edition of *A Triple Reconciler* was described as having the autograph of "I. Salisbury" in an old hand.

1654 : Another edition: *Printed by Will. Bentley for Wm. Shears at the Bible in S. Paul's Church-yard. Anno Dom. 1654.* 8vo. (Russell, p. 336, who dates the edition 1654-5.)

My very kind correspondent, B. H. Beadham, Esq., of Kimbolton, who has furnished very many exact and interesting notes to this Bibliography,

¹ This word is added to the title by the anonymous biographer.

informs me that the *William Shears* connected with this edition would seem to have been a thoroughly loyal man, his token being a worthy companion to the sign of John Williams: TOVCH NOT MINE ANOINTED; Head of Charles II: Rev. FEARE GOD. HONOR THE KING; a Bible between W.S., the date 1660 above. A specimen is preserved in the Beaufoy collection, now in the possession of the Corporation of London (No. 140). In the same collection is also another (No. 140*), exactly similar, save that the date is 1664, and the letters are W. M. S. According to the Catalogue of the Beaufoy collection, privately printed in 1855 "for the use of the members of the Corporation of the City of London" (see p. 26, 2nd ed.), William Shears was living at the Bible in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, and "as a frontispiece to some of his publications, prefixed an engraving of his sign, a Bible with W. S., surrounded by the motto, FEARE GOD. HONOR THE KING, as on the token."

¶ 24. 1655: **Life out of Death.** *A Sermon Preached at Chelsey, on The recovery of an honourable Person. By Thomas Fuller. B.D. Printed for John Williams, at the Crown in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1655. (Ent. Sta. Hall by John Stafford 2nd Oct. 1654.) 8vo. pp. iv. + 27. J. E. B.; The Brit. Mus. copy (E. 1441. 3) is dated Oct. 23.; Bodl. See ¶ 23. Also the *Life*, p. 540 seq. Text: Isaiah xxxviii. 9.*

¶ 25. 1655: **The Church-History of Britain; From the Birth of Jesus Christ, Untill the Year M.DC.XLVIII. Endeavoured By Thomas Fuller. (The Crown.) London, Printed for Iohn Williams at the signe of the Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, Anno 1655. (Entered at Stationers' Hall, 14 Jan., 1655-6.) Folio. pp. viii. + 173 + viii. + 120 + viii. + 72 (paged 129-200) + 48 (paged in brackets 153-200) + 178 (paged 201-378) + 5 (371-5) + 45 (384-428) + viii. + 236 + viii. + 114 + vi. + 122 (117-238) = pp. 1159.** Several pages throughout are unpagged or mispagged. 3 Plates: Arms of the Knights joined with the monks of Ely by Wm. the Conqueror, double-paged, before cent. xi.;¹ & two single-paged plates of Lichfield Cathedral (the first by W. Hollar, second by Ro. Vaughan), Bk. iv. 174.—Also: **The History of the University of Cambridge, since the Conquest.** (The arms of the University.) *Printed in the year of our Lord, 1655. Pp. viii. + 172. Plan of Cambridge in the year 1634.*—Also: **The History of Waltham-Abby in Essex, Founded by King Harold.**

¹ In some copies the plate is found in the second book, p. 51, and p. 169.

'*Patria est ubicunq. est bene. Bene vixit, qui bene latuit.*'
 By Thomas Fuller, the Curate thereof. (Wood-block of
 a tree &c.) London, Printed in the Year, M.DC.LV. Pp.
 22. Before the Index (20 pp.) is the Plate of the Seals
 of Arms of all the mitred Abbeys in England (as far as
 Fuller could obtain them), with the arms of a few
 patrons that were omitted in the body of the book.
 J. E. B.; Chetham Lib.; Brit. Mus. (483. F. 4);
 Emanuel Coll. Camb.; Prince Lib., Boston, Mass.

1656: "AN AMENDED COPY." Folio. Title-page as
 before, the date changed to 1656. The rest of the work is the
 same, the dates of the supplementary histories being still left
 1655. Brit. Mus. (208. g. 12); Trin. Coll. Camb.; Signet Lib.

Mr. Nichols found that an edition of the *Ch.-Hist.* which he used contained
 about twenty additional emendations, "which, on comparing the correspond-
 ing pages of the two editions with each other, bear evidence of having been
 made while the several sheets in which they occur were at press, and before
 the whole impression was completed."

"I speak not this [his never altering his second and subsequent editions of
 his works] by way of attribution to myself, as if my books came forth at first
 with more perfection than other men's; but with insinuation to the reader,
 that it is but equal that I—who have been no common beggar in this kind,
 yea, never before made use of a second edition—may now have the benefit
 thereof allowed me, especially in a subject of such length, latitude, difficulty,
 variety, and multiplicity of matter." (*Appeal of Injured Innocence*, p. 293.)

In the Prince Library (now a part of the Boston, Mass., Public Library),
 so called after the Rev. Thomas Prince, an industrious annalist, who died in
 1758, aged 81, and whose books formed the nucleus of the collection, are two
 copies of the *Church-History*. One (the Sewall copy) contains many notes
 on the fly-leaves, &c. Over Fuller's address to the reader are the words,
 "Sam Sewall. Ex Libris Soceri honorandi," written by John Hull, a native of
 Market Harborough, Leicestershire. He was born in 1624, and died in New
 England 1683, holding the offices of Treasurer of Harvard College and
 Master of the Mint. Sewall's books came into the possession of his son, the
 Rev. Joseph Sewall, D.D., pastor of O. S. Church, whose library was added to
 the Prince collection. Henry Austin Whitney, Esq., of Boston, who on my
 behalf carefully examined the volume, informed me that the fly-leaves of the
 volume have been used for notes of various kinds, in one hand: *e.g.* cost
 mark, "£8 1s. 10d." On the title-page, quoting Fuller's language and page,
 is the note: "Oldwincle, in Northamptonshire, the village of my nativity,
 p. 354" (a passage which is given *ante*, p. 26); &c. At the end is a supple-
 mentary manuscript index covering two pages, as "Burying in churches, Bk.
 1. p. 7, Bk. 2. p. 103;" "Christmas day forbidden to be observed, p. 8;"
 &c. There are also on the same page some extracts about children's
 prophecies which Mr. Whitney believes to have been made as having
 some bearing upon similar prophecies by children at the time of the
 Salem witchcraft delusion, when twenty persons were executed, 1692. This
 seems the more probable, as the volume was formerly owned by Chief Justice
 Sewall (born in England in 1652; died in New England, 1730), who was of the
 Commission that tried and condemned the so-called witches, for which delu-
 sion he suffered long years of remorse, "supplicating for mercy on the Lord's
 day in the open congregation."

The second copy in the Prince collection (which may be called the *Mather* copy) has some manuscript paging. A note on the first fly-leaf indicates that it is for "Mr. Mather at Mr. Whiting's, in Copthall [?] court, in Throgmorton Street." There are two price marks: one £6; the other, £7 1s. 11d. On title-page, at head, "Humfrey Marler" is written; and at side, "I. Mather [Increase Mather?].¹ London, 1689;" and just below this, in a smaller hand, "Mather Byles." The signature of H. Marler is repeated at end of volume; and so is I. Mather's, with later date of "London, 1697." On back of title-page is Mr. Prince's book-plate, and his autograph, with private mark, thus: "T. Prince, Boston, 1735, — □" Thus the book seems to have belonged successively to Increase Mather and Thomas Prince. It is rather less stained than the other copy, and the collation agrees with it, except that, as is commonly the case, some of the plates have different positions.²

A 1656 edition in the Bodl. (Douce, F. 295) has this note: "Grotius in one of his letters says, 'He that reads Ecclesiastical History reads nothing but the folly and roguery of Churchmen.'"

In 1658 the *Church-History* was one of London's "most vendible Books." See his *Catalogue*.

Modern Editions of the "CHURCH-HISTORY:"

1837 (Oct.): LONDON: Edited by James Nichols, "With the Author's corrections," *i.e.* those acknowledged in *The Appeal*. "With a Preface and Notes." 3 vols. London: "Printed for Thos. Tegg and Son." 7 Plates. 8vo., 21s.

The orthography has been modernised, and many good English words have suffered under the process. The editor gives a list of words that he has "retained!" "With all due deference to Mr. Nichols, we want Fuller's text as he wrote it, and not as Mr. Nichols thinks good to improve it." (*Sat. Rev.*, Dec. 19, 1868.)

1840: LONDON: The second edition of the foregoing. 3 vols. 8vo.

1842 (May): LONDON: "The Third Edition" of the foregoing, "containing the last corrections of the author." 3 vols. 8vo. 27s.; 18s. (1853).

This edition, says Mr. Nichols, "will be found to contain many additional notes, and a vast number of references to that very curious perpetual commentary on the *Church-History*, Fuller's *Appeal*."

1845: OXFORD: "A new edition, in six volumes, by the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A. Oxford: at the University Press. 1845." This edition contained Dr. Fuller's anonymous *Life* and the *History of Waltham Abbey*. 8vo. Plates. 63s., afterwards 39s.

This careful edition, worthy at once of the Oxford Press and of Fuller, was enriched with particulars of the author's patrons, and with many valuable historical notes. "In compliance with the rule adopted at the University Press, the spelling of words has been remodelled throughout."

¹ Increase Mather (1639-1723) was the President of Harvard College from 1685 to 1701, of which he was a graduate. He was a native of New England, but preached at several places in Devonshire and Isle of Guernsey until 1661, when he retired to America. He visited Eng-

land from 1688 to 1692. His eldest son, Cotton Mather, was the author of *Magnalia*.

² The collations of these two copies are due to the courtesy of Justin Winsor, Esq., of the Public Library, Boston, and to his efficient assistant, Mr. F. B. Perkins.

1868 (Aug.): LONDON: The fourth edition of Nichols's edition. In 3 vols. crown 8vo. 7 Plates. London: Wm. Tegg, 21s. Printed at Aberdeen.

Modern Editions of the Supplementary Histories :—

1840: LONDON: "The Hist. of the University of Cambridge, and of Waltham Abbey. With the Appeal of Injured Innocence. . . . A new edition. With Notes, by James Nichols. . . . London: Printed for Thomas Tegg, 73 Cheapside. 1840.' 8vo. pp. xxiv. + 688. 5 Plates, viz. the Plan of Camb.; the arms of Patrons; the Founders of Colleges; two Plates of the views of Colleges. 14s.; 5s. 6d. (1860); 14s. (1868).

In this volume also words were "changed for others their cognates in meaning and derivation;" and others were "retained!" as before.

"Three distinct productions, all of them necessary to the completion of Fuller's *Church-History*."

There are two long notes: On the mathematical studies of the University; and On the "Ecclesiastical peculations of Dr. Cornelius Burgess during the Inter-regnum, and their infelicitous termination."

The work was two years in passing through the press. The delay was due to the announcement of Mr. Prickett's edition of the *Hist. Camb.* (see the next-mentioned edition); but ascertaining that that gentleman's notes were intended to be strictly local and antiquarian, Mr. Nichols began to alter his own plan by "delineating the more modern intellectuality of Cambridge." This he proposed to do by biographical notices of eminent members of the University; but the design proving too vast, it was abandoned. Mr. Nichols looked forward to a time when he might "finish a series of original literary sketches concerning those learned Cambridge-men who have rendered themselves famous." (*Preface*.)

1840: CAMBRIDGE: "The Hist. Univ. Cambridge. . . . Edited by The Late Rev. Marmaduke Prickett, M.A., F.S.A., Chaplain of Trinity College. And Thomas Wright, Esq. M.A., F.S.A. &c. of Trinity College. With illustrative notes. Cambridge: Printed at the University Press. . . . M.DCCC.XL." 8vo. 12s.

"The text is a faithful reproduction of the orig. ed. except that the spelling of the words has been modernised." The orthography of proper names has also been made uniform; but it is not done with that exactness that one is led to expect. This is the most worthy modern edition of Fuller's book.

1735: "The History of the Ancient Town and once Famous Abbey of Waltham. . . . To which is added The History of Abbies, abridg'd. . . . By J. Farmer of Waltham Abbey, Gent. . . . London, 1735." 8vo.

This work begins with the same remark as did Fuller's *History*, the whole of which, with alterations, is embodied in the work with scarce an acknowledgment. It had an engraving of the church, and other illustrations. "Besides our author's *Hist. Walth. Abbey*, there is another lately published by one J. Farmer, but much abstracted from Fuller." (*The Malone Worthies*, § Essex, p. 317.)

The *Church-History* was attacked in *Examen Historicum: or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some modern Histories. Occasioned by the Partiality and Inadvertencies of their Severall Authours. By Peter Heylin. In Two Books. . . . London, Printed for*

*Henry Seile and Richard Royston, and are to be sold over against S. Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, and at the Angel in Ivy-Lane. 1659. 8vo.—Part I.: Containing Necessary Animadversions on the Church-History of Britain, and the History of Cambridge. Publisht by Thomas Fuller. For vindication of the Truth, the Church, and the injured Clergy. . . . London, 1659. Pp. xxxii. + 294. (The second part, pp. viii. + 230 + ii., related to Sanderson's *Hist. of the Stuarts.*) Brit. Mus. (296. K. 20).*

¶ 26. 1656: **A Collection of [Four] Sermons . . . Together with Notes upon Jonah.** By Thomas Fuller. Mat. 13. 52. 'An housholder bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.' London, Printed for John Stafford, and are to be sold at the sign of the George neer Fleet-bridge. 1656 (about April). Ent. Sta. Hall, Jan. 23, 1655-6. 8vo. pp. ii. (+ the Sermons, *q. v.*). J. E. B.; Bodl. (Mason, AA. 353).

The FOUR SERMONS, which have separate paginations, &c., are as follows:—

[1] *The Best Employment.* Mat. 15. 30. . . . By Thomas Fuller. London, Printed for John Stafford in George-yard neer Fleet-bridge. 1656. Pp. vi. + 31.

Text: Acts x. 38: "Who went about doing of good."

[2] *A Gift for God alone.* S. Luke 10. ver. 27. . . . London, printed for John Stafford at Fleet-bridge. 1655. Pp. ii. + 22.

Text: Prov. xxiii. 26.

[3] *The True Penitent.* Prov. 28. 13. . . London. As above. 1655. Pp. ii. + 27.

Text: Luke xxii. 61.

[4] *The Best Act of Oblivion.* Eccles. 12. 1. . . . London. As above. 1655. Pp. ii. + 29. On p. 30 of the Bodl. copy, and of Mr. Riggall's copy, is Stafford's device, as at page 43 of the succeeding *Notes*; but it is missing in my copy. The next leaf in both copies (a blank) has been cut out.

Text: Psalm xxv. 7.

The registers of the above run from A to I 4. Then follows (under registers *a* to *c* 7):—

Notes upon Jonah. By Thomas Fuller. London, Printed for John Stafford in George-yard neer Fleet-bridge. 1656. Pp. ii. + 42. Upon page 43 (*recto*) is Stafford's emblematic device marked "I. S."

Upon chap. i. verses 1—7.

1657: Two of the above, viz. *The Best Employment* and the *Notes upon Jonah*, have title-pages dated 1657. The year of the other three sermons is still 1655, and of the general title-page 1656. Brit. M. (1024. a. 1); J. F. Fuller, Esq. The leaf before the *Notes*, cut out in the 1656 edition, is in Mr. Fuller's copy filled up with the following title-page: *Divine Meditations upon Severall Subjects. Whereunto is annexed God's Love, and Man's Unworthinesse . . . Written by John Quarles.* London . . . 1657.

The Anon. *Life* terms this collection, "Another 8 (*i.e.* oct.-vol.) of Sermons." Mr. Russell (page 283) mentions that the copy he had seen contained "an indifferent portrait of the author," viz. the *Abel* engraving.

This volume is advertised in London's *Catalogue*, 1658, Sig. M 4.

1868 : London: Tegg's reprint of the 1657 edition of *Notes on Jonah*, Cr. 8vo. Pp. 179—213 of the volume noticed in ¶ 22.

The editor observes that "they have the appearance, here and there, of being jottings for pulpit use, which, like the *Comment on Ruth*, Fuller published simply in defence against the pirates who preyed on the renown of the popular divine. But, fragments as these *Notes* are, we can trace everywhere in them the original engraving, the inimitably inwoven water-marks of the genuine paper of the Fullerian bank of ready wit and sterling piety. How thoroughly autographic is the following: 'Away then with the Anabaptist, who would set all men *at odds* by making all men *even!*' And the very next sentence is like unto it: 'For a Commonwealth to want a chief, it is the chief of all wants.'" (Page v.)

¶ 27. 1657: **The Best Name on Earth.** *Together with severall other [3] Sermons, lately preached at S. Brides; and in other places. By Tho. Fuller, Batchelour in Divinitie.* (An ornament.) London. Printed by R. D. for John Stafford, at the George at Fleet-Bridge. 1657. *The Best Name* is entered at Sta. Hall on 14 April, 1656; and the three Sermons 23 Jan. 1655-6. 8vo. pp. iv. + 43. Brit. Mus. (E. 1582. 1; "Aug. 1" added in ink). There is the 4to. *Abel* portrait of Fuller, and view of "Antiochia," with two figures in foreground, signed "W. Hollar." No verse by Quarles. The Bodl. copy (with autograph "F. Wrangham, 1813") and Mr. Rig-gall's (once Mr. Mitford's) contain neither of the engravings.

Text: Acts xi. 26.

The three, or "Several other Sermons," were delivered, in former years, "in a private parish near London." No. 2 had been preached in 1654; and Nos. 1 and 3 in 1656, or earlier. They were not at first published (although printed), for "private reasons." They have distinct paginations; but the register A—M 4, runs through the book in eights. The following are the separate titles:—

[1] *The Worst of Evils. . . . By T. F. B.D.* (Ornament.) London, printed by R. Daniel, MDCLVI. Pp. ii. + 33.

Text: Eph. ii. 3.

[2] *The Snare Broken. . . . By T. F. B.D.* (Ornament.) London. Printed by R. Daniel, for J. S. 1656. Pp. 23.

Text: Gen. xlix. 6. (On the Powder Plot: preached in 1654.)

[3] *Strange Justice. . . . By T. F. B.D.* London. Printed by R. Daniel, for J. S. MDCLVI. Pp. 45.

Text: Judges xix. 30. (An Assize Sermon, preached, apparently, at Dorchester.)

See London's 1658 *Catalogue of most Vendible Books*, Sig. M 4.

1659: ANOTHER EDITION. Same title. By T. Fuller &c. (Ornament.) London, Printed for the use and benefit of William Byron, Gent. 1659. 8vo. pp. as before. An engraved frontispiece, signed John Stafford, Exc^u: 1657. Other copies are signed Hollar, fec. (See N. & Q. 5th Ser. ii. 146.) It represents two men in the foreground, and at the top is written *Antiochia* (with reference to the first sermon). *Fullers Sermons* engraved beneath, with these lines:—

“Behold this ancient City, from whence came
(As from ye sacred Font) the Christians name:
Heaven grant y^t our once famous London may
What Antioch gave, in time not take away.

JO[HN]: QU[ARLES].”

—Emanuel Coll. Camb. (H. 6. 32); E. Riggall, Esq.

A royal panegyric under a most fulsome and sonorous title (*The Most Glorious Star, &c.*), written by Edw. Mathew, of the Middle Temple, Esq., was printed in London, 1661-2-3-4, for the use and benefit of this Wm. Byron.

1659: London: ANOTHER EDITION. Title as before. Printed for John Stafford, and are to be sold at the sign of the George near Fleet-bridge, 1659. The rest as before, the year 1656 remaining unaltered. No engravings. Brit. M. (1024. a. 2; on the title of which is written in ink “John Brand. To this was prefixed Hollars view of Antioch.”)

Editions of this sermon are very rare. Possibly the absurd mania for Hollars caused it to be sought after. This also may explain why so few copies have the plate. A copy sold at Puttick’s in 1855 for £2 7s.

¶ 28. 1657: **A Sermon preached at S^t Clemens Danes, at the Funeral of Mr. George Heycock.** By Thomas Fuller, B.D. Eccles. 7. 2. . . . London, Printed by R. W. Anno Dom. 1657. 4to. pp. iv. + 22. Brit. M. (4903. f.)
Text: Acts xiii. 36.

