



4-5-

SCS #1382

Thomas F. Torrance

SALE  
DUPLICATE

SCS #1382

**SELECT MEMOIRS**  
OF THE  
**LIVES, LABOURS, AND SUFFERINGS,**  
OF  
THOSE PIOUS AND LEARNED  
**ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH DIVINES,**  
WHO GREATLY DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES  
IN PROMOTING THE  
**REFORMATION FROM POPERY;**  
IN TRANSLATING  
**THE BIBLE;**  
AND  
IN PROMULGATING ITS SALUTARY DOCTRINES BY THEIR  
NUMEROUS EVANGELICAL WRITINGS;  
AND  
WHO ULTIMATELY CROWNED THE VENERABLE EDIFICE  
WITH THE CELEBRATED  
**WESTMINSTER**  
**CONFESSION OF FAITH,**  
*&c. &c. &c.*  
**BY THOMAS SMITH.**

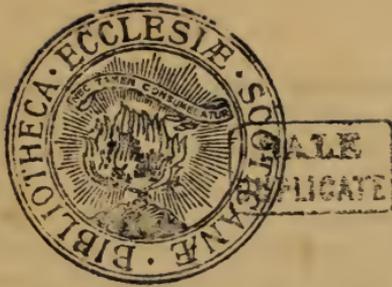
---

They had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonments. They wandered in deserts and mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; of whom the world was not worthy.—**ST. PAUL.**

---

**GLASGOW:**  
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY D. MACKENZIE.  
1827.  
[Entered in Stationers' Hall.]





## PREFACE.

---

WHEN we take a retrospective view of the Church prior to the Reformation, and contemplate the inhuman cruelties exercised on the few faithful and conscientious christians who had the fortitude to oppose the errors, and reject the idolatrous worship, of Rome, and would not bend their consciences to the yoke of a luxurious and domineering priesthood, whose God was mammon, and whose religion was legalized robbery. When we consider the perpetual dangers to which they were exposed, the cruel mockings, scourgings, tortures, and deaths to which their faithfulness frequently subjected them; and then compare their deplorable condition with the manifold blessings and privileges enjoyed by the present generation, we have every reason to exclaim, with the Psalmist, "truly the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage." We are left to the free and deliberate exercise of our own judgment, in worshipping God according to the convictions of our own mind, nothing to disturb or alarm us. No bishops' court, no star-chamber, to inveigle and entrap us by their inquisitorial examinations, nor racks, and other instruments of torture, to enforce us to give evidence against ourselves.

But when we thus laudably exult in the possession of so many important blessings, the question will naturally occur to our minds, How have the times been so wonderfully altered, and the sentiments of our rulers so happily changed, since the days of our fathers? The answer is easy. The manly fortitude of our progenitors rendered it indispensable, and their mild and rational sentiments, imbibed from the holy scriptures, made it desirable. Had it been otherwise, and, in place of resisting the tyrannical injunctions of these lordly ecclesiastics, had our fathers of the Reformation meantly submitted to their debasing

mandates, where had been our religious liberty, and where had been our natural rights as men and citizens? The struggle indeed was long and arduous, but the triumph has been glorious, highly honourable to our fathers, and importantly beneficial to us their children, to whom they have bequeathed the precious deposit, that we might transmit the same untarnished, and unimpaired, to posterity, that generations to come might know the mighty works of God, even in the days of old.

It is a lamentable consideration, however, that the practice of the present generation by no means accords with their inestimable privileges. Every species of vice and immorality greatly abounds, while irreligion and infidelity threatens to blot out every serious impression, and laugh down every religious sentiment. To be serious, in our time, is to be unpolite, and tenderness of conscience is accounted weakness and hypocritical scrupulosity. Profane wits level their shafts of ridicule against every thing sacred and serious, and bards and novelists conspire in forwarding the general defection. They know the taste of the times, and accordingly manufacture their impious pleasantries, so as to gratify the humour of their customers, and promote the sale of their stock in trade; nor could the labours and sufferings, the exemplary lives, and triumphant deaths, of a number of our eminent Reformers, nor even the graves that enclose their bones, secure them from unmerited malevolence.