A later edition of this Sermon is indexed in Clavell’s *General Catalogue of Books, Printed in England since 1666*, § Divinity in 4to.

1660 } Reprinted, without the “Address to the friends
1672 } of the party deceased” in the *second* (Serm. lii. pp. 587—595) and third editions of *Θρηνησιος*: *The House of Mourning*, under the title of *The Righteous Mans Service to his Generation*. (See § II. ¶ 14.)

Qy., was Heycock the founder of Heycock’s Ordinary in the Strand, which was much frequented by Parliament men and gallants, and was the scene of an incident in the life of Andrew Marvell?

¶ 29. 1659: **The Appeal of Injured Innocence: unto The Religious, Learned and Ingenuous Reader.** In a controversie betwixt the Animadvertor Dr. Peter Heylyn, and The Author Thomas Fuller. 1 Kings 5. 7. ‘See how he seeketh a Quarrel against me.’ Terent. in Eunuch.

'*Responsum non dictum est, quia laesit prior.*' London, Printed by W. Godbid, and are to be sold by John Williams at the Crowne in St. Paul's Churchyard. M.D.CLIX. Ent. Sta. Hall, 5th Feb. 1658-9. Folio, pp. iv. + 72 + 103 + 81 + 5. Brit. Mus.; Trin. Coll. Dub.; Bodl. (Douce, F. subt. 42, containing a few pencil memoranda by Douce, and the following inscriptions: "Fran. Sharp 1758;" "The Gift of my dear sister Frances Sharp to Granville Sharp"); H. H. Gibbs, Esq.; Trin. Coll. Camb.; Emanuel Coll. Camb. (with inscription *Coll. Eman. Cantab. Ex dono Johannis Breton. S: T: P: hujus Coll. M^{ri}.* Breton, who obtained his degree at the same time as Fuller, succeeded Sancroft in the Mastership.) (See chap. xx.)

A Wood said that *The Appeal* was commonly bound up with the remaining copies of *The Church-History*; but it is rarely met with along with it, or indeed alone. Lilly (June, 1863) had a copy priced £3 13s. 6d., the former price having been £5 5s. He had this note: "From some reason, but probably it was suppressed by the amiable, kind-hearted author, it is extremely scarce."

1840: London: See the edition ¶ 25 under this year.

The *Appeal* occupies more than half of the volume. This edition is valuable in that it contains the whole of Heylyn's *Animadversions* from the *Examen Historicum*.

The *Appeal* was replied to in CERTAMEN EPISTOLARE, or, the Letter-Combat. Managed by Peter Heylyn D.D. With 1. Mr. Baxter of Kederminster. 2. Dr. Barnard of Grays-Inne. 3. Mr. Hickman of Mag. C. Oxon. And 4. J. H. of the City of Westminster, Esq.; With 5. an Appendix to the Same in Answer to some passages in Mr. Fullers late '*Appeal.*' . . . London, 1659. 8vo. pp. xvi. + 310. Then pp. ii.: *An Appendix to The former Papers Containing an Exchange of Letters Between M. Thomas Fuller of Waltham, And Dr. Peter Heylyn of Abingdon; With an Examination of some Passages in Mr. Fullers late 'Appeal for Injured Innocence.'* Tacit de vita Agric. '*Nihil appettere ob jactationem, nihil ob formidinem Recusare.*' London, Printed in the Year, 1659. Pp. 311—399.

Connected with this controversy was *A Review of the 'Certamen Epistolare' Betwixt Pet. Heylyn D.D. And Hen. Hickman B.D. Wherein the exceptions of the Dr. against Mr. H.'s arguments are all taken off, and our first Reformers proved not to hold with the Arminians. Also a Reply to Mr. Pierce his late virulent Letter to the aforesaid Dr. By Theophilus Churchman.* . . . London, Printed for Iohn Adams, Bookseller in Oxford, 1659. 12mo. Qy. the Author? Theophilus Churchman was the pseudonym used by Heylyn, who refers to him as "T. C. the younger," in reference at once to the initials of the assumed name, and to Cartwright. Heylyn adds that the pamphleteer used the letters "to work me into a suspition of some eminent persons, and such as must be also of my persuasions." "There is nothing in the author but the stoln name of Theophilus Churchman." (See the Preface to the *Historia Quinqu-Articularis.*) He reverts to the pamphlet in the postscript: "Whether this author be a Cerberus with three heads, or a Smectymnuus with five, or but a single Shimei only (for it is differently reported), is all one to me."

¶ 30. 1660: **An Alarum to the Counties of England and Wales**, with the Oath, of Abjuration, For ever to be abjur'd. or, The sad Malady, and sole Remedy of England. By a Lover of his Native Country. Printed in the year, 1660. 4to. pp. 14. Bodl. (Pamphlets, 112).

At page 3 is the heading: *An alarum to the Counties of England and Wales. With the Ab-renunciation of the Oath.*

1660: ANOTHER EDITION. Title as above. Dated 1660; but the two last figures have been altered to "-59 feb:" by A Wood. At page 3 is the heading thus varied: *An Alarum to the Counties of England and Wales. With the Oath of Abjuration for ever abjur'd.* 4to. pp. 14. Bodl. (Wood, 610. x.). The tract itself is from the same type as the foregoing.

1660: ANOTHER EDITION at pp. 66—73 of A HAPPY HANDFULL, or GREEN HOPES IN THE BLADE; *In order to a Harvest, of the Several Shires, humbly petitioning, or heartily Declaring for Peace.* A crown. Psal. 34. 14. 'Seek Peace, and follow after it.' London, Printed for John Williams at the Sign of the Crown in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1660. 4to. pp. iv. + 83. Brit. Mus. (100. g 12.) indexed under the publisher's name. This copy is followed in the text, pp. 657—662.

¶ 31. 1660: **Sixty Contemplations in Better Times.** By Thomas Fuller. B.D. (Ornament.) 'Let your moderation be known to all men. The Lord is at Hand.' London, Printed by R. D. for Iohn Williams, at the Signe of the Crown, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1660. Dedication dated May 2, 1660. 12mo. pp. viii. + 79 + 1 blank. The Second set of Fifty Thoughts pp. 76. J. E. B.; Lee Lib. Mchr.; Bodl. (Tanner, 637, with the Bishop's autograph. The Douce copy, F. 91, is mispaged from p. 64 onwards in pt. ii.); Signet Lib. See p. 663 seq.

WITH THE FORMER SERIES ¶¶ 10 AND 14:—

1830 (March): London: William Pickering. Printed by D. A. Talboys, Oxford. 12mo. pp. viii. + 365. With a reduced portrait of Fuller engraved by T. A. Dean after Loggan. This edition has an appreciative but anonymous preface dated 1st Feb. 1830. J. E. B.

1830 or 1831: London: [SECOND EDITION] in fcap. 8vo. with the same portrait; W. Pickering. To this edition was appended *The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience* (pp. 263—358). 6s.

1841: London: [THIRD EDITION]. Fcap. 8vo. Edited, for Wm. Pickering, by A. T. R., i.e. the author of *The Memorials of Fuller*, who wrote the preface, dated March 9th, 1841.

1852: LONDON (in tract form, thus headed): "Selections from Good Thoughts in Bad Times. By Thomas Fuller, D.D. Born 1608, died 1661. (First published in the time of the Civil Wars, 1645.) London, Printed by Gilbert and Rivington, St. John's Square. For the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. Price one penny."

"No. 1" contains: Personal Meditations, Scripture Observations, Historical Applications, Mixt Contemplations. 12mo. pp. 24.—"No. 2" has this heading: "Selections from Good Thoughts in Worse Times (1647), and Mixt Thoughts in Better Times (1660), by Thomas Fuller, D.D." It contains: Personal Meditations, Scripture Observations, Meditations on all kinds of Prayers, Mixt Contemplations. 12mo. pp. 24. Brit. Mus. (4406. f.).

1863: LIVERPOOL: Edward Howell. 12mo. With an engraved portrait. A very carelessly edited book.

1863: BOSTON: "Good Thoughts in Bad Times, &c.," with a preface. 16mo. This volume also contained *The Cause and Cure*.

¶ 32. 1660: **A Panegyrick** TO HIS MAJESTY on his *Happy Return*. By Tho. Fuller B.D. London, Printed for John Playford, at his shop in the Temple, 1660. 4to. pp. ii. + 12. 42 stanzas. Bodl. (Malone, 746).

A later but briefer edition of 25 stanzas appeared in the *Worthies*.

Mr. Grosart, who reprinted the *Panegyric* (pp. 91—105) in his Fuller's *Poems, &c.*, had a copy which, "in virgin state, uncut edges," cost £2 2s.

¶ 33. 1662: **The History of the Worthies of England.** Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller, D.D. (Ornament.) London, Printed by J. G. W. L. and W. G. MDCLXII. Folio, pp. iv. + 368 + 354 + 232 + iv. + 60. J. E. B.; Emanuel Coll. Camb. (on fly-leaf, *Ex annuo reditu Dni. Fr. Ash*: see Appendix, p. 778); Bodl. (Gough, Gen. Top. 148); Cheth. Lib.; Trin. Coll. Camb.; Sign. Lib. Portrait by D. Loggan. (See chap. xxii.)

1662: Another impression: *Printed for Thomas Williams* by the above.

Lilly's Catalogue, June 1859, had a copy dated 1662, in old gilt binding, £6 16s. 6d., with the following note: "There is a remarkable variation in the title of this copy, which J. Lilly, though he has had many copies of this work, never observed but in one other copy. It is as follows: 'The History of the Worthies of England, who for Parts and Learning have been eminent in the several Counties. Together with an Historical Narrative of the Native Commodities and Rarities of each County.' Lowndes makes no mention of copies with this title." From another catalogue of the same bookseller, marked as issued in June, 1863, we learn that the 'one other copy' was then in the library of the Earl of Ashburnham. Dr. Laing's copy has both titles.

To numerous copies there was added in the eighteenth century *An*

Alphabetical Index to Fuller's Worthies of England, pp. xii. It had only recently been made when Oldys wrote. This is only an index to the *Lives*: a perfect index to the *names* is still a desideratum.

"Fuller must be always read with a certain degree of caution: for he was fond of a joke, and often picked up intelligence in a slovenly manner. There was a time when a fine copy of the folio *Worthies*, with a rich warm impression of the portrait, was worth £12 12s.; that time will never again return, because the new quarto edition of the same work, in two vols., is in reality the better edition, having corrections and a few additions, and being obtainable for one-third of the money." (Dibdin's *Lib. Comp.* p. 518.)

"Quoique rédigé d'une manière indigeste et laissant beaucoup à désirer, cet ouvrage est intéressant, et l'édition in-fol. que nous citons se paye encore de 3 à 5 guinées en Angleterre, malgré la réimpression, avec les corrections et des notes de Jean Nichols." (Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*.)

At the sale of George Steevens's curious library, in May 1800, a copy of the *Worthies* was purchased for £43. It was described as "a very fine copy in russia, with the portrait by Loggan, and Index, a most extraordinary and matchless book; the late Mr. Steevens having bestowed uncommon pains in transcribing every addition to render it valuable, written in his peculiarly neat manner." (*Notes and Q.*, 2nd Ser. v. 149.)

"This copy," says Mr. Fry, "was purchased by the late Mr. Malone, in whose collection it still remains." Mr. Isaac D'Israeli states, however, that Steevens's copy contained a *transcript* [from Oldys's copy] of Oldys's notes (*Curiosities Lit.*, 2nd Ser. iii. 469, ed. 1823.)" (*N. & Q.*, 3rd Ser. i. 84.) It is not now known what became of Oldys's copy. Mr. Steevens's is now preserved in the Bodleian (Malone, 3). It contains a MS. letter to Mr. Malone, from Mr. Harris, "being desirous of seeing his old friend the late Mr. Stephens's notes on Fuller's Worthies," and begging the loan of the same, Sept. 8, 1800. It has the autograph signature of Mr. Ralph Thoresby, and the following note: "Throughout this book the notes marked T with the asterisk are Mr. Thoresby's, *i.e.* transcripts from his copy. Those marked with an O, and many others, are from a copy belonging to Mr. Oldys, with his MS. additions, &c.—G. S." The very numerous and neatly written notes and corrections are of value, and would prove useful when a worthy edition of the book is contemplated. It is paged throughout in MS., and at the end is an index in the writing of Thoresby, as also the printed index.

The Bodleian possesses another annotated copy (S. 3, 12), once Hearne's ("Suum cuique. Tho: Hearne"), who further notes on the title-page: "I bought this book (with the MS. notes) out of the study of the late Dr. John Baron, Master of Balliol College." Dr. Bliss has added that the notes are out of Wood's *Athenæ*. On the blank page are the lines—

"Pulveribus (Fuller!) tua sacris ossa manebunt
Cum tua laus ingens vivet in omne seculum."

As mentioned in the text, Fuller had been forestalled in his title by two other publications. (1) By William Winstanley,¹ in *England's Worthies. Select Lives of the most Eminent Persons of the English Nation from Constantine the Great down to the Death of Oliver Cromwell, late Protector*. Lond. 1660. (British Museum, "1659" in MS.) 8vo. Again, 1684, 8vo. He mentions Fuller as a "parcel-Historian" who had done excellently in particular lives. His interview with Fuller, in reference to their common

¹ "Availing himself of Fuller's *Worthies* and the *Theatrum Poetarum*, one Winstanley, a barber, published in 1687 a volume,

which, though full of inaccuracies, has yet the merit of being the first *Corpus Poetarum*." (*Edin. Rev.* vii. 284.)

labours, has already been related. (2) A second similar copyist was David Lloyd in his *State Worthies*, &c., London,; 2nd ed. 1665; 3rd, 1670; again, 1766 (a different work to the *Memoires* of the same author, 1668). This writer (1635-91) was an Oxfordshire Rector, and Reader at the Charterhouse under Dr. Thruscross. According to the Oxford antiquary, Lloyd was a conceited and confident person who took much upon him to transmit to posterity the memoirs of great personages. Lloyd's lives are rather compilations than biographies. "He hath obtained among knowing men not only the character of a most impudent Plagiary, but a false writer and mere scribbler." Charles Whitworth, the editor of the 1766 ed. of Lloyd's *State Worthies*, added, vol. ii. p. 377, "An *Appendix*, containing some lives extracted from Winstanley's *Worthies*; which tho' they may not perhaps be wrote with the spirit and conciseness of Lloyd's, yet may properly accompany his." Fuller's life was among the number.

(3) The title and design of Fuller's work was further copied in—

1684: *Anglorum Speculum, or the Worthies of England, in Church and State. Alphabetically digested into the several Shires and Counties therein contained; wherein are illustrated the lives and characters of the most eminent persons since the Conquest to this present age. Also an account of the commodities and trade of each respective county, and the most flourishing cities and towns therein.* London, Printed for John Wright, &c. 1684. 8vo. pp. vi. + 974 + 16. J. E. B.; Sion Coll.; the Lib. of Congress, U.S.

This is really an abridgment of the *Worthies of England*, with additions. The preface is signed "G. S.," who remarks: "Dr. Fuller, in his large History in folio, did go a great way in this matter; but here is included the lives of many more eminent heroes and generous patrons, . . . this being done with that brevity which may be more beneficial to the reader."

The second part of *An Hist. Dict. of England and Wales*, 1692, is taken from Fuller's Lives in the *Worthies*.

1811: London: TWO-VOLUME Edition. "With a few explanatory notes by John Nichols, F.S.A., Lond., Edinb. and Perth." Folio. A Life of Fuller, said to have been founded upon one by the Rev. Dr. Ralph Heathcote, Rector of Morton, Derbyshire. 4to. £5 5s. This edition preserved Fuller's text pure and unmixed, and retained Fuller's orthography. The editor, who was one of the proprietors of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, was assisted by Mr. Bindley, Mr. Malone, Mr. A. Chalmers, Mr. Henry Ellis, Mr. Philip Bliss, &c.

Dr. Nuttall unfavourably criticised this edition, characterising many of the notes as jejune and inapplicable. "For instance, there could be little interest in informing the reader—aldermannic gastronomy being no longer appreciated as a civic accomplishment—that Mr. Nichols perfectly concided in opinion with Dr. Fuller on the 'important topic' that *cow-heele* well-dressed is good meat, that a cook when hungry may lick his fingers after it!" The passage is in reference to John Cowel, the *Interpreter*; but neither Nichols nor Nuttall point out that Fuller is making a pun on the Chief-Justice Coke, or Cook. § Devonsh. p. 262.

1840: London: THREE-VOLUME Edition. "Containing brief notices of the most celebrated Worthies of England who have flourished since the time of Fuller; with explanatory notes and copious indexes. By P. Austin Nuttall, LL.D." The Life of Fuller as in the foregoing. Post 8vo. £1 7s.; 18s. (1860).

1841: [Carlisle Tracts:] "The History of the Worthies of Cumberland and Westmoreland. By Thomas Fuller, D.D. . . . To which are added, Memoirs of the Author. Carlisle. . . . MDCCCLXI." 8vo.

A reprint of the portions of the *Worthies* relating to those counties.



§ II. AS CONTRIBUTOR, EDITOR, TRANSLATOR, &c.

¶ I. 1631: VERSES ON THE birth (Nov. 4) of the PRINCESS MARY, &c., in **Genethliacum Illustrissimorum Principum Caroli & Mariae a Mvsis Cantabrigiensibus celebratum**. Camb. Press device. ¶ *Excusum Cantabrigiae*. 1631. 4to. pp. ii. + 104. Fuller's poem is at p. 7. J. E. B. See the *Life*, p. 120, and Grosart's *Fuller's Poems*, p. 110.

¶ 2. 1633: VERSES ON THE KING'S RETURN from Scotland (June), in **Rex Redux, sive Musa Cantabrigiensis voti damnas** [sic] *De incolunitate & felici reditu regis CAROLI post receptam coronam comitiaq; peracta in Scotia*. ¶ *Ex Academiae Cantabrigiensis Typographeo, Ann. Dom. MDCXXXIII*. 4to. 96 pp. Bodl. See the *Life*, p. 149.

Incorrectly printed in Grosart's *Fuller's Poems*, p. 111. The following is the first of Fuller's two poems (p. 55):—

Scotiae & Angliae mutua disceptatio.

- Scotia*. Nunquid ut exires venisti, Carole? nunquid
Major natali non mora danda solo?
- Angl*. Nunquid in aeternum discedis, Carole? nunquid
Immemor Arctoo Phoebus in orbe manet?
- Scot*. Parcus ades, mensisque dies vix una videtur,
Visa dies laetae vix brevis hora mihi.
- Angl*. Longus abes, brevis hora dies, lux singula mensis,
Hic visus miserae [sic] secula multa mihi."

¶ 3. 1632 (circa): **Dr. Fuller's Observations of the Shires.**

This humorous paper (already spoken of, page 139) exists in the handwriting of Archbp. Sancroft, and is among his MSS. given to the Bodleian Library by Bishop Tanner (vol. lxxxviii. p. 561). I have not ascertained whether it was published in Fuller's lifetime: nor have I found any reference to it. It was reprinted in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. i. pp. 222—226, Art. xxiii. (Oxford, 1781, 8vo.) Though in Sancroft's title Fuller's Christian name is omitted, his *Church-History* is named a few pages further on in the extracts (p. 569), in connection with the translators of the Bible. Moreover in the correspondence between Brounrig and Sancroft in 1651, the latter

refers to Fuller as "Mr. Fuller." (See p. 513, *anted.*) "Sancroft was particularly diligent as a transcriber. It appears to have been his constant habit to transfer to his common-place books, with the most persevering industry, copious extracts from the printed or manuscript works which he perused. . . . The consequence is that the MSS. which he left behind him are extremely voluminous. It has been said that no person transcribed so much with his own hand." (D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*, ii. 73).

¶ 4. —? A LIFE OF DEAN COLET [1466—1519] in **Daily Devotions**; or, *the Christians Morning and Evening Sacrifice.*

This book commonly passed under Colet's name. On the authority of a note in Knight, Oldys remarked that the book was not all of Colet's composition; and Messrs. C. H. & T. Cooper, who had not ascertained when the little work was first printed, also say that its authenticity appeared questionable. (*N. & Q.* 3rd Ser. iv. 94.) Pits gives the original of the work as *Vita hominis Christiani*; printed in English in 1534, 1563, and 1577, in 8vo. The Rev. J. H. Lupton has the following note (p. 26, *Colet's Sacraments*):—"I think I can trace the history of the book. In 1577 there was printed for Gabriel Cawood a little volume (Brit. Mus. C. 21. a.) consisting of three treatises: (1) *A righte fruitfull admonition, concerning the order of a good Christian man's life . . . made by the famous Doctour Colete*; (2) *A Godly Treatise, declaring the benefits . . . of Prayer. Written in Latin fourtie years past by an Englishman of great virtue and learning*; (3) *A breife Treatise exhorting Sinners to Repentance*. The first of these treatises was prefixed to a volume which grew and altered, somewhat after the manner of a modern hymn-book, and gradually caused the name of *Colet's Daily Devotions* to be given to the whole. I have seen the 19th, 20th, and 22nd editions (1684-1722), and in the first of these three, Colet's treatise is still left *unpaged*." He adds in the text: "The first piece alone, headed in the later editions *An Useful Direction in order to a good Christian Life*, but in the original *A right fruitfull Admonition, &c.*, is Colet's composition." The 1563 ed. is in the Bodleian Library (8°. 557. B.S.).

Lowndes and Brewer state that Fuller's notice of Colet was prefixed to a 1635 edition, 12mo. On the other hand, Mr. Russell mentions an edition of 1641, by H. Myriel, 24mo., as containing it. Lowndes names a 1641 edition in 8vo. (p. 495). See this *Life*, p. 200.

Smith, in his edition of Colet's *Sermon of Conforming and Reforming*, 1661, says of eighteen books enumerated as Colet's by Pits, that he had seen none but two, "unless I may reckon that small tract for one of them which is prefixt to his *Private Devotions*, 'printed for I. Benson.' If any man know where any other of his pieces be, he is entreated to give notice thereof, either to me, or to M. Crumleholme, or to M. Morden, Bookseller in Cambridge, that they may be publish'd."

There are no copies of this once popular book at the Bodleian or the Cambridge University Library. I only possess notes of the following editions:—

1666 (or earlier): An edition is advertised in Clavell's "Catalogue of Books, printed in England since . . . 1666" (p. 22). "Printed for G. Widows and Chr. Smith."

1671: "Dr. Collet's Daily Devotions, or the New Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice." 24mo. *N. & Q.*, 3rd Ser. iv. 47.

1673: An Edition in possession of R. S. Collet, Esq. (Rev. J. H. Lupton, M.A.). The Guildhall Lib. Lond.

1684: 19TH EDITION, 12mo., 269 pp. & table.—Brit. Mus. (3,466. c. the only edition); Dr. Williams's Lib.; Clavell's Catal., 1684.

With the preceding editions in view, A Wood says: "Printed at London several times in twelves and sixteens. Before one impression, if not more, of this book is Dr. Colet's Life, tritely and imperfectly written by Thomas Fuller, of Waltham, in Essex, being mostly the same with that in his *Abel Redivivus*." (*Athen. Oxon.* i. 26.)

Knight also wrongly attributes to Fuller the memoir of Colet in *Abel Redivivus*, not noticing that it was one of the lives which the publisher got transcribed. Knight adds: "Excepting the face before it, there is nothing to be commended. It is a verbal translation of the Epistle of Erasmus to Jodocus Jonas, without any notice from whence it is taken: and some things are overstrained beyond the sense of the original." (*Life of Colet*, Oxf. 1823, p. 218.)

1693: 20TH EDITION, 12mo., with Portrait, by J. Sturt (Lowndes; Darling). Sion Coll.

1700: 21ST EDITION. "Daily Devotions. Or the Christians Morning and Evening Sacrifice. Digested into Prayers and Meditations for every Day in the Week, and other occasions. With some short Directions for a Godly Life. By John Colet, D.D., Dean of St. Pauls, London, and Founder of that famous School near adjoining. The one and twentieth Edition, with a brief Account of the Author's Life by Dr. Fuller. London, Printed by J. H., for Edw. Evets, at the Green Dragon in St. Paul's Church Yard. 1700." Port. of Colet. Pp. ii. + Life iv. + "A fruitful direction," &c. (unpaged) xvi. + 273. Short MS. "Prayer for a happy departure," &c. Lee Library, Owens Coll.

1722: 22ND EDITION. Title as above. "The two and twentieth Edition, revised and corrected by an eminent Divine of the Church of England; With a brief account of the Author's Life. London. . . MDCCLXXII." 12mo. pp. 310 and Table. Portrait. The "Life" ends on page iv. and is signed "By T. F., D.D." The Rev. J. H. Lupton, M.A. His copy once belonged to the Rev. E. W. Grinfield, the editor of the Hellenistic Ed. of the Gr. Test., who has written on a fly-leaf, "a most excellent book."

Knight, writing about this time, thus refers to the work: "Another short account of Dr. Colet's Life is prefixed to his Daily Devotions, or the Christian Morning and Evening Sacrifice: which life, Mr. Wood says well, is triflingly and imperfectly written by Thomas Fuller, of Waltham, in Essex; being mostly the same with that in his *Abel Redivivus*. This is very lately printed; [viz. in the edition of 1722;] but without additions." (*Colet's Life*, Oxf. Ed. 1823, p. 218.)

¶ 5. 1647: Portions of the English Translation of Archbishop Ussher's *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. Ent. Sta. Hall, 21 Aug. 1647.

A full account of Fuller's connection with this work is given pp. 400—403.

¶ 6. 1647: *Fragments of A Sermon (or Sermons) at St. Clement's, Eastcheap.* Five Extracts therefrom are found in Spencer's folio (¶ 19 *infra*), viz. Nos. 119, 296, 899, 903, 905 (pp. 29, 72, 230, 231, 231). See the *Life*, p. 412.

¶ 7. 1647: *Fragments of a Sermon at St. Dunstan's East.* Spencer, Nos. 58, 582 (pp. 14, 146).

Confirmation of the delivery of a Sermon as here stated is found in an incidental passage in Fuller's *Appeal*, pt. ii. (49) 447, quoted also in our *Life*, p. 413.

¶ 8. 1648: *Fragment of a Sermon at St. Clement's, Eastcheap:* Spencer, Nos. 589, 609 (pp. 148, 153). See the *Life*, p. 412.

¶ 9. 1649: *Fragments of a Sermon (or Sermons) at St. Clement's, Eastcheap.* Spencer, Nos. 562, 571, 1154 (pp. 141, 143, 412). See the *Life*, p. 412.

¶ 10. 1650: *Fragments of a Sermon (or Sermons) at St. Clement's, Eastcheap.* Spencer, Nos. 509, 913, 918, 920, 987 (pp. 128, 234, 235, 236, 256). See the *Life*, p. 509.

¶ 11. 1651: PREFACE TO *The Valley of Vision, or A clear sight of sundry sacred Truths. Delivered in Twenty-one Sermons; by that Learned and Reverend Divine, Dr. Holsvvorth, Dr. in Divinity, sometimes Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Master of Emanuel Colledge, and late Preacher at Peters Poore in London. . . . London, Printed by M. S., and are to be sold by R. Tomlins at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner; and Rob. Littlebury at the Vnicorne, in Little-Britaine, 1651. 4to. Pp. viii. + The Inauguration Sermon + 539 + Index. J. E. B.; Brit. Mus. (dated June 9); Bodl.*

The circumstances of Fuller's connection with this spurious book are given pp. 434—437, the particulars being omitted from all the bibliographies. The first (or only authentic) Sermon (which is separately paged viii. + 38 + 8) is *The Peoples Happiness. A Sermon preached in S^t. Maries in Cambridge, Upon Sunday the 27 of March, being the day of His Majesties happy Inauguration;*

By *Ri. Holdsworth, D.D.* . . . Printed by Roger Daniel, Printer to the University of Cambridge, Anno Dom. 1642. It is dedicated to the King, who thrice requested its publication (see our page 436); and it was the occasion of bringing the preacher into trouble. The separate titles of the spurious Sermons are all dated 1650.

According to a correspondent of *N. & Q.* (1st Ser. ii. 44) there was an edition of these Sermons in 1661.

Holdsworth's *Praelectiones*, 1661, are by Lowndes (1085) said to have been published by *Bp. Pearson*, instead of *Dr. Rd. Pearson*.

¶ 12. 1651: 1ST EDITION. SHORT BIOGRAPHIES of "Berengarius, Huss, Hierom of Prague, Archbishop Cranmer, Master Fox, Perkins, Junius, etc." in **Abel Redeivivus** [*sic*]: or, *The dead yet speaking. The Lives and Deaths of the Moderne Divines* [107]. Written by severall able and learned Men (whose names ye shall finde in the Epistle to the Reader). And now digested into one Volumne, for the benefit and satisfaction of all those that desire to be acquainted with the Paths of Piety and Virtve. . . . London: Printed by Tho. Brudenell for John Stafford dwelling in Brides Churchyard, neer Fleetstreet, 1651. Ent. Sta. Hall, 1st Sept. 1654. Pp. x. + 596 + ii. (Between pp. 440 and 441 are inserted xxii. pp., unpagged.) Small 4to. An engraved emblematic title-page of a skeleton and books. Above the skeleton, the line "Mors vltima linea rerum est;" below, a few lines from Persius. The title, &c.: *Abel Redeivivus or The dead yet speaking. Sould by Iohn Stafford in Brides Churchyard.* 1651. *Ro: Vaughan sculp:* No portrait of Fuller. Forty-three portraits of Divines, &c. among the letter-press. Bodl. (Marshall, 189); Free Lib. Mchr.; the Rev. T. L. O. Davies, M.A.; Emanuel College Lib. (L. 5. 45); Brit. Mus. (Grenville, 1271); Dr. Laing.

1652: 2ND EDITION. Printed title-page and Epistle to the reader as before. The *Engraved* title-page as above, adding by *T. Fuller and other Eminent Divines. Sould by Iohn Stafford at the George at Fleete bridge* 1652. *Ro: Vaughan sculp:* (No portrait). Pp. as before, the last being by mistake 599. Bodl. (Wood, 352); Brit. Mus. (200, b. 22). In Sir Wm. Tite's sale was a copy of this edition with the portrait *added*. The Library of Christ Church, Oxon., contains this copy with the portrait, but without the printed title-page; Lee Library, Mchr. (both plates).

1651: ANOTHER IMPRESSION. Printed title-page, as foregoing, 1651. No engraved title, but an inserted Portrait of Fuller (see p. 499) said in a slip in the Bodl. copy to be by Cross. No engraver's name is given to it, but Lowndes and Hazlitt

say it is by *Vaughan*, who was then of Waltham. It is ascribed to *Vaughan* in Mr. Pearson's catalogue (Dec. 1873). P. 599 for 596. Bodl. (Douce, F. 207); Brit. Mus. (489. a. 7); E. Riggall, Esq.

The Epistle to the Reader is in this impression different from the two foregoing editions, being corrections, &c. thus:—

Page A line	1	Such ^a honour		<i>1st and 2nd edits. read:</i> Such honour (saith the ^a Psal.
" " 3 & 4	Divine Providence		Divine Providēce.	
" " 11	have all Saints?		have all his Saints?	
A1 " 6	whilst		whilst.	
" " 16	Sepulchre		Sepulcre.	
	&c. &c. &c.			

In the last edition (Bodl. copy) the following portraits are wanting: Berengarius, Wicklief, Huss, Marlorat, Melancthon, Cranmer, Martyr, Ridley, Bradford, &c.

The complete set of forty-three heads, which are among the letter-press, are not particularly specified by Granger, i. 240. Brydges presumes that none are originals, but copied from Holland, Boissard and others (*Censura Literaria*, i. 311). They had already done service in D[onald] L[upton]'s *The Historie of the Moderne Protestant Divines*, 1637, Lowndes stating that the latter contained twenty-two English portraits copied from those in Holland's *Heroologia* (p. 1414). Lupton himself confesses that the "Ikons" are not his (Lupton's) "invention, but taken to the Life: some by Albert Durerus, and the others by that famous Henry Hondius, only I desired to have them done in lesser plates for the profit of the buyer." Out of the forty-five "outlandish" and English heads in Lupton's work, only two of them (viz. Thomas Becon and James Montagu) do not appear in the *Abel Redevivus*. Many of Lupton's heads were copied in Clarke's *Lives*, as to which, in connection with *Abel Redevivus*, see pages 500-1, *suprà*.

Perfect copies of the original editions rarely now occur on sale; and, when occurring, are highly priced. In Pearson's catalogue, *e.g.*, December 1873, a copy in morocco was on sale for £8 18s. 6d.; Pickering's *Cat. Eng. Poetry*, 1862, £8 8s., and in other catalogues. The writer is the fortunate possessor of a copy that cost him half-a-crown! The *Abell Redivivus* was in 1658 advertised as one of the "most vendible books in England." See London's *Catalogue*, Sig. V 3, *verso*.

Mr. Davies's copy has been in several hands. On the printed title is neatly written, "Ex libris Thomae Parnell," *qy.* the poet. The names of the authors are noted, as in the preface, except in the Life of *Wiclif*, concerning which the preface is silent, but the annotator puts, "written for y^e most part by y^e author of y^e moderne Divines." Mr. Pickering suggests that Fuller, who adds "&c." after the lives written by himself, may have written the Life of *Jewell*, in which there is a play upon words in Fuller's manner, but which is not attributed to anyone else.

"It may be observed in this collection of lives, that the plan our author followed in composing his share of it, is that which was then among the most judicious writers in use; too modest to be justly charged with ostentation: for the other compilers, who were also learned and ingenious men, have as little displayed the directions in chronology, or those their readers might covet to their authorities, as himself; except one of them, who has bravely embroidered his margins with above fourscore references to the old philosophers, fathers, poets, &c., in the life of a *modern* divine, within the compass of six leaves, and not five quotations in the whole that are distinctly personal, or do historically concern his subject." (*Biog. Brit.* iii. 2059.)

Upon a fly-leaf in the Emanuel College copy of this book the following is written :—"Two or three particulars may be remark'd concerning this book : (1) Y^t it is so *very falsly* printed, y^t it is no easy thing to meet with any other book comparable to it on that account. (2) Y^t several of y^e Lives are translated from y^e Latine of Melchior Adams, wherein y^e Translator has been so grossly careless as to leave y^e Latine names of Towns and Places (a little varied to make them seem translated) instead of y^e proper German, french, &c. names. Thus for *Strasburg* we have *Argentine*, for *Ausburgh*, *August* or *Augusta*, for *Zurich*, *Tigure* or *Tigurine*, for *Orleans*, *Aurelia*, for *Berry*, *Biturgh*, w^c will occasion no small confusion to y^e unskilfull. (3) There are often great mistakes : I shall take notice of one onely in y^e last line of y^e verses on Cranmer, [viz.] 'Those fires w^c made him *screech* [*scream* in original] will make you *groan*.' [P. 228.] The word *screech* was, put in only to make a Poetical turn and answer to *groan*, but is a wrong to y^e patience, courage, and unmoveable constancy of ye Archbp., as appears from y^e account of his sufferings in ffox."

1867 (April) : London : "Abel R. by Thomas Fuller, D.D. . . . assisted by Several able and learned men. A new edition, with notes, by William Nichols. Illus. with 43 portraits [and front.] In two vols. Lond. William Tegg. 1867." Crown 8vo. 9s. ; 7s. (1872).

The spelling is modernised, and brief explanatory notes are offered. "Only a few of these lives are from the pen of Fuller himself ; but these few are gems. . . . Some of the rhymes appended to each Life are quaint and amusing ; but several of them are such arrant doggerel that the lovers of Quarles will protest against too many being fathered upon him."

Reviewed or noticed in Brydges's *Censura Literaria*, vol. i. 311 ; *Biog. Brit.* iii. 2059 ; Russell, p. 180 *seq.* See this *Life*, pp. 493—501.

¶ 13. 1652 : A LAUDATORY POEM, beginning "When Pious Asa with his Fathers Slept," and signed "Tho. Fuller," the sixth in order, at page B 1 of the *first* edition of **Scintillula Altaris**. Or, *A Pious Reflection on Primitive Devotion : As to the Feasts and Fasts of the Christian Church, Orthodoxally Revived*. By Edward Sparke, B.D. . . . London, Printed by T. Maxey for Richard Marriot, and are to be sold at his shop in S^t. Dunstan's Church-yard in Fleetstreet. 1652. With plates. 8vo. Pp. xxiv. + 373 + *Appendix Sacra*, A to D 7. J. E. B. ; G. W. N. (See Art. ¶ 22 *infra* ; and the *Life*, pp. 502-3.)

In the *second* edition of this work, this poem is signed "T. F." (See ¶ 22.)

"Each Saint's day
Stands as a Land-mark in an erring age
To guide frail mortals in their pilgrimage
To the Cœlestial Cana'n ; and each Fast
Is both the souls direction and repast."

Iz. WA. to the Author.

¶ 14. 1653: Contributor of A SONG called "AN ECCHO," set to music in *Ayres and Dialogues for One, Two, and Three Voyces*. By Henry Lawes, Servant to his late Matie in his publick and private Musick. The First Booke. London, Printed by T. H. for John Playford and are to be sold at his shop in the Inner Temple near the Church door. 1653. Folio. Portrait of Lawes, by Faithorne. Brit. Mus. (786. l. 26).

Fuller's piece (by "Mr. Thomas Fuller. Batch. Div.") is at page 36 in the first book, and immediately follows a poem by "Mr. John Birkenhead." In the Second book "Mr. J. C." occurs (qy. the author of the verses in the *Holy War*). The verses themselves are reprinted in Grosart, p. 112 (where *calo* in the last line should be *coelo*). See the *Life*, pp. 528, 529. The *Ayres* was a book Pepys used in learning to sing.

¶ 15. 1654: THE PREFACE to *Ephemeris Parliamentaria; or A Faithfull Register of the Transactions in Parliament, in the third and fourth years of the reign of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles: Containing the severall Speeches, Cases, and Arguments of Law, transacted between his Majesty and both Houses: Together with the Grand Mysteries of the Kingdome then in Agitation. 'Lege historias, ne fias historia.'* (Ornament with an open book and an escutcheon.) London: Printed for John Williams and Francis Eglesfield, and are to be sold at the Crown, and at the Marigold in St. Pauls Churchyard. 1654. (Ent. Sta. Hall, 5th Nov. 1653.) Fol. pp. xx. + 271. Preface signed "T. F." J. E. B.; Bodl. (B.S. 80); Brit. Mus.; Inner Temp. Lib.; Signet Library; E. Riggall, Esq.

1657: (NEW TITLE) *The Sovereigns Prerogative, and The Subjects Priviledge; Discussed betwixt Courtiers and Patriots in Parliament, the third and fourth yeares of the reign of King Charles [17 March 1627—10 March 1628, & King's letter dated 2 Feb. 1636]: together with the Grand Mysteries of State then in Agitation.* Device of Serpent and Eagle. London, Printed for Martha Harrison, and are to be sold at the Lamb, in St. Paul's Church-yard. Anno 1657. Fol. pp. as before. Preface signed "T. F." Bodl. (Fol. B.S. 102).

1658: Another Impression of foregoing. *The Sovereigns Prerogative. and the Subjects Priviledge. Comprised in several Speeches, Cases, and Arguments of Law, Discussed between the Late King Charles, and the most Eminent Persons of both Houses of Parliament. Together with the Grand Mysteries of State then in Agitation. 'Lege Historias, ne fias Historia.'* London, Printed for Henry Marsh, at the Prince's Arms at the lower End of Chancery-Lane, near the Inner Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet. 1658.

Folio 4to. pp. as before. Magd. Coll. Libr. Oxon. (the gift of Bp. Warner). Dawson's "Reference Catalogue," issued June, 1861, had a copy of this edition, marked "scarce," for £1 10s.

1660: Same title, except that Charles I. is called *our late Sovereign Lord King Charles*. Collected by Thomas Fuller. B.D. *The Second edition, corrected and amended*: second, i.e., under the new title. Portr. of Chas. I. Brit. Mus. (189. b. 14); Trin. Coll. Dubl. Kennet (p. 296) ascribes this edition to J. Fuller.