These excellent men had devoted their labours and their lives to the service of God and their country, at a time when she was sunk beneath a weight of moral and political degradation, and bewildered in a maze of debasing superstition, that seemed to preclude the possibility of her emancipation; yet, by their patient sufferings, and invincible fortitude, they became instrumental in restoring their afflicted countrymen to happiness, light, and liberty; and *this* ungrateful generation, who enjoy the fruits of their triumphant labours, can listen to, and laugh at, the silly pasquinades of these money-catching children of levity and burlesque, who sacrilegiously disturb the ashes, and insult the memory, of the best benefactors of their country.

The present generation must soon sleep with their fathers, and leave their children to fill their respective places in society, when the care of religion and morality will naturally devolve on them; but, in order that they may be qualified to acquit themselves with zeal and propriety for its interest and prosperity, it will be necessary that they become acquainted with its principles, and be influenced by its spirit and captivating excellency. And what can be better calculated for producing these desirable effects, than an impartial review of the lives and ho-

nourable achievements, not of mighty conquerors, who have marched to the objects of their ambition through scenes of blood, but of humble christians, who, like their meek and lowly Master, for the infinite importance of the object contended for, endured the cross, despising the shame, and with clean hands and pure hearts, washed in the blood of the great atoning sacrifice, found an abundant entrance administered into the blessed society of just men made perfect.

It will readily be granted, that they were not all of precisely the same opinion in regard to some of the less important concerns of christianity. In this imperfect state of existence, it has not been, nor can it ever be expected, that any large body of men will hold the self-same opinions; but the Reformers, on all essential points, seem to have been harmoniously agreed. Salvation through grace, and good works as the evidence of that grace; this was the centre around which they rallied, and the magnet that attracted their correspondence; it was this that animated their exertions, and elevated their hopes. With regard to church-government, however, there existed amongst them various shades of opinion; and respecting the doctrines of religious liberty, the sentiments of not a few were rather confused and indistinct; but the majority seems to have admitted that, in as much as every individual must account for himself at the final reckoning, so he has the undoubted right also to judge, think, and determine for himself, in this his probationary state. On this subject judge Blackstone has judiciously remarked, "that our ancestors were much mistaken, when they considered the mere difference of religious opinions a proper object of coercion and punishment, and that persecution for opinions, however ridiculous and absurd these opinions might be, is at variance with every maxim of sound policy and civil liberty, and unjustifiable on every principle of moral rectitude and true religion."

For although the hypocritical policy of churchmen may, by working on the fears and credulity of the ignorant, reduce them to the most abject slavery and unqualified obedience, still the throne of oppression and superstition stands on very precarious ground, and can only be defended by perpetuating that ignorance and credulity by which it had been first erected; the jealous possessor is therefore under the necessity, of closing up every chink in the edifice through which a ray of light can penetrate. Hence the illiberal maxims of the Romish church, That ignorance is the mother of devotion: That the holy scriptures cannot with safety be committed to the inspection and investigation of the people, least, by wresting them from their true meaning and import, they bring upon themselves damna-

tion: That the priesthood are the only true and legitimate expounders of the oracles of God: That an implicit faith in the doctrines of the church, with a filial and reverential obedience to her motherly admonitions and discipline—constitutes a genuine member of the catholic body, and secures his everlasting salvation. And notwithstanding that men, from the corruption of nature, and the power of temptation, are apt to be drawn aside from their duty, and into the commission of sin, there is hope in Israel for even this. God, in compassion to the frailty of our nature, has qualified and commissioned the pope, his only visible vicegerent on earth, and his holy agents the priests, to pardon and absolve all manner of sin, iniquity, and transgression, and that on very moderate and reasonable terms. That the saints in heaven, being arranged in various degrees and classifications, those catholics aspiring to the highest order, may secure their places, while here on earth, by services done for the honour and security of the church militant, or donations bestowed towards augmenting her treasures, which services will be amply rewarded by the distinguished rank they shall hold, and the superlative felicity they shall enjoy, in the church triumphant.