1660: Another impression of foregoing with a new title-page, Fuller's name being removed, and the late King's name receiving the affix *the first*, thus: *The Parliament of the third and fourth years of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the first: with the Speeches, Cases, and Arguments of Law, Transacted between His Majesty and His two Houses, Together with the Great Mysteries of the Kingdome then in Agitation. 'Lege Historias, ne fias Historia.'* (The Crown.) London, Printed for John Williams and Francis Eglesfield, and are to be sold at the Crown, and at the Marigold in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1660. Bodl. (S. 1. 17. Jur.)

1663 and 1681: Watt names these editions.

Carlyle's hasty criticism on the book, as also Forster's judgment upon it, and an abstract of the preface, will be found at pp. 529—532.

Watt, whose blunders are followed by Allibone, ascribed this work to some William Fuller.

¶ 16. 1655 (*ante*): **Historical and Chronological Account of the University of Cambridge and its Colleges**, written in Latin. Harl. MSS. 7033 (fos. 255—290). Said by Baker to have been copied from a MS. of Fuller's in Jesus Coll., Camb. See the *Camb. Cat.* Baker's MSS. p. 78; and the *Life*, pp. 503, 504.

¶ 17. 1655: *Fragment of a Sermon at St. Bride's*, on the proposed admission of the Jews to England, December, 1655. Spencer, No. 1903 (p. 645). See the *Life*, pp. 590—2.

¶ 18. 1657: **THE LIFE OF HENRY SMITH IN The Sermons of Mr. Henry Smith**. Gathered into one Volume. Whereunto is added, *Gods Arrow against Atheists*. Printed according to his Corrected Copies in his life time. And the *Life of Mr. Henry Smith*, by Tho. Fuller. B.D. With Alphabetical Tables of the Titles, &c.: and the *Effigies of the Pious and Reverend Authour*. (Saywell's engraved device.) London, Printed by T. Mabb,

for John Saywell, and are to be sold at the Grey-hound in Little Britain without Aldersgate, 1657. 4to. J. E. B.

After Smith's "liuely Portrature" (*Cross sculp.*) and the above title-page, are two dedications, one to Wm. Lord Burghley, and the other, signed "W. S.," to Edward, Earl of Bedford; then Fuller's Preface to the Reader, and the Life (13 pp.), titles of the Sermons,—altogether, xxii. pp. There is next a second title:—

THE SERMONS OF MR. HENRY SMITH: *Gathered into one Volume. Printed according to his corrected Copies in his life time. Whereunto is added Gods arrow against Atheists.* London: Printed for Andrew Kembe, John Wright, John Saywell and George Sawbridge, 1657. 4to. pp. 856. On page 733 is a title to *Six Sermons . . . with Two Zealous Prayers. . . . London, Printed by Thomas Mabb, for John Saywell.* 1657. After p. 856 another title to *Three Sermons. . . London, Printed for Francis Smethwick. . . . St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1642.* Pp. 56. Lastly, *God's Arrow against Atheists. . . London: Printed for John Wright, . . . Kings-head in the Old Bayley, and George Sawbridge . . . the Bible on Ludgate-hill.* 1656. Pp. iv. + 66. The Table, xl. pp. These various names illustrate a remark in Fuller's preface, that this "useful and much-desired volume" suffered from its numerous proprietors; and that in consequence of the diversity of interests in the copyright it had been "for some years past smothered."

The earliest collected edition appears to be that of 1599, 4to. pp. 599 (Lowndes). The edition connected with Fuller is termed by the Edinburgh Editor "an exceedingly neat volume." It was otherwise with the succeeding edition of—

1675: THE SERMONS OF MR. HENRY SMITH, sometimes Minister of St. Clement Danes, London; Together With other his Learned Treatises: All now gathered into one Volume. Also The Life of the Reverend and Learned Authour, by Tho. Fuller, B.D. London, Printed by E. F. and A. M. for Nathaniel Brooks, Edward Brewster, and John Wright, and are to be sold at their shops in Cornhill, St. Paul's Church-yard, and Little Britain, 1675. 4to. pp. 632. Next follow the Three Sermons, pp. 44, and then *Gods Arrow*. Pp. 176. Portrait. G. W. N.

Lowndes calls this the "best edition;" but the Edinb. ed. condemns it as being "in inferior style, and with numerous typographical errors."

1866: EDINBURGH: NICHOL'S Series. Edited by the Rev. Thomas Smith. "The Works of Henry Smith, including Sermons, Treatises, Prayers, and Poems. With Life of the Author, by Thomas Fuller, B.D., and other Biographical Notes. Edinburgh: James Nichol. M.DCCC LXVI." 2 vols. 8vo. This edition follows chiefly the 1675 copy.

1866: LONDON: TEGG'S reprints. "The whole carefully edited by the author of *Glimpses of our Heavenly Home*." 2 vols. Cr. 8vo. 9s.

¶ 19. 1658: PREFACE TO *Kaiva και Παλαια. Things New & Old.* Or, a Store-house of Similies, Sentences, Allegories, Apophthegms, Adagies, Apologues, Divine, Morall, Politicall, &c. With their severall Applications.

Collected and observed from the Writings and Sayings of the Learned in all Ages to this Present. By John Spencer, a lover of Learning and Learned Men. 'Deus nobis haec otia fecit.' Virgil. Eclog. i. London, Printed by W. Wilson and J. Streater, for John Spencer at Sion College. MDCLVIII. Preface dated Jan. 10, 1657-8. Folio, pp. xiv. + 679 + The Table. J. E. B.; Free Lib. Mchr; E. Riggall, Esq.

This book has a further value as giving (*inter alia*) about eighteen passages from Sermons by Fuller, which, if ever printed, have been "thumbed" out of existence. Passages are also taken from *Cause and Cure, Thoughts*, and published sermons. It quotes largely, and in the same way, from the other contemporary divines.

1868: London: THIRD EDITION. To this volume was added "A Treasury of Similes by Robert Cawdray. Both being carefully edited; with an Introd. by J. G. Pilkington, M.A. Third edition. Lond., R. D. Dickinson. MDCCCLXVIII." Imp. 8vo. "The Scripture references have been examined and verified, and in some places additional references have been given." The editor, however, deletes all Spencer's references as to where the sermons, whence extracts are taken, were preached.

1869 and subsequently: London: Wm. Tegg. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 12s. 6d. An inedited impression, the marginal notes displaced, mistakes uncorrected. Very much of the original matter was abridged.

"Some men's books are, indeed, mere kites' nests—a collection of stolen things. Such are pure plagiaries, without any grateful acknowledgment; but herein the ingenuity of our author is commendable, that on the margin he hath entered the names of those at whose torch he hath lighted his taper; and I am confident that by such quotations he hath revived the memories of many worthies and of their speeches which otherwise had been utterly lost." (*Fuller's Preface.*)

This volume was noticed by Mr. Axon, of Manchester, in a "retrospective review" in *The Temperance Spectator*, May, 1866. He remarked: "How gentle Elia would have revelled in this impressive folio! With what feelings of delight inexpressible he would have turned over its grey old leaves; and what quaint speculations he would have indulged as to the dead and gone possessors of this antique tome! How his eyes would have glistened as they lighted on the liberal promise of the title-page! . . . The preface absolutely sparkles with the glittering wit of the fine old moralist."

¶ 20. 1659: A "PRAYER BEFORE SERMON" in **Pulpit Sparks** or *Choice Forms of Prayer, By several Reverend and Godly Divines used by them, both before and after Sermon. With other Prayers for Extraordinary Occasions, together with Dr. Hewytts last Prayer. By Dr. Reeve. Dr. Gillingham. Dr. Jer. Taylor. Dr. Hewytt. Dr. Wilde. Dr. Griffith. Mr. Tho. Fuller. M. Ball. M. Goddard. M. Nat. Hardy. M. Hall. M. Jo. Marston.*

M. Mackerness. M. Sparks. London, Printed for W. Gilbertson at the Bible in Giltspur Street, 1659. 12mo. Trinity Coll. Camb. The Preface is signed "Tho. Reeve." Fuller's Prayer occupies pp. 156—171. It was reprinted in Grosart's Fuller's Poems, pp. 240—244.

There appear to have been earlier editions of the above collection. Reeve, the compiler, who is called Preacher of Waltham Abbey, Essex, and who preached the funeral sermon upon the Earl of Carlisle, 1661, published *Publike Devotions; or a Collection of Prayers*. Lond. 1651. 12mo. On the registers of Stationers' Hall under date of "7^o Feb. 1653," the following book is registered:—"John Stafford. Entred for his Copie a booke containing ye prayers of Docto^r Gillingham, Dr. Reeves, Dr. Holdisworth, Dr. Tailor, Mr. Goddard, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Harding, Mr. Machinest, & other Divines, used before their Sermons.—vi^a." A notice of Reeve will be found in Kennet, p. 679, and Newcourt, ii. 631.

¶ 21. 1660: Before August: TWO SERMONS (already published) reprinted in the SECOND EDITION of *OPHNOIKOΣ*. **The House of Mourning:** *Furnished with Directions for, Preparations to, Meditations of, Consolations at, the Hour of Death. Delivered in LIII. SERMONS, Preached at the Funerals of divers faithfull Servants of Christ. By Daniel Fealty, Martin Day, John Preston, Ri. Houldsworth, Richard Sibbs, Thomas Taylor, Doctors in Divinity, Thomas Fuller, and other Reverend Divines. . . . Newly Corrected and Amended with several Additions. London: Printed by G. Dawson, and are to be sold by John Williams, at the sign of the Crown in St. Pauls Church-Yard. 1660. Kennet (p. 356) notes its publication in Decr. Folio, pp. xii. + 610. J. E. B.; Brit. Mus. (4905, f.).*

Mr. Russell (*Memorials of Fuller*, pp. 81 and 332) attributes to Fuller certain sermons in the FIRST, OR 1640 EDITION of this work (published by Philip Neville at the signe of the Gunne in Ivie Lane: pp. xvi. + 916. Many of the sermons are separately dated 1639. J. E. B.) But none of Fuller's Sermons were in this particular edition, the preachers of the forty-seven discourses comprised in it being described on the title-page as four Doctors in Divinity, viz. "Daniel Fealty, Martin Day, Richard Sibbs, Thomas Taylor," "and other reverend divines." At the date of this edition Fuller had scarcely begun to publish sermons; yet the twenty-sixth in the collection (p. 499), entitled "Saint Paul's Trumpet," is attributed to him (*Memorials*, pp. 81, 82). This edition is often falsely put in catalogues under the name of Fuller as one of the authors. The preface is signed by "H. W."

Fuller's contributions first appeared in the SECOND, OR 1660 EDITION, the title-page of which is given at length above. The collection was published by his old "stationer," John Williams, who, to increase the sale, added on the title-page, at the end of the names, "Thomas Fuller," as well as Dr. John Preston and Dr. Richard Holdsworth. In this edition there were six additional sermons, all preached between 1650 and 1660. Of four of

them (viz. "Death's Prerogative," "The Patriarchal Funeral," "The True Accountant," and "The Righteous Man's Service to his Generation") Mr. Russell says that they "may perhaps be ascribed to Fuller." The first and third of these discourses are certainly not Fuller's, internal evidence being against such paternity. The second discourse, "The Patriarchal Funeral," is by Dr. John Pearson (afterwards the Bishop of Chester), it having been preached in 1658 before the Right Honourable George, Lord Berkeley, upon the death of that nobleman's father. (This sermon is printed in the *Minor Theological Works of Dr. John Pearson*, vol. ii. 112—135, edited by Churton, who does not, however, give the title-page of the original discourse; nor does he mention that it was published separately by John Williams, in 4to., in 1658. See 1359, E., British Museum.) Only the last of the above list of four sermons is really Fuller's. His also is "The Just Man's Funeral," which immediately precedes "The Righteous Man's Service." Fuller's contributions thus occur together, being the fifty-first and the fifty-second of the series. One of them, and perhaps the other, had been already published by John Williams (in 1649 and 1657 respectively: see § 1, ¶¶ 17 and 28), whose property, it is presumed, they were. The fifty-third, or last sermon, is by a different author, and is not recognisable as Fuller's. Brewer said that there were "several sermons" by Fuller in the book.

THE THIRD, OR 1672 EDITION, said to be "newly corrected and amended, with several additional sermons," contained only *three* more sermons, separately paged (pp. 1—48), the first of which is entitled "Nature's Good-Night," first printed in 1656, being by "Fra. Moore, Curate of Soules at Highweek;" the second is by Edmund Barker, Rector of Buriton, Hants, at the funeral of the Dowager Lady Elizabeth Capell; and the third, entitled "Days Appointed to Wait for a Change," is the funeral sermon upon Dean Hardy (who preached Dr. Fuller's funeral sermon in 1661, and who died 1670). This sermon was preached at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, June 9th, 1670, and is by Dr. Richard Meggott, Rector of St. Olave's, Southwark. It was published separately in the year in question. The additional names upon the title-page of this, the last edition of *The House of Mourning*, are Dr. John Pearson, Dr. Christ. Shute, Dr. Edmund Barker, and Dr. Josias Alsop; Fuller's name, now given with his doctorate degree, occurring the last but two upon the list. This edition was also issued by John Williams (pp. xii. + 610 + 48. J. E. B.; Emanuel Coll. Camb.). It is difficult, but not hopeless, to apportion the sermons in this valuable old book to the respective contributors. A list of the fifty-three sermons of the *second* edition, but not of the preachers or of those to whose memory the sermons were preached, will be found in Darling's *Cyclo. Bib.*, col. 1557.

¶ 22. 1660: A SECOND LAUDATORY POEM, beginning "A Brood of Legendary Saints of Old," and signed "Tho. Fuller," the last but one in order, to this 2ND EDITION (See ¶ 13) of ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ· VEL **Scintilla Altaris**. *Being a Pious Reflection on Primitive Devotion: in the Feasts and Fasts of the Church of England.* By Edward Sparke B.D., Preacher at St. James

¹ In Russell's *Memorials* (p. 81), this title is printed as though it formed *two* sermons.

Clerkenwell, London. THE SECOND EDITION, *enlarging the whole work, with Prayers and Sculptures to the Several Occasions.* London Printed by W. G. and R. W. Anno Dom. 1660. (June: Kennet). 8vo. G. W. Napier, Esq.; Brit. Mus. (E. 1763); (See the *Life*, pp. 502, 503, 671).

1663: 3RD EDITION. ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ· *vel Scintilla-Altaris. Or Primitive Devotion in the Feasts and Fasts of The Church of England.* By Edward Sparke, D.D., one of the Chaplains to His Majesty. . . . THE THIRD EDITION, *consisting of Prose, Poems, Prayers, and Sculptures on the Several Occasions.* London: Printed by R. Wood, for H. Brome, at the Gun in Ivy Lane, 1663." 8vo. Bodl. (Bliss, 3941). Other copies have for T. Bassett, under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, 1663. J. E. B. Portrait.

1666 (?): 4TH EDITION. Lowndes mentions an edition of *Devotions*, 1666, adding that it was "afterwards added to some of the editions of *Scintilla Altaris*, and consists of prose, poems, sculptures (Ant. A Wood)."

1673: 5TH EDITION. ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ· VEL SCINTILLA ALTARIS, . . . by Edward Sparke, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty. . . . THE FIFTH EDITION, *with Additions upon the three grand Solemnities last annexed to the Liturgy: consisting of Prose, &c.* Lond. . . . 1673. 8vo. Brit. M.

1678: 6TH EDITION. London: Cr. 8vo. *The Sixth Edition, Revised by the Author. With additions, &c.* Portrait. J. F. Fuller, Esq.; Magd. Coll. Lib.

1682: 7TH EDITION. London: 8vo. Same title. *The Seventh Edition, revised by the Author.* B. M.; Bodl. (8vo. A. 35 Th. B.S.); Sion Coll.

1700: 8TH EDITION. As above. *The Eighth Edition with all new Cuts at large.* A Portrait dated 1666. (Lowndes by mistake dates this 1706.) J. E. B.; B. M.

1705: Sion Coll.

Fuller's verses are reprinted in Grosart's *Fuller's Poems, &c.* pp. 106-110. A line in the second poem has been curiously wrested from its plain meaning. Fuller is lamenting that the iron times had put down the saints' days, and adds:—

"Only the faithful *Faires* did them retain:
Exiled the Church, i' th' town they do remain."

The Editor's comment on the italicised word is "='fair' ladies. G." (!) (P. 109).

¶ 23. 1660: Reference to a **Sermon on Moderation.**
See p. 677.

- ¶ 24. 1661: *Fragment of a Sermon at the Savoy*, Upon the forgiving of other Men's Trespasses, 3rd Feb. 1660-1. See pp. 635, 678.
- ¶ 25. 1661: *Reference to a Sermon at the Savoy*, Upon Job xiv. 14, 12th May, 1661. See p. 678.
- ¶ 26. "Library of British Historians, No. 1."
This is not now known to be in existence. It is mentioned by Fuller as published, *Church-History*, Bk. i. cent. i. ¶ 13 marginal note.
- ¶ 27. *An Abridged Life of Jewell* (Lowndes: Qy. Is the Life in *Abel Redeivivus* meant?)
- ¶ 28. "A TRACT in Latin concerning the Church, not perfected by him." (Anonymous *Life of Fuller*: this is not now to be found.)

§ III. DOUBTFUL PIECES.

- ¶ 1. 1633: *Certain Commendatory Verses in the SATURNI EPHEMERIDES Sive Tabula Historico-Chronologica. . . .* By Henry Isaacson, *Lundoner*, 1633. (From the Engraved title-page by Will. Marshall.)

The verses are ascribed to Fuller in a memoir of Isaacson (page xii.) accompanying the Rev. Stephen Isaacson's reprint of *The Life of Andrewes* by the said Henry. The latter piece, first published in 1650, formed one of the biographies of the *Abel Redeivivus*. As to the authorship of the verses in question see pp. 495, 496.

- ¶ 2. 1654: FUNERAL SERMON ON HENRY D'ANVERS (ob. Nov. 19, 1654).

This discourse is attributed to Fuller by Aubrey (*Letters*, &c. ii. 354). The discussion of the matter will be found pp. 343, 434.

§ IV. SPURIOUS WORKS.

- ¶ 1. 1626: *A Sermon intended for Paul's Crosse, but preached in the Chvrch of St Pauls, London, The iii. of Decem-ber, M.DC.XXV., Vpon the late Decrease and with-*

drawing of Gods heauie Visitation of the Plague of Pestilence from the said Citie. By THO: FULLER, M.A., in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. London, 1626. 8vo. Brit. Mus. (4475, b.); Sion Coll. Lib. Text, Ps. cvii. 17—21.

It is dedicated to the Mayor and ex-Mayor, and is erroneously included amongst the Church-historian's works in the British Museum's general catalogue, as also in other catalogues. The author's name does not occur in the admission books of Pembroke College, which only begin in 1616; and his parentage and abode have not accordingly been ascertained.

¶ 2. 1641: *Reformation Sure and Steadfast; or a Seasonable Sermon for the Present Times, Preached June 15. . . . London. 1641. 4to.*

This is attributed to Fuller by *Lowndes* and others; and is described under Fuller's name in Book Catalogues, and priced accordingly. There is a copy of it in Brit. Mus. (E. 167. 14), whence it seems that it was "published by order from a Committee of the Honourable House of Commons. . . . Printed by J. D. for Henry Overton. 1641." The preface only is signed T. F., and is apparently the only ground for ascribing it to Thomas Fuller. The writer described "the life and death of reformation," and takes up an entirely different view from that of Fuller.

¶ 3. 1647: THE TIMES ANATOMIZ'D *in severall Characters.* By T. F[ord, serv^t to Mr. Sam. Man.—MS. note in B. Mus. copy: see p. 585, ante]. London, Printed for W. L. Anno 1647. 12mo. 1647. 59 leaves.

Of this work, which belongs to the Holy-State class of literature, Oldys said: "From these initial letters we conceive it has been ranged with other books that were written by our author under his name, in some catalogues: but as the writer of his life has left it out of his list, and À Wood (*Athen. Oxon.*) says there was a little thing printed in 12mo. under the name of *Thos. Forde*, perhaps the same with him of that name before mentioned, entitled *The Anatomy of the Times*, tho' Wood had never seen it, we think it most likely that the said Forde was the author." (*Biog. Brit.* iii.; *Lowndes*, 818.)