Were it not that these facts have been attested by a cloud of learned and respectful authors, the protestants of the present age could scarcely believe, that men of common sense, much less men of learning, would have debased themselves by teaching, or that the most ignorant rational being could believe, such impudent and audacious absurdities. That the great mass of the people were brutishly ignorant, and childishly credulous, we are assured by the same authority: Numbers, however, even in the darkest ages of popery, governed their lives by very different maxims, and privately instructed and comforted one another with better-founded expectations; but such was the intolerance of the times, that their testimony for the truth was chiefly confined to confidential whispers; so that the church had a long, dark, and dismal night, before the most courageous of her children had the hardihood, in the face of such a cruel and relentless power, to put the trumpet to their mouth, and proclaim a warfare, in which, He that draws the sword must throw away the scabbard! The honour of this hazardous enterprise was reserved for Wickliffe, Tindal, Huss, Jerome of Prague, Luther, Calvin, Knox, and their numerous coadjutors; but the unspeakable advantages fell to the share of theirs and succeeding generations.

Thus has the prey been taken from the mighty, thus the captives, bound in chains of ignorance and superstition, have been delivered, and the blessed bible, which, in the ages of popish darkness, could only be possessed or perused at the peril of

life, has in our time found its way into the most barbarous countries, and almost into all languages; while a high way has been opened for the march of intellect, and the exercise of reason. The happy consequences of the labours and sufferings of our revered worthies, to whom the world are in deep arrears of gratitude, and whose names will be held in honourable regard to all posterity.

In this Work, the reader will see that the temple of truth has been adorned by the holy lives, and cemented by the blood, of a multitude of patriots and martyrs, of whom the world was unworthy. There he will see the brightest patterns of unwavering stedfastness, active zeal, faith, patience, and christian benevolence; the fortitude displayed, the sufferings endured, and the blessings acquired; and learn, from their enormous price, to appreciate their real value and importance.

Not writing to please any particular party, or vindicate any particular set of opinions, the Author has studied the strictest impartiality. He has not covered the imperfection of those men whose lives he has introduced, nor withheld the accusations of their enemies, but stated, without reserve, both their faults and excellencies. He has not spared bigotry or persecution with whomsoever found, nor lauded the sufferers with undeserved praise. His design being to give a clear and candid statement of facts, he has spared no pains in collecting and examining the necessary materials; from which, he flatters himself, he has selected whatever is most curious, useful, or interesting.

The Work commences with the lives of those renowned English Worthies, who introduced and effected the glorious Reformation from popery, and concludes with those, who, unsatisfied with the splendid ceremonial and Romish peculiarities of the church of *England*, could not conscientiously conform to her superstitious ritual, and were therefore denominated *Non-conformists* or *Puritans*. The Reformation of the church of Christ was the sole object of both, their opinions were the same, and it will be difficult to determine who suffered most, or acted the better part. The same reasons that induced the former to labour for the Reformation from popery, induced the latter to exert themselves for the Reformation of the church of *England*. Their labours, their influence, and their zeal, were devoted to this desirable work, and notwithstanding that they endeavoured, by the most peaceable means, to purge the church, of which they were members, from all its antichristian impurities, they were branded with the name of puritans, and many of them, for their non-conformity, suffered suspension, imprisonment, and persecution even unto death.

The Work will therefore furnish the reader with a circumstantial account of the arduous conflict for religious liberty, from the days of John Wickliffe. Here he will find some of the merciless proceedings of the court of *High Commission* and the *Star-Chamber*, two terrible engines of cruelty and injustice, whose unparalleled oppressions, and unprecedented barbarities, in place of reconciling men to the unity of the established religion, drove them farther and farther off, confirmed them in their non-conformity, alienated their minds from the prelatical priesthood, and greatly increased their own number and reputation.