¶ 4. 1654: TRIANA, *Or a Threefold Romanza of Mariana, Paduana, Sabina. Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit vile dulci.* London. Printed for John Stafford, and are to be sold at his House, at the George at Fleet-Bridge. 1654. Ent. Sta. Hall, 2nd June, 1654. 12mo. pp. iv. + 151. No front. Brit. Mus. (Grenville Lib. 10,366).

A MS. note attached by Grenville says: "This is the 1st ed. of Triana; the 2nd ed. of 1664 has a unique print by Faythorne. Except the two copies which I possess I have never heard of any other except an imperfect one that belonged to Dr. White, of Litchfield; the 2nd ed. has name of author printed on title-page."

1655: 2ND EDITION: Lowndes mentions this ed. in 12mo., adding that it had a portrait by Faithorne.

1658: 3RD EDITION: Title as above. An author's name added: *Written by Tho. Fuller. B.D. London, &c.* The rest as before, the two last words being *Fleet-bridg.* 1658, pp. iv. + 151. 12mo. Emanuel College, Cambridge (Sancroft collection). There was to this edition a frontispiece, 4to. size, of Mariana, inscribed "Mariana. 1.6.5.5." with the names "J. Stafford" and "G. Faithorne sc:" This edition was unknown to Grenville, Lowndes, &c.

1664: 4TH EDITION: Title, &c. as in 1658 ed. - Brit. Mus. (Grenville, 10,367). The same print as in the 1658 ed., with another print inserted inscribed "S. Maria Magdalena." "Antonius van Dyck pinxit. Pet. de Baillue fecit et excudit."

A note by Grenville in this copy says: "I have not been able to find any trace of any other copy of this book, or of the print by Faithorne. When I first bought the book, it was in its original 12mo. shape, and the print of Mariana was folded up in it as a frontispiece. The print is quite unknown. Neither Sir M. Sykes nor any of the collectors of Faithornes have ever seen or heard of this print, and to prevent its being damaged by folding I had the book inlaid to the size of the print. The face so resembles that of Henrietta Maria in the character of Magdalen, that I inserted this latter head, which seems to me to prove that Faithorne's Mariana was also intended for Henrietta Maria."—"Since the above I have seen a copy of the Triana with a torn fragment of Faithorne's print in the collection of Mr. H. White, of Litchfield. I have also purchased the only other copy that I have ever seen of this work in an early edition of 1654. It is very extraordinary that this book, named among Fuller's works in his Life, and having his name on the title-page, and having gone through two editions, should have so entirely disappeared, that neither Triana nor Faithorne's beautiful print are seen or known."

There is another copy of this 1664 edition, 12mo., in the Brit. Mus. (Grenville, 10,368) which has the fragment of a portrait of Mariana, or Queen Henrietta Maria, by Faithorne, viz. the upper part. On a fly-leaf are the following notes: "Faithorne's rare portrait of Princes Mary." "On the 29th of July, 1824, I by accident met with this excessively rare book. It came from the private collection of a clergyman at Litchfield. I had been for some years on the watch for it, and I never saw another copy; but I have heard there is one in the collection of Thos. Grenville. The editors of the *Biog. Brit.* in their life of Fuller, speak of its rarity, and say 'they have heard it attributed to Dr. Fuller, but never saw the work.' J. S. C." "This book and the poem of *David's Hainous Sinne*, published in London 1631, also in my possession, are of singular rarity, and are eagerly sought for by the collectors of early English literature."

The last editor of Lowndes carelessly states of *Triana*: "In Prose and Verse, a piece not perfected by him, printed posthumously, and is the *rarest* of all his works. Mr. Brewer has failed to discover why it has been attributed to Fuller." Lowndes follows Oldys in calling it posthumous, the latter having before him one of the later editions. Oldys adds that he had met with it ascribed to the Church-historian in some catalogues, but had never seen it. Brewer says that the novel was published in 1662, and that he had not been able to discover upon what authority it was attributed to Fuller.

The belief in the authenticity of *Triana* has extended to the present century, it having been reprinted (from the 1664 edition) by Tegg, in 1867, along with the genuine *Cause and Cure*, § I. ¶ 13, a most ill-assorted collection.

The perusal of the tale disproves its supposed paternity. Very little of the language, the point, or the spirit of Fuller can be detected. The preface (signed *Triana*) informs the reader that while the author had eschewed to be idle, he had fallen on ill-employment, and that he would be censured for mis-spending his time. But time is not lost, he argues, which aims at a good end. These, his "play-labours," were not translations from the Spanish or Italian, and had never appeared before; and they were "an essay of what hereafter may be a greater volume." He adds: "Censure not rigidly lest you blast a budding writer in the blossoming of his endeavours." When it has been added that the anonymous *Life*, 1661, excludes *Triana* from Fuller's works (Mr. Russell stated the contrary), enough will have been said to dispel this curious literary blunder, not to say calumny.

Triana consists of three tales, the scenes of which are laid in Spain and Italy. Mariana is a nun, as to whom the author says that she "had not one ounce of nun's flesh about her." I have no doubt the book was the production of that Thomas Fuller, of Christ's College, Cambridge, whose name has frequently been a subject of perplexity in the preceding pages. The notice of his life, pp. 465—468 is in accord with the spirit of the preface to *Triana*, to go no further into the tales. His bachelor's degree at the date of the editions of 1658 and 1664 is chronologically correct, and cannot, of course, at the latter date apply to his great namesake. In the last tale, moreover, is a brief military description of Dunkirk, where this Fuller had held a chaplaincy. *Triana* came out at a time when the Church-historian was too much engaged with other literary work. Looking back upon the relations between our Fuller and Stafford, his second publisher, as we have traced it by the aid of the registers of Stationers' Hall, and the class of Fuller's works that came from his press (see p. 402, note), it will be found that they did not long remain on amicable terms, Fuller returning to his former publisher, Williams. Stafford may then have taken up this "budding writer" (as the author terms himself), and encouraged the "blossoming of his endeavours." Stafford, who, when entering the work at Stationers' Hall, very unusually omits all mention of its author, seems to have traded for some years upon the sounder literary reputation of the more popular divine. It may be added here in reference to the less known Fuller, that he is mentioned in the *Autobiography* of Henry Newcome, of Manchester, p. 29; and that in 1658, being then M.A., and Fellow of Christ's College, he wrote in English verse "An Elegy upon Oliver, late Lord Protectour, and Congratulation of the most illustrious Richard in his succession;" as also did "Sam. Fuller, Fellow of S. Johns Coll.," his brother.—*Musarum Cantabrigiensium Luctus & Gratulatio, &c.* Cant. 1658.

- ¶ 5. 1655: ORNITHOLOGIE, or *The Speech of Birds*. London, printed for John Stafford, and are to be sold at his House, at the George at Fleet-bridge. 1655. 12mo. pp. iv. + 55. Brit. Mus. (Grenville Lib. 726. 1-2); E. Riggall, Esq.

This book has a dedication to Roger le Strange, Esq., and is signed "J. S.," i.e. the publisher. The same volume contains the following, the paging recommencing:—

- ¶ 6. 1655: ANTHEOLOGIA or *The Speech of Flowers*. London, printed for John Stafford, and are to be sold at his House, at the George at Fleet-bridge. 1655. (Ent. Sta. Hall, the author's name omitted, on 1st Sept. 1654.) 12mo.

pp. vi. + 90. This is placed *before* the former in E. R.'s copy, which has an engraved title ("R. Vaughā scu."): *Anthologia. The Speech of Flowers. Partly Morall, Partly Mistical. Sould by Iohn Stafford, neare Fleete bridge 1655.*

This frontispiece represents a stiff flower-garden, with trees to match, in the best Dutch fashion; and a wild boar is engaged in "wasting" it. There is no printed title-page to Mr. Riggall's copy. This book is also dedicated by J. S. to Wm. Stafford, Esq., merchant of Bristol.

Brewer says the above were published separately in 1655.

1660: ORNITHO-LOGIE: *or The Speech of Birds: also The Speech of Flowers. Partly Morall Partly Mystical, Being a Historical Relation of these Times. By Tho. Fuller, Batchelor in Divinity. London. Printed for Tho. Rookes, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Holy Lamb, at the East End of St. Paul's Church. 1660. 12mo. Ornithologie, iv. + 55 (A to D 6); Anthologia, 90 (B to G 5). Emanuel Coll. Camb. (T. 6. 12); B. M. Pickering.*

Lowndes mentions an edition of both in 1663, 12mo. with a title similar to the foregoing. It had, he says, an engraved title.

1867: Reprinted by Tegg in crown 8vo. in the volume noticed, § I. ¶ 13, pp. 239-321. The books were reprinted apparently from the 1655 edition, but on the title-pages was added (Qy. from a different copy to that we have noticed), "By the Rev. T. Fuller, B.D."

These works are attributed to Fuller by the anonymous biographer, who entitles them "Speeches of the Beast and Flowers. 8vo."

The following are the works ascribed to Fuller in the Anon. *Life*, 1661: § I. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 6, 15, 10, 14, 12, 13, 21, 18, 23, 5, 19, 24, 22, 27, 26, § II. 5 and 6, § I. 25, 31, § II. 12, § I. 29, 33, § II. 27.—"I have seen above 30 pieces of his writing." (Oldys in the Malone *Worthies*, Bodl.)



"If this undertaking seems to wrong any man's purse, he that imagines it, hath the wrong end of the Book upwards: he that gets books for his money has in my mind as good a bargain as our Mariners who trade with the Indians, and get Gold for Knives, Rattles, Glasses, &c. None is so absurd sure as not to know which scale weighs heavier: I smile to think of that Scholar (which I fear is this Customer) who held that a good Library and a bad Head-piece sticht together: to whom one coming into his study wittily said: *Salvete libri sine Doctore* (Mr. Fuller's *Holy State*): such indeed had better keep their money, which (like Jewels in a Swine's snout) may adorne their acceptance among foolish worldlings: but never privilege their society in wiser company." (Wm. London's *Catalogue of the most Vendible Books in England*, 1658, Sig. B 4, *recto*.)



APPENDIX.

“*Bernardus non vidit omnia*: I could not come to the knowledge of every particular.”—*Appeal*, pt. i. 41, (332).

“THE LATE ACT AT OXFORD” (p. 5).—The 1657 Act is meant. See p. 611 *seq.*

NICHOLAS FULLER, THE BIBLICAL CRITIC (pp. 8-10).—“The first three books of this learned work (the *Miscellanea*) were published at Heidelberg in 1612. The whole appeared, first in 4to. at Leyden, in 1622. The best edition is that published at Strasburg in 1650, 8vo. The author was one of the best Oriental scholars of his time. The six books of the *Miscellanea* include a considerable number of curious and important discussions. They were republished in the seventh volume of Bee’s *Critici Sacri*; and the substance of those which relate to the Bible are to be found dispersed through Poole’s *Synopsis*. After the publication of the first three books, Drusius accused him of being a plagiarist. [Reinetius also made the same accusation. Mede’s *Life* before his Works, p. 76.] From this charge he successfully defended himself in an *Appendix Apologetica* to the editions of 1622 and 1650.” (Orme’s *Bib. Biblica*, p. 198.)

“Mr. Nic Fuller who writ the *Miscellanea Sacra*, was most certainly a very great man and of a most clear Judgment. his stile is good, and his critisms excellent. He was a very severe student, and tho he lived obscurely in the Country, yet he would sometimes come to Oxford, and consult MSS. there, as MSS. were also sometimes sent to him in the Country. Some great men were also generous to him, and would give him Bookes of value. I wish we had a Catalogue of his Study.” (Hearne’s *Diary*, 1721, Jan. 15, Monday. Bodl.)

There is an account of Fuller’s life in the *Miscellanea*.—“June 30, 1586, Nicholas Fuller, of Hart Hall, admitted to the degree of B.A.” (A Wood’s MSS.)—“Wiltes, Aldington, R.—Nicholaus

Fuller, xxiii^o die Martij 1589. Obligantur dnūs Nichūs Thomas Wight parochie Sci' fidis London Stacion' et Johēs Browne parochie sci Clementi Dacon' in cōm Midd. Channdelo^r." (Record Office : *Compositions for First-fruits.*)

"Nicholas Fuller, M.A., admitted to the Preb. of Uffculme, Sarum, 14th Oct. 1612." (Le Neve's *Fasti.*) In the dedication by Sixtus Amama (Professor of Hebrew at the University of Franker, and author of *Responsio ad Nicholas Fuller*) to Arthur Lake of Jo: Drusius, *De Sectis Hebraicis*, 1619, it is said that Nicholas Fuller made the acquaintance of Sixtus Amama at Lake's house.

Some of Fuller's Hebrew notes, presented to the Public Library by Mr. Taylor of Trinity College, still exist in the Bodleian (Arch A. 183) written over the following correspondence. The first letter is addressed "To his approved friend & brother Mr. Nicholas Fuller give these at his house at Allington."

"Brother fuller. After my hartie Comendacōns I have me Cōmended unto yow, beinge very glad to heare as of all your good healthes (w^{ch} I pray God long to Continew) so especially of the welfare of yo^r yong sonne. I had purposed to have bene wth yow before this tyme, but we are so busy in haying y^t I cannot yet wagge. I pray yow remember my duty & my wives to my good mother, my little Stephan dothe greatly lacke her help for I doubt not but by her meanes his rapture might be soone cured, & so not forgetting myne & my wives Comēdacōns to my sister & to yo^r self, I commit you to the p^tection of Almighty God. from Sutton Benger this xxij of July, 1604.

"Yo^r loving brother

"RICHARD AWOODDE [HAWOOD?]"

The second letter, from Southampton, the 15th September, 1609, is addressed "To his loufinge Unckell, Nickolas ffouller in Allington Give this."

"Loufinge Unckell and Ant Comandations Remembringe vnto yo^w, hopinge of yo^{wr} good and prospros health wisheed in the lord, thes few lines ar to adverties yo^w that I haafe sent yo^w and my ant a small quanteyte of oringes & lemons, the wch I hope yo^w will exsept of, for I haid a verey fowll pasedge home ward the wch maid all things groe short with us, not haafinge any thinge to Right unto yo^w, but still desieros to hear of yo^{wr} good health and my ante. I hope to se yo^w a fore I go to seaye. owr frinds ar all well and hath comandations unto yo^w, wt havinge & alls to Right, but the lord blease us all.

"Yow^r kinsman to Comand whill death,

"WILLIAM KELLEY."

The third letter is addressed "To my very goode ffryeind Mr. Thomas Woodyates ffellowe of Excester Colledge in Oxford at his Chamber there."

"Salutem in Christo Jesu/ I am sorry my Leter came vnto yo^w in so trowblesome a tyme. I was in goode hope to have prevented [preceded] the

Kings cōming into those p'ts, and therefore made the more haste : By reason wherof I lefte owt somewhat that then showld ben spoken of, Namely to ad-monishe yo^w, that in case the character of Darga¹ cowl'd not be had, then to vse instede therof the Lrē Z, but turnid the contrary way thus S ffor so showld y^t be as yo^w knewe. Allso I would request this short addition to be sett in th'end after all th' Errata, as beyng very p'tinent to the place there quoted. Though y^t come somewhat Late, y^t maketh in matter yf so y^t may in any wyse be added./ Thus wth o^r dutyfull remembrance in all kynde mann^r to Mr. Vice Chauncello^r [Dr. Lake] & o^r very hartly Comēdations unto yo^w, I betake yo^w to God's blessed keping/ Allington, this 28th of August, 1616.

“Yo^r assured loving ffryend,

“NICOLAS FULLER.”

The letter which follows, written in the year of Nicholas Fuller's death, is addressed to Bp. Andrewes :—“To the Right Reverend Father in God my speciall the L. Bysshop of Win..... one of the King's Majesties m..... Honorable Prevy Councill Winchester house in Sowth werke.”

“Right Reverend, My speciall good Lord, Beyng nowe (as I trust) very neere the tyme of my blessed dep'ture owt of this wretched & synnefull world into the heavenly kingdom, I beseache yo^r hono^r gyve me leave to recōmend my desolate widowe & her two young ones unto yo^r hono^{ble} protection to be supported & defended what yo^w may, agaynst the hard dealing of some yf any soche shalbe/ I have here sent vnto yo^r L^p an Hebrew Lexicon con-tenyng the severall significations of the Hebrew & Chaldey Roots gathered by me owt of all the Translations both Greake & Vulgar Latin, that were euer vsed in the Church of Christ. And to the Lexicon p'teyneth a little booke of short observations upon very many words of the Bible, together wth certeyne small papyrs therein. The Lexicon was gathered for this purpose, that owt of yt (as afoording the matter) there might be framed 2 artificiall Lexicons: The one wonderfull large, wh^{ch} haveng proceeded therein by the space of some 24 sheetes (as is here to be seen, though never p'used by me) I gave cleane over p'ceaving evidently, that yt was not possible for me beyng allready an aged man, euer to finishe one quarter thereof. The othe^r an Abridgem^t of the former, w^{ch} because I was in good hope wthin the space of 2 or 3 years at most to have ended, I was beginning to vndertake. But at the very instant my Sickness seazing upon me, overthrew all. Nowe therefore lett all be, as y^t shall please God and yo^r L^p to dispose of. Yt may be my singular ffriend Mr. Erpenius myght use yt to some good intent/ The Lord of heaven & earth always blesse, preserve & direct yo^r Hono^r in all things/ Amen/ Allington, 17th of August, 1622.

“Yo^r L^{ps} Chapleyn greatly bownden,

“NICOLAS FULLER.”

In Hearne's Diary (1705, April 20) is the following note :—“Arch. Bodl. B. 49. R. Mardocheai Nathanis Radicum sive Thematum Hebraeorum Expositiones Latine à Nicholao Fullero reditæ: ac multis in Locis emendatæ Notisque variis locupletatæ & illustratæ.” 'Tis in 4^{to} & at y^e Beginning is the

¹ The Hebrew character in the form of *s* placed under the letter for accentuation.

Following clause of Mr. Fuller's will relating to the Disposal of it: 'I give and bequeath to Sir Thomas Bodley's Library in Oxford my new Translation in Latin of y^e Hebrew concordance, with manifold notes therein, though not throughly perused nor perfected by me; that if any good thing be found therein it may be forthcoming for the Studious Reader.'

The above volume is a 4to. MS. (present reference, Bodl. Orient. 476) in Nicholas Fuller's handwriting. The entry in the beginning is *not* in the same hand; and it must therefore have been copied after N. Fuller's death from his will.

At the end of the volume is written "Laus Deo, Walthamæ quæ dicitur Epī, 25 Julii, 1621. N. F."

NICHOLAS FULLER, THE LAWYER (p. 10).—In Hearne's Diary (1717, Sept. 27, Friday), "Out of Mr. Tho. Rawlinson's Notebook, G," is the following entry:—

"Penes me in 8^{vo}. A Second Admonition to y^e Parliam^t, lit nigris. MS. sic. This Nicholas ffullar's boke set forth abt the 14th yeare of the Queen [i.e. 1572] y^e Lord God is y^e strenth & the fortres of the faithfull q' ffullar. After followe certaine articles, &c. written by the same hand, probably then in feare of Purvivants, as some doggrell verses there testifie." (Bodl.)

Heylyn's *Letter-Combate*, p. 361: "That Fuller of Devotion of whom I find such honourable mention in the Parliamentary F——."

THOMAS FULLERS (p. 14).—In Browne Willis's Manuscripts, vol. xxiii. p. 26 b (Bodl.) is the following: "Schoolmasters of Eton — 1538. Thomas Fuller, alias Hurland, Usher of Eton, afterwards Schoolmaster of Fotheringhay, co. Nōrthton."

DR. WHITAKER (p. 19). Cole MS. vol. xlix. fol. 152: "Mr. Bakers *History of St. Johns College in Cambridge*.—Dr. Fuller has pickt up a pretty story (as he has done many) concerning this master [i.e. Wm. Whitaker, 16th Master, 1586], preferring men of reputed religion, tho' otherwise Dunces, to men of Learning in the Elections he made. But this story has been told of so many masters that I much doubt whether it be true of any of them. The Doctor was certainly unhappy in his choice, for he could hardly have thought of a Master, had he sought for him, with whom his story would have agreed and suited less. But Stories are such pretty things, and such Embellishments of the Doctors History, that it is hard for him to pass them by: and the Doctor has always Faith enough to believe the strangest stories: which are the best, till they are contradicted. The Author of Dr. Whitakers Life

gives a very different account of his conduct in Elections, and more agreeable to his usual Prudence : for he was no easy man ; nor to be imposed upon by sanctimonious Dunces." Cole then comments thus : " Dr. Fuller tells the story in his *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 97, in an ingenious manner without Quaintness or Punning, but there being an allusion to Alvey's Government, I suppose chiefly offended Mr. Baker. W. C.— This censure of Dr. Fuller is unworthy of Mr. Baker's candour and Good Nature." Cole then adds the commendation of Fuller which is quoted at page 704.

FULLER'S ESSAY OF BUILDING (p. 33).—" The chapter itself is valuable as expressing the ideas of the features considered to be essential in buildings at the time when the Italian style of architecture was being introduced into England by the genius of Inigo Jones ; although conveying in a very happy manner maxims derived from an observance of the edifices erected under the influence of the taste of Elizabeth and James the First." (From an article on this Essay in the *Architectural Publication Soc.*, 1854, by John W. Papworth.)

THE TOUNSON FAMILY (p. 37).—The Register of St. Botolph's, Cambridge, contains (so Dr. Campion, of Queens', informed me) the following records of baptisms of the Townson, Townson, or Toulson family :—

"Item on Sunday the 19th July was christened Amy Townson, the daughter of Christopher Townsonne, 1573 ;"

"Item James Toulson the Sonne of Christopher Toulsonn, baptized the ii day of December, 1575 ;"

"Robert Toulnesonne, the Sonne of Renold Toulnesonn, baptised y^e 8 of Janu. 1575-6." [This without doubt is Bp. Townson.]

"Alexander Toulsonne filius Christopheri Toulsonne, baptizatus 14 Feb. 1577-8 ;"

"Gulielmus Toulsonne filius Christopheri Toulson, baptiz. 4 Sept. 1680."

"Gameliell Toulsonne filius Renoldi Toulsonne, bap. 11 Feb. 1582-3."

The Rev. John Townson, M.A., Rector of Much Lees, Essex, and father of Rev. Dr. Thos. Townson (b. 1715, d. 1792, author of an esteemed work on the Gospels), was a native of Lancashire. The family came originally from Yorkshire, and is believed, on the authority of James Harris, Esq., of Salisbury (see page 148), to belong to the same stock as the Bishop. (See *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1792, p. 817, and Churton's ed. of his Works.)

SYDNEY-SUSSEX COLL. REGISTER (p. 47).—The copy of Fuller's admission was printed in Report III. of the Historical MSS. Commission, § Sydney College, p. 328.

THE EDUCATION OF YOUTHS (p. 50).—In a book of emblems (1598) Willet thus refers to the requisites in the education of boys :—

“A scholler must in youth be taught,
And three things keepe in minde full sure :
God's worship that it first be sought,
And manners then with knowledge pure ;
In church, in schoole, at table must he
Devout, attent, and handsome be.”

THE ART OF PUNNING (p. 51).—“I wonder the author of the art of punning does not mention the Universities with more particular respect upon this occasion; since they have always been its nursing mothers, and brought it into that flourishing state in which, amidst the decay of other sorts of learning, it at present continues. It is a sufficient proof how much the stupendous art was studied at the Universities that all sermons before the Restoration are embellished in every page with great numbers of the most exquisite puns; and a man who was not blessed with this happy talent could not make a popular preacher, nor get any preferment; for our wise forefathers judged of the merits of men by their abilities in this particular; and we have a famous story of a most sagacious and long-headed King who gave a person in those times two bishoprics at once for a pun.” (*Terrae-Filius*, No. 39.)

FOXÉ'S BOOK OF MARTYRS (p. 54).—“The Bible was the book in the world to him dear and precious. The next book, the *Book of Martyrs*, he took great delight in.” (*Two Lives of Nich. Farrar*, by Prof. Mayor, p. 4.)

MR. THOMAS TRESHAM OF GEDDINGTON (p. 61) was a Royalist, and paid £150 for his composition.

ROBERT BROWN (p. 69).—“‘Mr. Brown, Parson of Achurch, was buried Oct. 1633,’ at St. Giles,” Northampton. (See Rev. H. L. Elliott's *The Parish Registers of Northampton*, privately printed about 1832, p. 23.)

BISHOP DAVENANT (pp. 75 seq., 200 seq.)—Feb. 11, 1622. Queen's College. The Bishop of Salisbury to the Marquis of Buckingham. If it appears that the petition of the Fellows is falsely coloured, he hopes that he will not have to leave his Mastership so soon as in March. (*Hist. MSS. Commission, II. Report*, p. 60.)—In 1622 Dr. Ward was at Salisbury with Dr. Davenant, when the former was corresponding with Ussher (*Parr's Life of Ussher*).—There are materials for a Life of

Davenant in Lansdown MS. 985, Brit. M., pp. 3, 4, 5, and 22 : "Electus die xi. Junii, 1621, confirmatus 17 Nov. & die crastino consecratus in Capella infra palatium Episcopale London. ab Epis. London. Wigorn. Elien. Cicestr. & Oxon. virtute commissionis ab Asepo data 17 Nov. 1621." *Reg. Abbot.*—Baxter has references to Davenant, i. 31, i. 109, &c. See also Pierce's Answer to Baxter, *Grot. Reliq.* pp. 136, 143, Walker's *Sufferings*, ii. 62.—Davenant's eagerness to establish union among the Reformed churches (p. 209) may be inferred from the animated language with which he has expressed himself on the subject : "I had rather a milstone 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*).—The work on *The Colossians* (p. 210) 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 Ussher, Parr, p. 394.)

THE "DISSENTING BRETHERN" of the Assembly (p. 91) were Tho. Goodwin, Philip Nye, Wm. Bridge, Simson, and Jer. Burroughs; as to whom Fuller says : "I confess my personal respects to some of the aforementioned dissenters for favours received from them." (*Ch.-Hist.* xi. 208.)

DR. WARD (p. 94, &c.).—There are letters from Dr. Ward, Sydney College, to Archbp. of Armagh, with replies, in Parr's *Life* of the prelate. Letter xcvi., June 6, 1626 : "The night before the choice of our new Chancellor I was very ill, so as without hazard of my health I could not be at the choice." (See p. 92 *ante*.) Letter c., June 17, refers to the Cod-fish (p. 93 *ante*). Letter cviii., July 5, 1626 : "These commencement affairs here so distracted me that I cannot recollect myself, to bethink of some things which I would have demanded of your Lordship." Letter clx., May 26, 1630 : "There hath hapned the most doleful dissolving of our University, and the most suddain dispersion of our students that ever I knew, occasioned by the Infection. . . . Now our school-gates are shut up, and our colleges left desolate and empty almost." (See p. 117 *ante*.)

FELLOW COMMONERS AND SYDNEY COLLEGE (p. 101).—In April, 1859, Mr. Pamplin, of 15, Frith-street, Soho-square, London, had for sale (price 2s. 6d.) a manuscript which he calls, *Dr. Duports Rules to Fellow-Commoners*. The Doctor sums

up the whole work and pastime of each day in the following distich :—

“Surge, precare, stude, contempla, currito, prande,
Lauda, stude, meditare, precare, quiesce.”

“This MS. was written probably about the beginning of the last century,” adds Mr. Pamplin.

THE “PESTILENTIAL” DOCTORS (p. 118).—See an illustration of this matter in Gataker’s *Discours Apologetical*, p. 42: “My time came in the University for taking the Degree of Doctor in Divinity: which being known in the House divers of the Ancients with whom I was most familiar incited me to the undertaking of it, alledging that it might be a step for me to further advancement. . . . I told them merrily ‘They must first make me a Doctor-like maintenance ere I would take the degree.’ . . . Not many years after when the Plague was hot in the town there, not a few that would adventure thither obtained the degree without wonted performance of acts or usual charge of entertainment: Unto them I made answer ‘That if ever I took the degree of Doctor, I would not be styled either a *Royal* or *Pestilential* Doctor’; which by-names were in common speech given unto those that had taken that degree at either of those times.”

DR. DUPORT (p. 121) “appears to have been the main instrument by which literature was upheld in this university during the civil disturbances.” See an article on Duport in *Museum Criticum*, No. 8.

THE CAMBRIDGE FENS (p. 123).—Mr. Fuller’s *Observations of the Shires* makes allusion to the dirty feet and impure breath of “Dr. Cambridge” as due to “those ever panting Fenns on the north side that ne’re will be mending. The truth was, Oxford and Cambridge were at so high words, as that they had gone together, if long Northamptonshire had not come betwixt them, and parted them” (*Col. Cur.* i. 224). There are observations about the foggy air of Pisa and Cambridge in delightful old Burton.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS (p. 144).—Among them was an Edw. and Saml. Fuller. See Hanbury’s *Hist. Mem.*, vol. i. 399.—Brook, in his *Hist. Puritans*, names a Mr. Fulwar, a Puritan.

THE ALDWINCLE BURIAL REGISTERS (p. 145) only begin in 1651.

HENCHMAN PEDIGREE (p. 147).—The following pedigree is taken from Wood MSS., Bodl., E. 5. 58, p. 43 :—

HENCHMAN, *al's* Crosborough, of Great =
Dodington, in com. Northampton.

Rich. Henchman, of Wellingborough, co. Northamptonsh.	=	Alice, dau. of	Pinder, of Welling- borough, co. Northamptonsh.
Thomas Henchman, of Wellingborough, co. Northamptonsh.	=	Mary, dau. of	Freeman, of Irchester, com.
Thomas Henchman, of London, skinner, 1633.	=	Ann, dau. of	Griffith, of Overwarran.
Humphrey Henchman, Chanter of Sarum (Bp. of Lond.) 3 son.	= dau. of	Dr. Tonson, Bp. of Sarum.

There is mention of Bishop Henchman in Prof. Mayor's *Matthew Robinson*, p. 355.—“Henchman laid his hand on George Herbert's head, and within less than three years lent his shoulder to carry him to his grave.” (*Walton's Life of H.*)

THE SALISBURY CLERGY (p. 147), AND FULLER'S CONFORMITY (p. 150).—Papers relating to Archbishop Laud's Visitation of Salisbury have just been issued in the *IV. Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, p. 127. Many important particulars of the ecclesiastical department of the bishop and clergy of the diocese will be found in it. “The picture of cathedral life shown to us by these records is as minute as it is entertaining and instructive.” At p. 130 is a several and particular answer of Dr. Henchman. Richard Chaundler, p. 131, Matthew Nicholas, Edward Davenant, and James White (“Parson of Boscombe”) are also mentioned.

CAMBRIDGE IN 1634 (p. 160).—Dr. Ward to Archbishop Ussher, June 14, 1634: “We have had some doings here of late about one of Pembroke-Hall who preaching in St. Mary's about the beginning of Lent upon James ii. 22 seemed to avouch the insufficiency of Faith to Justification. . . . Whereupon on Wednesday last, being Barnaby Day, the day appointed for the admission of the Batchelors of Divinity, and the choice of the Batchelors of Divinity, which must answer *Die Comitiorum*; he was stayed by the major part of the suffrages of the Doctors of the Faculty. . . . The truth is there are some heads among us that are great abettors of Mr. Tourney, the party above mentioned. . . . Innovators are too much favoured now-a-days. . . . It may be you are willing to

hear of our University affairs. I may truly say I never knew them in worse condition since I was a member thereof, which is almost forty-six years. Not but that I hope the greater part is orthodox; but that new Heads are brought in, and they are backed in maintaining novelties. . . . Others are disgraced and checked when they come above, as myself was by my Lord of York [Neyle] the last Lent, for favouring Puritans in Consistory" (p. 471).

BENJ. DISRAELI AND FULLER'S "GOOD SEA-CAPTAIN" (p. 168).—In this character there is a passage of quaint eloquence about the sea, in which Fuller asks: "Who first taught the water to imitate the creatures on land, so that the sea is the stable of horse-fishes, the sty of hog-fishes, the kennel of dog-fishes, and in all things the sea the ape of the land?" (p. 122). The full passage will also be found in Southey's *Commonplace Book* (1st Ser. p. 381).

"In *Vivian Grey*, Part II., there is a direct plagiarism of a portion of the above extract from Fuller. Essper George addresses the sea as follows: 'O thou indifferent ape of earth,—what art thou, O bully Ocean, but the stable of horse-fishes, the stall of cow-fishes, the sty of hog-fishes, and the kennel of dog-fishes?'—A modern novel-writer might probably deem himself very secure in plundering the folio of an old divine; but one would hardly have expected him to think of resorting to such a source." *The Christian Examiner* (1831, Boston, U.S.), New Series, vol. vi. p. 21.

THE MOURNING OF MOUNT LIBANON (pp. 183, *n.* 3; and 417, *n.* 2).—This sermon is, by a writer (not Oldys) of a MS. note at the end of the Malone copy of the *Worthies*, falsely attributed to Thomas Fuller.

DR. HOLDSWORTH (p. 188).—He had been advanced by Williams to the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon and Stall of Buckden. He was also Master of Emanuel College, and Margaret Professor of Divinity.

LADY JANE COVERT (p. 196).—Jane, eldest dau. and coheir of Sir John Shirley of Isfield, co. Sussex, Kt., married—1st, Sir Walter Covert of Slougham, Sussex, Kt.; 2dly, about 1632-3, John Freake of Cerne, co. Dorset, Esq.; and 3dly, 12 March, 1641-2, Denzell Holles, first Baron Holles, of Ifield, to whom she was 2nd wife, and who survived her. Fuller addresses her by her old title, as was customary. She was baptized at Isfield 3rd Jan. 1596-7, and married there to Sir Walter Covert, 22nd Aug. 1616. Her will, dated 31st July, 1658, was proved 13th April,

1667. In it she describes herself as "Dame Jane Covert of Ceawe Abbas, co. Dorset." She was buried at Iwerne Court-nay, co. Dorset, 25th April, 1666. In her will she mentions her jointure house at Pepper Harrow. (For the above particulars I am indebted to Col. Chester.)

IMAGES IN CHAPELS (p. 202, *n.*).—See Fuller's observations on meretricious articles in chapels, in *The Appeal*, p. (51), (345).

MR. MAYNARD (p. 204) was afterwards Serjeant, and Sir John Maynard; twice imprisoned by Cromwell. Fuller refers to him in the *Appeal*, pt. iii. 41 (607): "Master (now Serjeant) Maynard, no less eminently known for his skill in law than his love for the clergy by pleading so effectually for their tithes."

FULLER AND WESTMINSTER ABBEY (p. 250).—In reference to the pavement before the high altar Fuller says: "How often have I trampled on that pavement!" (*Worthies*, § Hartfordsh. p. 20.)

THE ACCOMMODATION (p. 255).—"All our labour and hazards become fruitless and of no effect; and all good Englishmen, lovers of the peace of their country, were troubled and disappointed." (Whitelocke, i. 201.)

THE ZEAL FOR REFORMATION (p. 259).—"No day passed wherein some petition was not presented . . . against the bishops as grand grievancers. . . . Insomuch that the very porters (as they said) were able no longer to undergo the burden of Episcopal tyrrany, and petitioned against it." (*Ch.-Hist.* xi. 185.)

THE "BILL OF MORTALITY" (p. 266).—The original seems to have been *Persecutio Undecima. The Churches Eleventh Persecution*. . . . Printed in the Yeere 1648. Pp. 44-50;—a work which perhaps suggested to Walker his *Sufferings*.

WILLIAM LILLY (p. 271).—"Dr. Fuller, having broke a jest upon Will. Lilly the Almanack Maker, he was resolved to set a mark upon him for it, which he has done in these words: 'I would be sorry to belie the dead, &c.'" (MS. notes *ad fin.* Malone *Worthies*, Bibl. Bodl.) See D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, pp. 405-6.—Fuller affected by astrology: see *Pisgah-Sight*, ii. 160.

THE OXFORD ROYALISTS (p. 282).—See Parr's *Ussher*, p. 282; and Hacket's *Williams*, pt. ii. 203.

PENANCE IN A "PRINTED SHEET" (p. 287).—This joke is repeated in Hardy's *Sad Prognostic*, p. i., *To the Reader*.

"COURTESY GAINETH" (p. 304).—See Whitelocke, vol. i. 207-8 (modern ed.).

THE PRESS AT OXFORD (p. 305).—"The press, like the pool of Bethesda, oppressed with multitudes." (Symmons, in the preface to his *Military Sermon*.)

"THE ROUNDHEAD'S REMEMBRANCER" (p. 310) is generally understood to have been written by Heylyn.

BASING HOUSE (p. 322).—There is an old view of the house in the Sutherland *Clarendon* (vol. ii. p. 407), in the Bodleian, signed "I. D."; and another "from an ancient drawing. Lond. pub. March 1787 by W. Maynard." The collection does not contain Hollar's view, an original print of which has been given to me by W. H. Turner, Esq.—"A splendid print has been recently published of the pillage and destruction of Basing House." (*Worthies of Cumberland*, 1841, p. xii.)

JACOB'S VOW (p. 329).—12th Nov. 1652: "Dr. Clare preached on 28th Gen. v. 20, 21, 22, upon Jacob's vowe, it being the first Sunday his Majesty came to Chapell after his escape." (Evelyn's *Diary*.)

STANLEY GOWER (p. 347, note 4) is mentioned in *Worthies* (Lanc. ¶ R. Rothwell) as an honest and able person.

WILLIAM FULLER (p. 362).—In Nichols's *Leicestershire*, iii. 1098, referring to Rymer, vol. xx. p. 398, mention is made of a Rev. Wm. Fuller, Rector of Wanlip, Leicestershire, 1639; patron, the King. His successor was Timothy Kirke, appointed 1646.

HUGH GROVE (p. 368).—An account of his capture and execution will be found in Lloyd's *Memoires*, p. 555.

FULLER'S SADNESS (p. 371) illustrates his own saying that "merry men when sad are very sad." (*Pisgah-Sight*, i. 15.)

R, THE DOG'S LETTER (p. 375).—Ben Jonson gives Rr! as an interjection "that serveth to set dogs by the ears" (p. 782), in which sense it is not yet obsolete. "R is for the dog" (*Romeo & Juliet*, ii. 4). "Arr" is still frequent in Northamptonshire, as *tarr* (A. S. *terian*, to provoke) in Cheshire. The latter word occurs in Wiclif. There is a reference to the "wharling" of the

natives of Carlton, in Leicestershire, in Fuller's *Ch.-History*, p. 125 (Southey). On the word "wharling" Southey adds: "Rhotacismus is Camden's word, and he says *most* of the natives have it, 'a harsh and ungrateful manner of speech with a guttural and difficult pronunciation.' Perhaps originally a colony from Durham or Northumberland whose descendants had the burr still sticking in their throats." (*Commonplace Bk.*, iv. 415. See also p. 393.)

On the word *wharling*, see *Worthies*, § Leices. p. 126; and *Pisgah*, bk. ii. p. 183.

FULLER'S PETITION FOR HIS COMPOSITION (p. 376).—An allusion by Fuller to the process is quoted in Spencer, p. 152. For the procedure in such cases see the Petition (dated 18th Aug. 1646) of *Sir John Stawell* (*Somers Tracts*, vol. vi.), in which he states that he "hath good right to the Articles of Exeter dated 8th April, 1846," and that he "hath performed all that was on his part by the said Articles required." *Mr. John Ash* was Chairman of the Committee of Goldsmiths' Hall "when your petitioner first appeared to make tender of his composition;" and *Mr. John Leech* was clerk to the committee. Stawell is mentioned, as one who lost heavily in the troubles, in Fuller's *Mixt Contemplations*, pt. i. No. ix. p. 15.

MINISTERS' FIFTHS (p. 378).—There is mention of Fuller on this subject in Hacket's *Williams* (ii. 200). Fuller says that but a nineteenth part was paid in some places; and that in his defence of the clergy he had done more than consisted with his safety. (*Appeal*, ii. 74.)