In a Work of this nature, it appeared necessary to give the reader some account of the errors, encroachments, and corruptions of the Romish church, that led to the long and arduous struggle before us. This he will find in the *Historical Sketch of the Christian Church*, with which the *Memoirs* are introduced.

HISTORICAL SKETCH  
OF  
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

---

SECT. I.

*From the Ascension of Christ, to the establishment of Uniformity by the Emperor Theodosius.*

THE Redeemer of mankind, in commissioning his disciples to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation, forewarned them of the difficulties they had to encounter, and the dangers to which a faithful discharge of their duty would unavoidably expose them. He tells them, that they would be dragged before kings and councils, insulted, imprisoned, persecuted, and hated of all men for his name-sake. But inasmuch as the servant is not greater than his Lord, nor the disciple than his Master, they had no reason to expect a milder treatment than he had received before them; at the same time comforting them with the cheering consideration, that he had overcome the world, and that the doctrines they were about to proclaim would triumph over the united power, influence, and malignity of all opposers; and, like the piece of leaven, hid in three measures of meal, would gradually ferment, and finally leaven and tranquillize the whole lump. How truly the event has corresponded with even the letter of these predictions, the Acts of the Apostles, and the ulterior history of the church, sufficiently demonstrate.

After his ascension, the apostles, agreeable to his instructions, remained at Jerusalem, waiting the promise of the Comforter, to guide them into all truth, and qualify them for the labours to which they were severally appointed. Nor does it appear that they entered on their public ministry till pentecost, when they were endued with power from on high, by which

they were enabled to work miracles, and speak in all the languages of the surrounding nations. Thus qualified, they solemnly set about the important work, and publicly preached Jesus, and the resurrection, to immense multitudes, both Jews and Gentiles, three thousand of whom were converted by means of Peter's sermon, to which immense multitudes were almost instantaneously added. The astonished inhabitants of Jerusalem began to attend their sermons, concerning which the public opinion was greatly divided, some believing, and others blaspheming. In the meantime, the sanhedrim became alarmed, the church was considered in danger, and all heads set to work, in contriving the means of extinguishing this new-light that threatened to expose their avarice and hypocrisy. Here, like most of the sapient politicians of after times, their deliberations terminated in the foolish and inefficient remedy generally resorted to on such occasions; namely, to eradicate the opinions of mankind by physical coercion. A furious persecution was therefore set on foot; the apostles were dragged before the rulers of the people. Stephen was stoned to death, and Saul was commissioned to hunt down whoever contravened the orders of the sanhedrim, by adhering to these outcast and excommunicated contemners of the pharisaical institutions. Hence the church was dispersed, and carried their doctrines into every place, whether the safety of their lives had induced them to retire. The church of Antioch was erected by these means, and every corner of the land of promise favoured with the word of life. Saul the persecutor, arrested in his mad career of intolerance, became at once the fearless advocate of a religion he had in vain endeavoured to suppress; and after the most ardent, but unsuccessful, endeavours to convince his countrymen that the Messiah was indeed come, and that it was in vain for them to look for another, he left them with the galling remark, that seeing they judged themselves unworthy of eternal life, he had determined to direct his labours to a more hopeful harvest. "Lo! we turn," says he, "to the Gentiles, and they will receive us." Here his labours were incessant, and his success without parallel. Church after church was erected, and the kingdoms of this world were beginning to become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ.

Thus, during the ministrations of the apostles, the church shone forth like the morning sun. A blaze of gospel light penetrated the dark recesses of pagan superstition, discovered her secret abominations, and the utter worthlessness of her splendid ceremonial; desolated her temples, and struck her oracles for ever dumb. In vain did priests and rulers interpose their authority, and exercise their craft, in proping up the tottering edi-

fi ce. The simplicity and benevolence manifested in the doctrines of the apostles, compared with the impurities and unnatural absurdities of the pagan worship, produced a most astonishing change in the sentiments of men, withdrew their veneration from the idolatrous superstitions of their fathers, and led them, as willing captives, to swell the triumphs of the cross. But clouds soon obscured the horizon of the church, and tempests ruffled the pleasing serenity of her rising day.