FULLER'S REFUGE IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (p. 386).—In 1650 Ussher found refuge in the same neighbourhood, viz. at Lowick.—So Archbp. Williams during the troubles betook himself to his birthplace at Conway. "It was the magnetic attraction of the town wherein he was born that drew him thither." (Hacket, ii. 207-8.)

CASE-DIVINITY (p. 396, note 3).—This passage is also quoted as Fuller's in a Sermon at St. Clement's, 1649, in Spencer's *Things New and Old*, p. 412, No. 1154.

OLD SERMONS (p. 428).—Dean Colet's wise preference is thus mentioned by Fuller: "Here [at St. Paul's] Colet read his former Lectures over again, preferring rather to set on the table wholesome cold meat which had been there once before than to feed his auditors with flesh half raw, though hot from the spit." (*Daily Devotions: Colet's Life*.)

Winstanley, in his *England's Worthies*, makes the following reference to Fuller's opinion: "Mr. Fuller excellently dis-

coursing of preaching twice a day, commends the necessity of a large repetition in the afternoon which he compares to a dish of cold meat, which with a little addition will suffice those that are not of too greedy appetites, all ear and nothing else." (§ *Life of Andrews*, p. 293.)

FULLER AND THE TIMES (p. 452).—"There want not those who dare to defend the foresaid spoiling of Gods house to be lawful, chiefly alledging absolute necessity (that bawd-general of all illegitimate actions) that, otherwise, in such extremities the kingdom of Judah could not be preserved from foreign invasion. In vain doth *What may be* dispute when *What must be* sits Doctor of the Chair. It is not only lawful but needful to shave the hair thereby to save the head." (*Pisgah-Sight*, iii. 403.)

ISAAC FULLER (p. 475).—In one of Hearne's Diaries, under date of 1717, *Sept. 25, Wedn.*, he has a memorandum out of Mr. Tho. Rawlinson's Note-book: "Penes me in 4to. forma oblonga, *Un libro da designiare f. Fuller fecit. London printed and sold by P. Stent at the White horse in Guiltspur streete betwixt Newgate and Py Corner 1654.* This is Fuller's Drawing Book who painted All Souls Chapell, and Magdalen Coll. Oxon Altar Piece constat. foliis No. 13. He also painted the Roome called the Mitre in the Mitre Taverne in ffanchurch street, London, where my Grandfather Danl. Rawlinson gott his estate, tho' we are of an ancient ffamily in Lancashire: I have the seat still w^{ch} one of both my name & lineal ancest^r possessed A° 1538."

HENRY ISAAKSON (p. 496).—His will is dated 29th July, 1639; proved 2nd Feb. 1654 (263, Aylett). He calls himself citizen and "paynterstayer" of London; mentions several bishops and clergymen of Cambridge. "I give & bequeath unto my sonne William all my bookes and writeings except evidences bibles service bookes and prayer bookes, and except so many of my parte of Chronologies which shalbe unsold at the tyme of my decease which are in the Custody of Henry Seile and Humphrie Robinson, Stationers, or in the Custody of eyther of them, or their assigns or any of them, which Chronologies are part of my personall estate and are to be apprized and disposed of towards the performance of this my last will."

"CHOYCE DROLLERY" (p. 553, note 2), was by Cromwell's government, Mr. Hazlitt says, ordered to be burned.

"THE HEAVY SHOVE" (p. 603, note 4), was not written by Baxter, but by William Bunyan. See the early numbers of *Notes and Queries*. It is an exceedingly rare book.

ROBERT SOUTH AS TERRAE-FILIUS (p. 611; see also pp. 97, 235, 465-6).—"It is so long since I had the honour of your company at the theatre at Oxford, that I am afraid, according to the custom of the world, you have almost forgot your old acquaintance: I will, therefore, first of all, put you in mind who I am. . . . It has, till of late, been a custom, from time immemorial, for one of our family to mount the Rostrum at Oxford at certain seasons, and divert an innumerable crowd of spectators, who flock'd thither to hear him from all parts, with a merry oration in the Fescennine manner, interspers'd with secret history, raillery, and sarcasm, as the occasions of the times supply'd him with matter." (*Terrae-Filius*, No. 1, 1721.) "Indeed the practice of punning in the pulpit is at present somewhat abated; DR. SOUTH being, I think, the last learned divine that is eminent for his spiritual joking to save souls. But it is not yet wholly disused." (*Ibid.* No. 39.)

HENRY STUBBE (p. 614).—An account of this celebrated man will be found in A Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* It mentions his appointment to the Bodleian.

DR. COSIN (p. 634).—Several interesting particulars of Cosin will be gathered from the MSS. in the House of Lords (*IV. Report Hist. MSS. Commission*). Among other documents is Cosin's detailed answer to the charges laid against him (p. 65).

FULLER AND COSIN (p. 635).—"Videat curiosus lector si libet ipsius Cosini literas Apologeticas scriptas Parisiis Aprilis vi. A. MDCLVIII contra Fulleri, qui haec omnia nimio erga Presbyterianos affectu abreptus, non mala fide, saltem iniquè prorsus parte inaudita altera, repraesentavit, cavillationes, & a D. Petro Heylino, strenuo ecclesiae Anglicanae Pugile, in appendice examinatis & animadversionum in Ecclesiasticam Britanniae Historiam ejusdem Fulleri, Rhapsodiam potius nuncupandum, indoctam, ineptam, omni judicio, profundaque rerum indagine vacuum, foedisque erroribus scatentem A. MDCLIX. editas." (*Vitae Quorundam Eruditissimorum et Illustrium Virorum, Scriptore Thoma Smitho*, 1707, p. 11.)

THE "HISTORY OF THE HOLY WAR" (page 714).—Mr. Thomas Kerslake possesses a variation of the 1647 edition. There are differences in the title-page, the border of fleurs-de-lis being larger; and typographical differences occur throughout the book. From some manifest improvements in the setting of the type, Mr. Kerslake considers that his copy is the later impression; and it affords a confirmation of Fuller's remark about the book "sticking still" at the third edition (page 714).

COTTON MATHER AND FULLER (p. 734).—See Southey's *Doctor*, p. 108.

“THE APPEAL OF INJURED INNOCENCE” (p. 739).—I have since obtained a copy of this entertaining folio, containing a few manuscript notes by a contemporary. Thus, in the passage about Waltham's calf (quoted *supra*, p. 641), it is added “T: F: was parson of Waltham.” At page 74 (part iii.) where Fuller mentions that what need (as pleaded) in time of war took from Clare Hall, “that conscience in the same person hath since restored to the full, as Dr. Dillingham, my worthy friend and master of the college, hath enformed me,” my commentator remarks: “Some restitvtion was made y^e col: by O. C. but not to y^e fvl by above an hvdred povnd vpon my knowledge.” Other notes show that the annotator was an anti-Calvinist.

SPENCER'S “THINGS NEW AND OLD” AND FULLER (p. 754).—In this folio the following (according to my manuscript index) are the sources of the eighty-two extracts in it from Fuller: From *Holy State*, 27; from unpublished sermons, 19 (see *Bibl.* § II. ¶¶ 6–10 and 17); from published sermons, 13; from *Cause and Cure*, 12; from the *Thoughts*, 10; and from *The Church-History*, 1. At page 401 of the folio the numbers of the extracts begin to be repeated from 1123 (the former number being 1412), and from that point they go up to 2004. There is thus in the volume a selection of 2293 passages. A Selection from this folio entitled *Pulpit Illustrations* was published in Edinburgh, cr. 8vo. 6s., 1862.

MR. FRANCIS ASH (pp. 778, 506, 741) is the gentleman to whom is dedicated § vii. of the *Hist. Camb.* He was a rich London merchant, of whom it is said that he had “a full hand and full heart to be bountiful on all good occasions” (§ vii. ¶ 16). He gave to Emanuel College the manor of Shamborne, in Norfolk, and founded ten scholarships of £10 per annum each, with a preference, 1st, to founder's kind; 2nd, to the Grammar-schools at Derby and Ashby-de-la-Zouch. The net annual value of the estate (left in trust for various additional purposes) out of which they are payable, is about £380. (*Report Camb. Univ. Inquiry Commissioners*, fo. Lond. 1852, p. 427.) Fuller quaintly says that Ash made his own hands his executors, and his eyes overseers; adding that “it is not so kindly charity for men to give what they can keep no longer.” This benefaction suggested Fuller's happy rhymes, quoted *antea*, p. 132.



INDICES

§ I. NOMINUM; § II. RERUM; § III. LOCORUM; § IV. VERBORUM.

"An index is the *bag and baggage* of a book, of more use than honour; even such who seemingly slight it, secretly using it, if not for *need*, for *speed*, of what they desire to find." (*Pisgah-Sight*, § Index.)

"An index is a necessary *implement*, and no *impediment* of a book, except in the same sense wherein the carriages of an army are termed *impedimenta*. Without this, a large Author is but a labyrinth without a clue to direct the reader therein. I confess there is a lazy kind of learning which is only *Indical*; when scholars (like adders which only bite the horse-heels) nibble but at the Tables, which are *calces librorum*, neglecting the body of the book. But, though the idle deserve no crutches—let not a staff be used by them, but on them—pity it is the weary should be denied the benefit thereof, and industrious scholars prohibited the accommodation of an index, most used by those who most pretend to condemn it." (*The Worthies*, § Norfolk, p. 256.)

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 575
 — Church 69 115
 seq 143
 Caius Coll 687
 Emanuel Coll 80 104 506
 513 778
 Jesus Coll 503-4
 Pembroke Hall 771
 Queen's Coll 36-7 47 73
 seq 219
 St Johns Coll 19 104 112
 St Mary's Church 513
 534
 Sydney Coll 47 101 *seq*
 137 161-2 710-1 715
 Trinity Coll 18 85 459
- Capernaum 480
 Carlton 375 775
 Charmouth 153 213 680
 Chelsea 409 431 540 545-6
 Cheriton Down 316
 Cheshunt 460
 Chichester 315
 Copt-Hall 15 454-6
 Cottenham 58
 Coventry 58 703
 Cranford 5 578 614 *seq*
 Damasus 479 [690-1
 Dean Prior 159
 Devizes 264 311-2
 Donnington Castle 318 348
- Dorchester 345 *seq* 737
 Dorsetshire 153 309
 Dunkirk 467 761
 Durants 460
 Durham 465
 Dyrdans 519
 Easton Maudit 45 393
 Eddington 310
 Edge-hill 236 243 252 274
 Ely 113 710
 Enfield 461
 Epping Forest 443
 Exhurst 280 624
 Exeter ix 264 310 331 *seq*
 337 *seq* 775
 Farnham Castle 35 319
 Felstead 457
 Fotheringay 57
 Geddington 57 61-2 400
 768
 Gedding Little 228-30
 Gillingham 168
 Glasgow 330
 Gloucester 264 271
 Grafton-under-Woods 58
 Grantham 571
 Heselton 284 289
 Highworth 88 145-6 217
 Holland 28 383 670
 Holmby House 390-1
 Hopton Heath 233
 Hounslow Heath 616
 Jerusalem 388 479

- Lackham 94-5 135
 Lancashire 250 373 513-4
 Landsdown 311
 Leicester 513
 Lewsdon Hill 153
 Lichfield 576
 Lincoln 468 622 *seq*
 Liskeard 310
 Liveden 59 61
 London ix 18 382 460 504
 seq et passim
 Charing-cross 674
 Covent Garden 245 688
 Ely House 278 434
 Goldsmiths' and Haberdashers' Halls 376
 Inns of Court 230
 Mercers' Chapel 518 527 673 730
 Paul's Cross 442 758
 Paul's School 200 518 710
 St Andrew's 433 514
 St Botolph's 463 528
 St Bride's 406 514 289 *seq* 605
 St Clement Danes 245-6 267 *seq*
 — Eastcheap 377 411-2 415 419 509 *seq* 533 775
 St Dunstan's East 412-3
 — West 419
 St Leonard's Eastcheap 419
 St Martin's in the Fields 245 267 *seq*
 St Mary-le-Strand 231 -232
 — Magdalene 508
 — Savoy 245
 St Paul's Covent Garden 440
 St Peter's Poor 435
- London—
 Savoy Chapel ix 155 213 230 *seq* 288 290 303 371 389 668 677-8
 Sion College 299 504-5 595 *seq* 615 686 *seq* 711
 Temple Bar 245
 Whitehall 428 603
 Lyme 167 171
 Maldon 586
 Manchester 514
 Owens Coll 333 *et passim*
 Marlboro' 324
 Marston Moor 331
 More Crichel 166
 Mortlake 472
 Navemby 467-8
 Nene R 22 *seq*
 Netherbury 139 213 227 288 679
 Newbury 271 317 324 330 348
 Newton 61-2
 Newton Toney 218-9
 Northampton 22-3 71
 Northamptonshire 22 *seq* 41 70 385-6 770 775
 Norwich 213-4
 Nottingham 236 384
 Oakington 67
 Old 37
 Orleans 750
 Oundle 20 24 47-8 87
 Oxford 5 84 247 267 270 *seq* 287 313 321 *seq* 339 466 570-1 611 *seq* 770 *et passim*
 All Souls 776
 Clare Hall 778
 Lincoln Coll 248 275 *seq* 304 308 313
 St Mary's 281 326
 Magdalen Coll 274 776
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- Pepper Harrow 196 773
 Pillesden Pen 153-4
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 Rockingham Forest 24
 Romford 496
 Roundway Down 312
 Saffron Walden 458
 Salisbury 88 141 146 206 211 217 303 583 679 685
 Severn Sea 36
 Shaftesbury 606
 Sible Hedingham 35 p
 Stamford 57-8
 South Perrot
 Stebbing 462 *seq*
 Strasburg 750
 Stratton 310
 Theobalds 523
 Thorpe 25
 Tichmarsh 25 *seq*
 Tolleshunt Knights 462
 Torrington 361
 Uxbridge 264
 Wadenhoe 28
 Waltham Abbey xii 5 438 *seq* 470 *seq* 517 522 555 582 614 778
 — Cross 442
 Warkton 390
 Weekley 389
 Wellingboro' 37
 Winchester 314 317 679
 Winterbourne Whitchurch 681-2
 Winwick 285
 Wellingboro' 37 771
 Westminster 254 *seq*
 The Abbey 234 245 250 254 454 773
 School 279 [205
 Jerusalem Chamber 186
 York 236 250
 Zurich 750

§ IV. INDEX VERBORUM.¹

AFFECT 238 = love
 Aldwincl 23 Etymology of
 ancients 104 = dignified lineage. The
 sentence in question is quoted by Webster
 Ancients 770 = elders, Isa. iii. 14

andirons 215 = bright circular and concave
 pieces of brass affixed to the top of the
 iron supports of a grate. Bacon;
 Shaks.; Ezek. xl. 11, margin, "endirons,
 or the two hearth-stones."
 artist 82

(1) Fuller's writings form a storehouse of
 archaic words, old-fashioned phrases, proverbs,
 fanciful etymologies, and other verbal odds and

ends. The above rough list is mainly composed
 of such materials; but it is only derived from the
 foregoing pages. It should be stated that all the

at adventures 55
 atone 539
 ἀρόπος 82 'unreasonable,' 2 Thes. iii. 2.
 See also Fuller's use of the word topic
 = place, *Pisgah* iv. 60
 attent 768 = heedful. Spencer; 2 Chr.
 vi. 40
 back-friend 496 = enemy. See *Pisgah* iv.
 23; v. 199 'Our Romish back-friends,'
 South
 bands 294 = banns
 βάρβαρος 520
 base and by-respect 296
 battell 102
 begrutch 432. Spencer.
 behaviour 55
 bewray 374 = makes evident, Matt. xxvi.
 73, without the idea of treachery
 (betray). See also Prov. xxvi. 16
 black art 314 = necromancy
 boon fire 662. He gives two etymologies:
 'Some derive it from fires made of
 bones, relating it to the burning of mar-
 tyrs. . . . But others derive the word
 (more truly in my mind) from *boon*, i.e.
 good'
 boyed 19
 brink of the brink 287 353
 burnish 199. "Burnish, sprout and
 swell," Herbert
 bwoy 638, illustrating what Smart calls
 'the slow correct pronunciation' of the
 word
 candied 103 = whitened. *Pisgah* ii. 196
 cannot almost 329
 carpet 215 = the covering of a table. See
Ch.-Hist. vii. 417
 cartes 492 = maps. In *Pisgah* v. 183
 Fuller writes it *cardes*. Bacon
 case-divinity 396 795 = casuistry
 cavalier 234
 chenie 215. Cf. *chenille*
 cheverel 190 = pliable as leather; from
chèvre, goat. Shaks.; *Pisgah* iii. 317.
 Phillips hazards an etymology from the
 River *Charwell* in Oxon
 chirurgon 396
 chorography 184 491. *Chorographer*,
Pisgah ii. 95
 χορηός 605
 clods, clouts 55

compliment Etymology of 197
 compurgator 150 = one who justifies
 another by oath. *H. State* 26 33 56 &c
 conceit 178 = a concept or conception
 conjecture-at 374
 conscionably 595 = conscientiously
 consulatory 638 = consulatory
 conversation 208. Gal. i. 13
 corrival 537 = rival, Shaks.; *H. War*
 17; *H. State* 72 160 241 253 seq
 cosmographer, -phy 184 518
 country-customer 4. Customer with
 Fuller (*H. State* 263) = a toll-gatherer,
 or collector of customs
 creeples 479, probably so pronounced.
 Cf. creep creepie cripple with ge-saelig,
 seely (Spencer), silly
 Cretians 239. Titus i. 12
 critiz'd-on, criticism 579 763
 Curate 438 = Rector or Vicar. 'All
 bishops and curates,' *Com. Prayer*.
 Cf. Fr. *curé* and *vicaire*, the English
 usage being reversed

damascens 479 = damsons, its contracted
 form. An intermediate form is found
 in Phillips: 'The best sort of prunins
 which are called Damask prunins or
 damasines'
 defy 638 = disclaim. *Appeal* pt. i. p. 38;
 1 Cor. xii. 3 (edd. Tynd. & Cran.)
 degenerate, degenerate 336 671 = un-
 worthy. Bacon
 derive 23 576 &c. = turn the course of,
 transmit. Bacon; *Pisgah* iv. 48
 disannul 32 64 = a stronger form of
annul. Shaks.; Job xl. 8; Gal. iii. 15;
 Heb. vii. 18.
 disclound 221 472 = free from clouds
 discounting 709 = leaving out of account
 disgruntled-at 387
 dissipirits 358. Fuller's use of the word
 is very unusual
 distick 513
 doctor 248. See Index § II
 dornix 215. Used for curtains, carpets,
 and hangings, and called from Dornick,
 Flanders, whence the English intro-
 duced it into this country. "We have
 seen the cities *Dornicks* and Arras
 brought over into England:" *H. State*,
 p. 111 (ed. 1648). The later edd. have
Dornick)

examples are not taken from Fuller's language.
 Included in the list are references to Fuller's
 remarks on synonymous words as given in the
Life; as also to a few words, the orthography of
 which points to former pronunciations. Many of
 the words here brought together are explained in
 the text; a few want explanation; and most are

self-explanatory. Several of the rare words will
 not be found in the dictionaries. The parallel
 passages have partly been derived from the care-
 ful word-lists drawn up by the Rev. T. L. O.
 Davies, M.A., of Southampton, who courteously
 permitted me to examine them; and partly from
 my own index to Fuller's language.

- drifts 444. This passage is quoted by Webster
- ἐλαχιστότερος 122 261=leaster, Eph. iii. 8
embezzled 185. Not used here in the modern sense. So *Worthies* § Herefordsh. p. 40
- endeavour 562 as in Eph. iv. 3, and 2 Pet. i. 15, has perhaps more of the old meaning of earnest striving (σπουδάζω) than of the modern meaning of to attempt merely
- τὸ ἐπιεικὲς 62 663=softness Phil. iv. 5 (Tyndale and Cranmer). See softly epoché 19
excitation 295
- fanatick 243. The passage is in Webster. See Trench, *Eng. Past and Present* p. 155; but also Minshew's *Ductor*, 1627.
- fardled-up 414=packed-up. It. *fardello*
fauter, or fautor 112=favourer. Latimer. Chapman gives it as the translation of ἐπιάρροθος, *Il.* xi. 366; xx. 453. See also i. 451
- fellow-commoner 101
- fitchy 66 = pointed. *Pisgah* iv. 68: 'fitchy, or picked,' i.e. piked=made into a point. "To pike a staff" is a Hampshire phrase.
- fly-boat (see p. 520) = coasting vessel. *H. State* p. 453
- fond 94 &c. See The XXXIX Arts. No. xxii
- garble 670=sift. *Pisgah* ii. 174. 'It is never used now in this its primary sense, and has indeed undergone this further change, that while once to garble was to sift for the purpose of selecting the best, it is now to sift with a view of picking out the worst.' Trench, *Eng. Past and Pres.* 260
- gayitry 728=finery. *Pisgah* iv. 111
- gladdened 670. Fuller, *H. State* 480, has *saddened*
- Glastonbury 518 Etymology of
gothish 445
greatnesses 6
- handsell, hansell 240 291
- hear ill 5=male audire=to be in bad repute. The English phrase occurs in *Pisgah* ii. 207
- hog-heard 329
- hoised 480=hoisted. Shaks.; Acts xxvii. 40. Chapman has *hoice*, *Il.* Bk. i.
- hospital xvii 10 66 567=hospitable
- humorous 169=capricious. *Pisgah* ii. 183; iv. 83: "humorous." See another meaning in *The Life*, p. 90
hurl'd 302. *H. State* 253
- impertinency 631-2=irrelevance
infra-annuated 486. Cf. superannuated
ingenuity 221, &c.=ingenuousness
inconcerning 44. *Abel* § Hierome, ¶ 11
Italianated 579
- judicious 499 530
justicer 382=dispenser of justice. *H. State* 242 264
- justle 6 &c.=jostle
- ken 103
Kingdom v. realm 590
- lagge, sub. 165. The adj. =last occurs in *H. War* § Index
- Lammas, Latter 131=Greek Kalends
- land-scept 260
- leagure, i.e. leiger 320 = abiding, *H. War*, 32; *H. State* 306, 486; *Pisgah* ii. 199 251 300; iii. 428. A *Ledger* (spelt by Fuller, p. 573, *leidger*) is a book lying ready.
- legend xix.
- list 313 661=wish
- list 645; see 577=edge of a cloth. *Pisgah* i. 15; iv. 28; v. 164. Cf. *oulist*, *Pisgah* ii. 215
- Magdalen-coll. spelt Maudlin in *Abel* § Fox 378
- malignant 242 268 Etymology of
Maluccoes 168
- manumised 728. *Pisga* iii. 341
- mart Letters of 169. *H. State*, 120
- massy 99 708. Lamb's adj. is Fullerian: *Pisgah* iii. 319 417; *H. State* 374
- memory-mountebank 414
"merry pin, On the" 603
- metward 271=meteyard. Lev. xix. 35
- middest 23 &c.=midst. Bacon; Deut. xxi. 8 (marg. ed. 1611)
- mind 394=remind
- moar 654=moor
- mollify 64=soften. Is. i. 6
- M^{ris} 540=Miss
- neb 86=neb. Bailey's *Dict.* has neb
neighbour 167=neighbouring. Jer. xlix. 18; l. 40
- nibbles 638=nipples
nobilis v. generous 388
- notted 728 = shorn. *Pisgah* iii. 305. Falstaff "a nott pated fool," Dyce, Collier; but The Globe "Knotty-pated." Bailey mentions to not=to shear, as an Essex word

now-of-days 23 = now-a-days
nursery 102 = a nursing

obliged 636

observables 56 = notabilia. *H. State*,
148

ocreated 84 *Hor. Sat.* II. iii. 234

officiousness 461 = being forward in kind
offices, a meaning it still had in Bailey's
time

Oundle 24

painful 11 &c. = painful = industrious.
2 *Cor.* xi. 27. Cf. *pain-worthy*,
Pisgah iii. 316

παροξυσμός 701. See *Pisgah* iv. 13;
and *The Life* p. 537

party 535 593 771 = individual. Tobit
vi. 7. Andrewes (iii. 50) also speaks
of our Lord as a *Party*

party 659 664 = division of individuals

party 101 = part of a thing

party 716 = French *parti*

Pentado, or Pendado, 215

perewake 709 = periwig

phillipp 215

picked (see *fitchy*)

pile 539 = point of a dart. *Holy War*
58; *H. State* 332

pismire 55 594

planetical 593

plantation 85 364 = colony. Bacon;
Pref. to *Prayer-bk*

plunder 242-3 370 Etymology of
policy 383

Portugals = Portuguese 168

poulder 479 = powder, so spelled in
Pisgah v. 151, where the R. Jordan is
said to come down "with a powder," i.e.

impetuously. So used by L'Estrange

prebend 204 227 691 = Prebendary.
Bacon, &c. "Prebendarius Preben-
darides" 88 141

prelial 637. Qy. from the Latin *proelia-
lis*, or *proeliaris*, i.e. errors occurring
in the heat of controversy

preposed 609 = prefixed

Presbiterian 637

pretal 651

prevaricator 97. Fuller, *Pisgah* iii. 417,
uses the word in the sense of falling
away. See Trench, *Eng. Past & Pre-
sent* 256

prevent 764 = precede. Ps. cxix. 147

proprietary 394 = proprietor

propriety 103 &c. = property. *Pisgah*
ii. 84; iv. 3; *H. War* 10

puny 99 681. Fuller has *punies* = juniors,
Holy War 232; *H. State* 314

pupil-monger 79 81

quacksalver 272

R the dog's letter 375 774

rampires 238 = ramparts. Cf. Shaks.
and Chapman's *rampired*

ray 728 = array, *Pisgah* iv. 105; 1 Sam.
xvii. 20 (ed. 1611, margin)

refel 208 = refute. Shaks.; Chapman.
Lat. *refellere*

reformado 234 = a disgraced officer re-
taining his rank

relasch 333

remand 248 = order back. *Pisgah* i. 34;
ii. 273. Only applicable now to a

prisoner against whom a case is not
completed

remarkables 56. *H. War* 106; *H. State*
149 310 &c.

rendition 376

resent 268. Fuller's use of the word is
connected with the sense of smell
(-sent = scent). *H. War* 273; *H.
State* 357; *Pisgah* ii. 64 ('Old names
taken from false Gods resented of
idolatry'); iii. 380 ('Pottage, resent-
ing of the wild gourd of human
invention')

restauration 655

retaliating out 238

rights 624 = rites

roaring boys 395 = staggering, noisy ruf-
fians

scantling 52 = small part. *Pisgah* iii. 312
septemfluos 443. "Septemflua flumina
Nili:" Ovid. *Met.* xv. 753

sequester 298

settle 64

shadow of a shadow 287

shipwrack 661

shove 603 776

shrewd 608 = wicked. See Trench, *Eng.*
Past p. 271

sir, applied to an abbot 16, to a graduate
94 96

softly 535 = gentle? *Mixt Contemp.* i.
xxxvii. 60. Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 14; Is.
viii. 6; Titus iii. 2. (Tyndale's transla-
tion of ἐπιεικεῖς)

sottish 72 = foolish, Jer. iv. 22. Cf.
Fr. *sot*

spruceness 514. See *H. War* v. 267 in
reference to Norway. *Spruce-land*, v.
233 = Prussia. *Spruce* leather = Prus-
sian leather

spyal 256

stationer 713 *et passim* = at once book-
seller, publisher, paper-dealer, &c.

statist 531. *H. State* 361

steeples-houses 28

- stout 643 = stubborn. Mal. iii. 13; Is. ix. 9, x. 12
 strapado 480 = a punishment consisting in drawing an offender to the top of a beam, and thence letting him fall. Shak.; Milton
 sub-de-re-reformation 263
 superfetation 658. *Superfate* is used in Howell's *Letters*
 surround 8
 Swisserland 646
 synod 190 Etymology of
 synonyma 485 = synonym

 tangué 524 665 Shaks.
 tanquado socius 101
 thou and thee 524. See Trench, *Eng. Past* 231 *seq*
 through 260 = thorough. Matt. iii. 12
 timous 237 = timely. Bacon
 tines 427 = the teeth of a fork, or harrow. See p. xviii
 too too 168 281. In *Pisgah* we have 'lost-lost sheep of Israel; both in respect of their spiritual condition, and corporal habitation,' v. 193
 topic. See ἀτοπος
 town 27
 Turk 178 = Mahometan

 turbant 178
 trundled 234
 tympany 239 = inflation

 unactive 660, unLored 534, impartial 292 &c., untempld 534 &c.
 ὑπερ-super-over-commanding 263

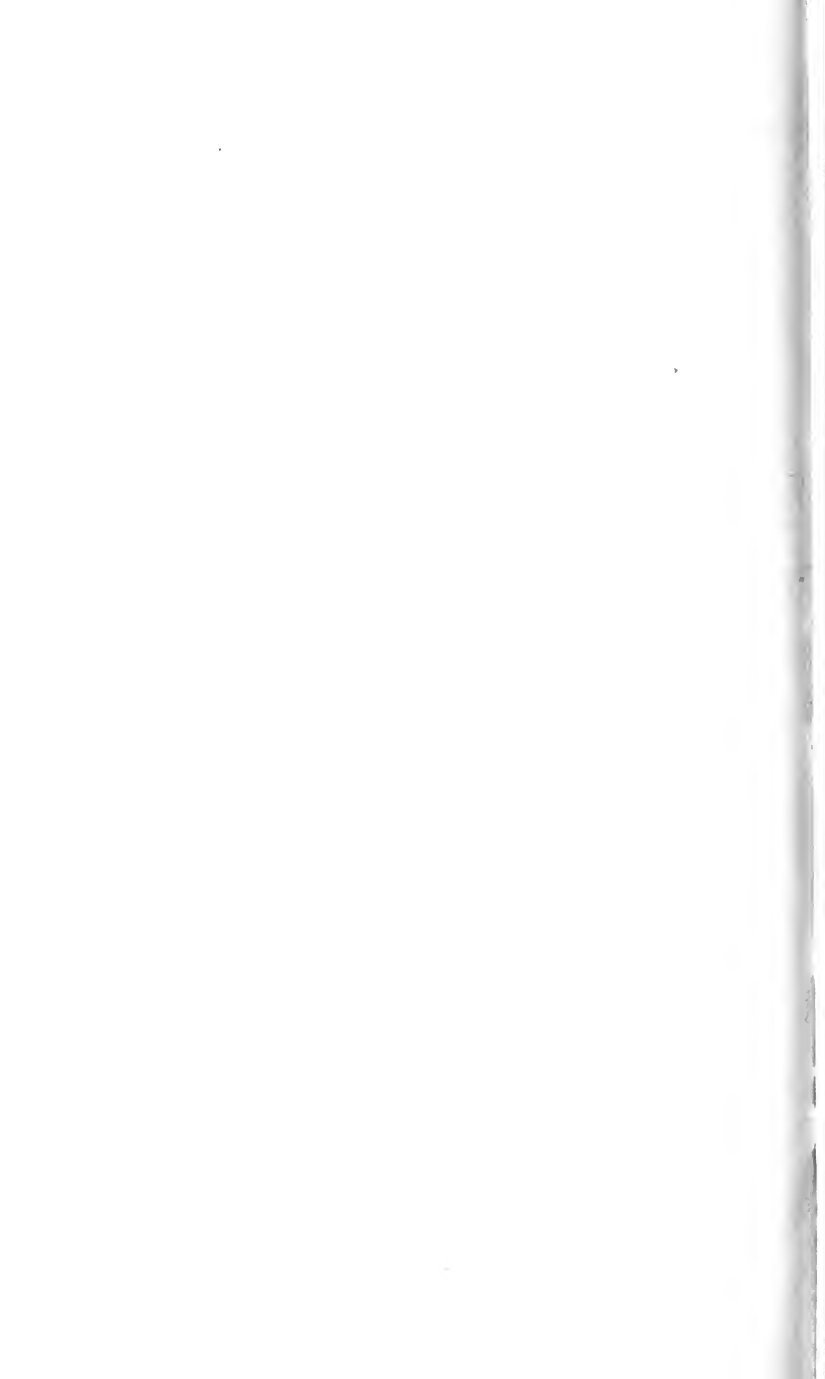
 vances 268
 varier 97
 velitations 273
 velvet-study 174
 vessel 64
 vivacity 286 = vivacitas. *Worthies* § Staf. p. 47
 voider 205 294. *Holy State* 88; *Pisgah* ii. 56 160

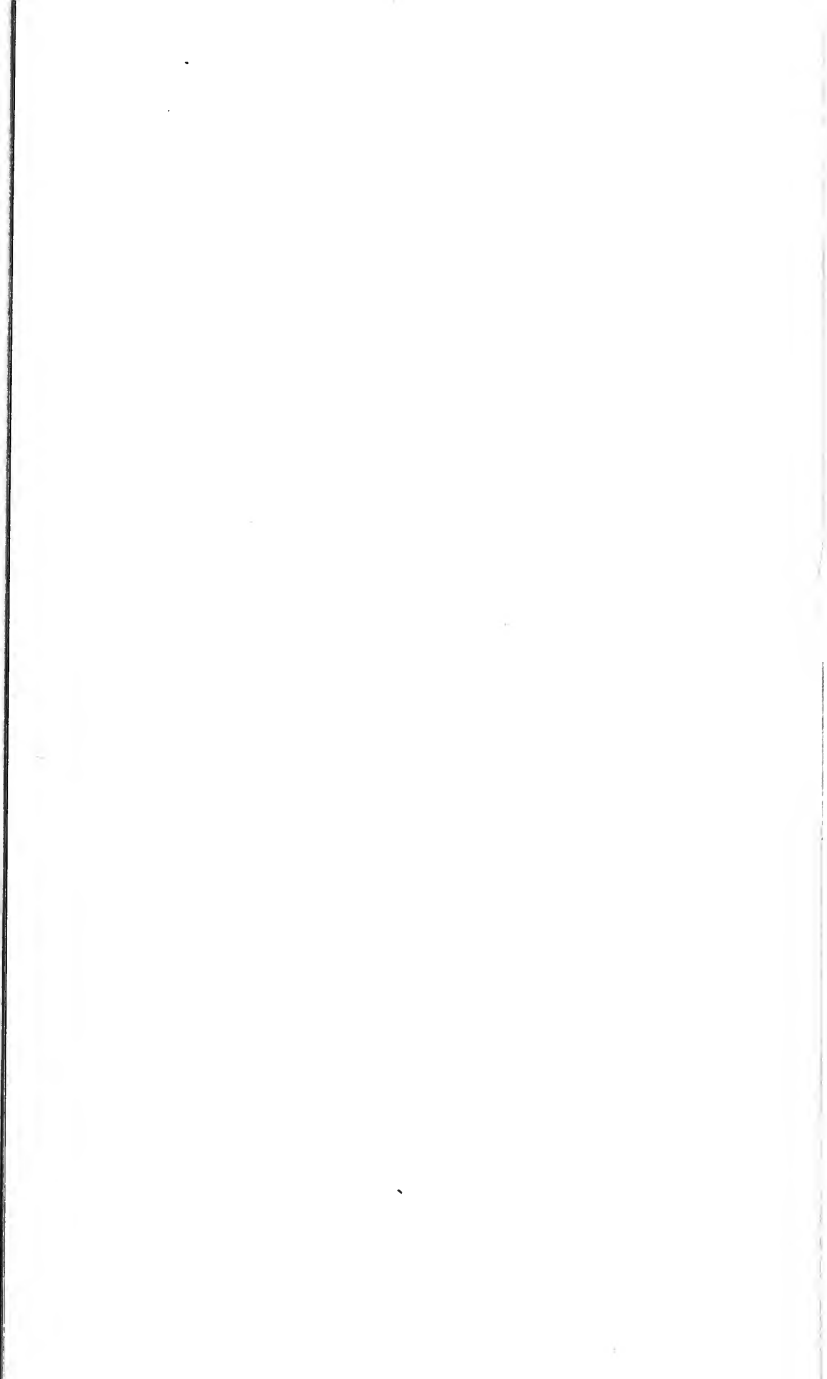
 wagge 764
 welt 52. In the passage from *H. State* it is used for the hem of a garment turned back to strengthen it. Bacon
 wharling 375 774. Not in Richardson or Johnson. Bailey makes it *stuttering*
 wrastler 651

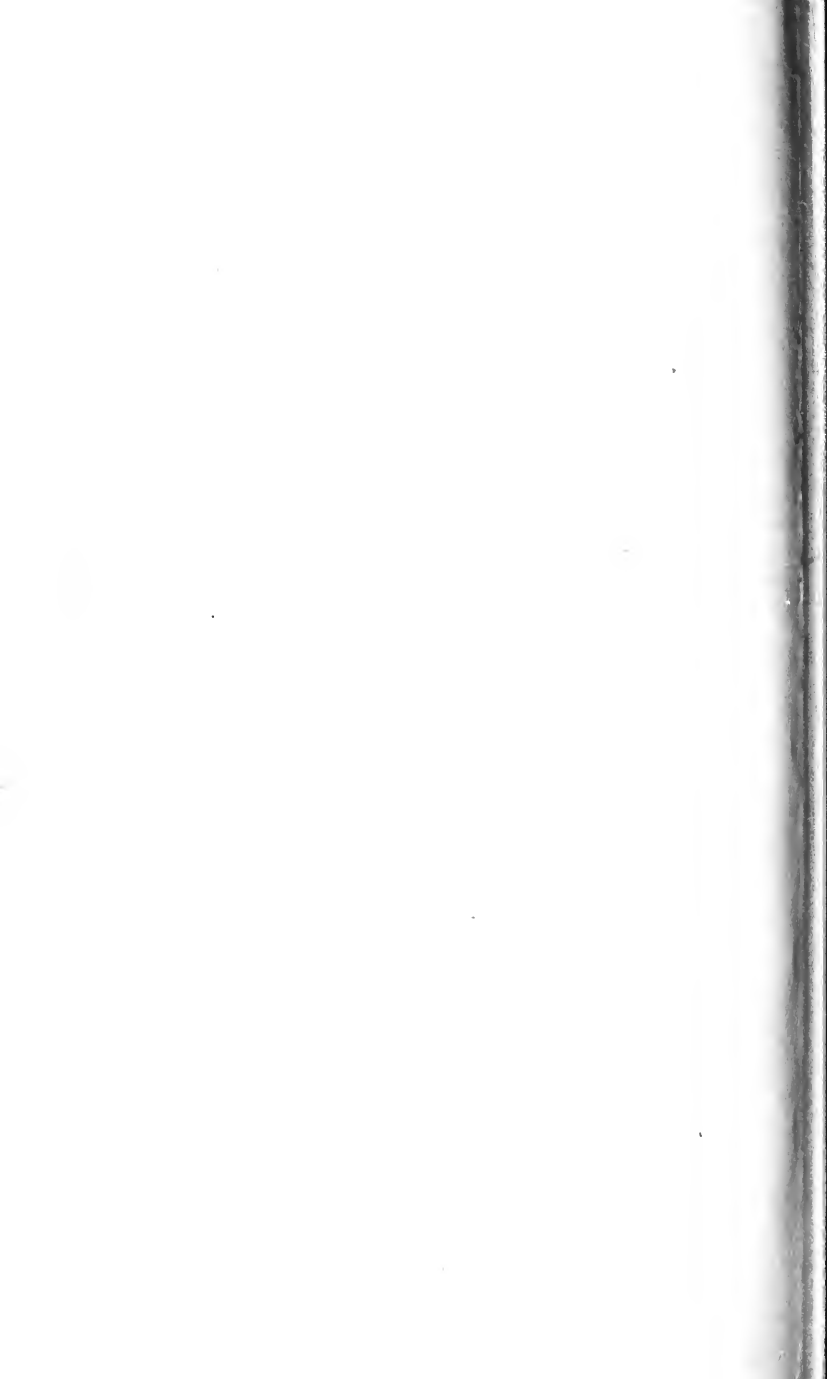
 yer 244 = ere. In Numb. xi. 33, and xiv. 11, this form occurs in the 1611 edition











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