Thirty-one years had only elapsed from the ascension of Christ, when the emperor Nero, that he might gratify his caprice or curiosity with the destructive conflagration of his capital, set fire to the city of Rome, and in order to exculpate himself, meanly charged the christians with the guilt of this infernal transaction. Tacitus, the Roman historian, speaking of this unparalleled piece of human depravity, says, "That in order to divert suspicion from himself, he substituted fictitious criminals, and, with this view, he inflicted the most exquisite tortures on those men vulgarly called christians. They derived their name and origin from Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, had suffered death by the sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate. For a while this dire superstition was checked, but it again burst forth, and not only spread over Judea, the first seat of this mischievous sect, but was even introduced into Rome, the common asylum, which receives and protects whatever is impure and atrocious. The confession of those who were seized, discovered a great multitude of their accomplices, and they were all convicted, not so much for the crime of setting fire to the city, as for their enmity to the human kind. They died in torments, and these were imbibtered by insult and derision. Some were nailed on crosses, others sewed up in skins of wild beasts, and exposed to the fury of dogs; others again smeared over with combustible materials, were used as torches to illuminate the nightly scene of their sufferings. The gardens of Nero were destined for this tragical spectacle, which was accompanied by a horse race, and honoured with the presence of the emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress of a charioteer, driving his chariot in person. But the populace commiserated the victims, from the opinion that they were sacrificed, not to the rigour of justice, but to the cruelty of the jealous tyrant."

Notwithstanding of this, and numerous other oppressive measures adopted against the christians, both by Jews and Romans, the doctrines of salvation spread with the rapidity of lightning, and in a very short time not only pervaded the vast extent of the empire, but darted their exhilarating beams into regions far beyond the pale of the Roman jurisdiction. The instruments

employed, in this great work, were chiefly ignorant and illiterate men, little acquainted with the world, less still with the fashions of the great, and totally untutored in the arts of dissimulation and flattery; yet, bold in their Master's cause, they pointed the frowning artillery of heaven against the reigning vices of the age, and all unrighteousness of life. They had, therefore, to contend with the most determined opposition. The alarmed priesthood, supported by the power of the state, persecuted them even unto death. The schools of philosophy held them up to ridicule, while the rich despised them for their poverty and humble appearance; and, reckoning according to the course of this world, they were assuredly the most unlikely men on earth, either to command attention, or procure converts to their opinions. Their success must therefore have been effected by the mighty power of God, and the irresistible evidence attending the preaching of the gospel.

The form in which the church appeared, in the primitive age, and under the immediate inspection of the apostles, seems to merit a little consideration in this place, modern professors being so generally divided in sentiment, with regard to government and discipline. A concise view of these things may also serve as a standard of comparison, whereby the defections and prelatical encroachments of after times may be measured, and more distinctly estimated.

1. It appears from the Acts of the Apostles, as well as from various circumstances attending particular churches and teachers, that the churches, in the primitive ages, were composed of small societies; that a room, or apartment, no way conspicuous, was generally the place where they assembled for religious exercises. Hence we read of their teaching and preaching in every house, and of their breaking of bread from house to house, Acts ii. 46. v. 24. This seems to describe the nature of the churches at Jerusalem, where the immense number of converts could not be contained in any one house, nor permitted by the exasperated priesthood, had it been practicable. The Gentile churches were under the same, if not a greater, necessity of confining themselves to sequester houses and small societies.

2. As soon as one of these little churches was formed, a man of gravity, and becoming age, being the father of a family, willing to devote himself to their service, and possessing the requisite qualifications, was selected from their own body, and the ceremonies of inauguration were merely prayer, and the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, consisting of an apostle, or, in his absence, one of the travelling evangelists, together with the presbyters.

3. Every church possessed the power of electing their own pastors, and of admitting, censuring, or expelling their members, 1 Cor. v. 12.

4. None had yet claimed a monopoly of power or privilege, or suspected that the church, in the next town or village, was not equally independent with their own. We are quite mistaken, if we consider the apostolic churches similar to those of our time. It is evident that the bishops or presbyters of the churches of Philippi and Galatia were numerous, and must therefore have superintended but small congregations; considering that the christians, in these regions, could as yet only constitute a small proportion of the population. Besides, Philippi itself was not the metropolis of even a small province. Their bishops must therefore have been confined to a very limited sphere of operations: nor could it be otherwise, if they attended to the duties of their respective offices, in examining the catechumen, presiding at the love-feasts, and making themselves personally acquainted with every individual of their flocks.

We will be equally mistaken, if we conceive that the bishops or presbyters of those primitive times consisted of gentlemen trained up for the church. Their teachers were from amongst themselves, and though a liberal education was a desirable qualification, it was not considered essentially necessary.

5. Accusations against offending presbyters were submitted to the consideration of some one of the itinerant evangelists, who, along with the congregation, regulated all matters of church order, and corrected abuses.

6. The itinerant evangelists had no settled or particular charge, but preached from place to place, and were under the inspection of one or other of the apostles. They seem to have been supported by the church; yet sometimes by the labour of their own hands.

7. That every member of the church had the privilege to preach or exhort his brethren, providing he was qualified for the undertaking, spoke a known language, and sought the edification of the church.

8. The stationary presbyters, or bishops, during the lives of the apostles, were under the superintendance of these evangelists, and their salaries consisted in the honours of office. But early in the second century, when these great men had finished their course, we find that one amongst the ministers, in every place, received the name of bishop; and the presbyters, belonging to the same church, acted with him as one body.

9. All ecclesiastical office-bearers, from the beginning of the church to the end of the third century, were elected by the people.

10. The deacons were instituted to take care of the poor, and manage the secular concerns of the church.

And, *lastly*, Every member of the primitive church seem to have made it their constant practice, to lay aside, weekly, a portion of his income, or earnings, according to his ability, and the necessities of the poor and persecuted, or the exigencies of the church.

The persecutions mentioned in scripture were principally from the Jews. Their rulers, who had crucified the Lord of glory, were equally enraged at the preaching of his apostles; and though under the yoke of the Romans, whenever the concurrence of the governor was necessary, they had, for the most part, influence sufficient to engage him to execute their cruel decisions. Thus Pilate, contrary to his own convictions of the innocence of our Lord, was prevailed upon to sentence him to death, and order a band of Roman soldiers to enforce the execution of his unmanly decree; and Felix, some time after, though fully satisfied that their charge against Paul was groundless, yet, to please their angry rulers, left him in prison and in chains. The priesthood, exasperated at the defection of their votaries, and the loss of their popularity and character for holiness, were ready, on all occasions, to wreak their vengeance on the disciples of our Lord, whose increasing numbers threatened to lay their temple desolate; and whose purity of life eclipsed all their hypocritical pretensions to holiness.

Accordingly, we see that the first attempt to preach, at Jerusalem, the resurrection and ascension of Christ crucified, was visited with scourging and insult, with bonds and imprisonment. The spoiling of their goods gratified the avarice of their persecutors; but nothing less than their blood could atone for their audacity, in telling them disagreeable and severe truths. Hence the zealous sermon of Stephen exposed him to a cruel and instantaneous death; he stands at the head of the long roll of christian martyrs. James followed him soon after, and Peter only escaped from their resentment by means of a miracle. Other cities, besides Jerusalem, were, in all probability, subjected to similar persecutions; as is evident from the commission with which Saul was invested, when arrested on his way to Damascus.

Prior to the promulgation of christianity, the Roman government had seldom been engaged in persecution merely for religious opinions. On this occasion, however, they neither withheld their own hands from violence, nor seriously discountenanced the tumults and oppressions which Jewish zealots, interested pagans, and an unruly mob, goaded on by the jealous-

sies of the priesthood, were continually exercising against the unoffending disciples of Jesus. From their recorded sufferings in the Acts of the Apostles, we may conclude what was the case in other places, where similar circumstances would naturally rouse the same spirit of enmity, and its bitter consequences, oppression and persecution against all who had the courage and integrity to denounce idolatry or hypocrisy, in either Jews or Gentiles; and where weakness and non-resistance was opposed to the most inveterate enmity, armed with power equal to their malice, it is impossible but the consequences must have been more generally destructive, and the martyrs abundantly more numerous, than any record has preserved.

The second century of the christian era commenced in persecution and an increasing heresy; yet, notwithstanding of both, the church was marching from triumph to triumph; the divine power manifested in the preaching of the word; the simple manners and holy lives of its professors; the zeal of its evangelists, and the blood of its martyrs, struck the world with astonishment, arrested their serious attention, and was highly instrumental in converting multitudes to the faith of Christ. Cities were first evangelized, villages followed in rapid succession, and the light of heaven darted its enlivening beams into farm houses, cottages, and even the meanest abodes of wretchedness and slavery.

But the apostles, and their travelling evangelists, having now rested from their labours, and the church increasing in every place, the desire of being accommodated with stationary presidents, seems to have introduced the first alteration in the system of church regulations, and the several churches appear to have elected one, respectively, from amongst their own ministers, to fill the situation of president, formerly occupied by the evangelists; and, from this time forward, these same presidents are exclusively denominated bishops. Every church, however, continued to exercise discipline over its own members, in which every individual had his voice. Their pastors were held in high estimation; but nothing like clerical dominion had yet found a place in their churches. But now again the gathering clouds of persecution loomed in the horizon of the church; the respite, occasioned by the short reign of Nerva, had passed away, the toleration with which he had indulged his subjects ceased on the accession of Trajan, whose hatred and enmity against christianity, notwithstanding of his reputed humanity, and other good qualities, was constant and unconquerable. His own letter, and that of his proconsul, will substantiate what is

here stated, and, moreover, afford one of the most authentic documents, that has reached modern times, regarding the great increase of the church, and the determined perseverance of its faithful adherents, their holy lives and unoffending manners, and the fearfully suffering state of the church, at this period.

Trajan, who possessed all the prejudices against christianity, which the misrepresentations of its enemies, the contempt of philosophers, the craft of priests, and the general odium of all pagan idolaters, must have contributed to propagate and confirm, appointed his favourite Pliny proconsul in Bythinia, to check the progress of these rapidly advancing opinions. Pliny, who had never before been concerned in such investigations, found it necessary to apply for some explication of his orders; and his own letter to the emperor will best describe the state of the church under this *humane* ruler.

A. D. 107.—*C. Pliny to the Emperor Trajan, wishes health.*

SIRE,

“IT is usual with me to consult you in every matter wherein I am in doubt, and to submit to your determination; for who, better than yourself, can direct me when I hesitate, or instruct me where uninformed. Till now, I never had occasion to be present at any criminal process against the christians; I am ignorant, therefore, to what extent it is usual to inflict punishment, or urge prosecution. I have much hesitated, also, whether there should not be some distinction made between the young and old; and in the application of the torture, whether there should not be a difference between the robust and the delicate, whether pardon should not be offered to penitence, or whether an openly professing christian shall be allowed to retract, in order to escape punishment. Whether the profession itself is to be regarded as a crime, however innocent, in other respects, the professor may be, or whether the crimes; attached to the name, must be proved before they suffer.

“In the interval, my method with the christians, who have been impeached as such, has been this: I interrogated them, Are you christians? If they avowed it, I asked the same question a second and third time, threatening them with the punishment decreed by the law. If they still persisted, I ordered them to be executed on the spot; for whatever their profession of religion might be, I had not the least doubt that their perverseness and inflexible obstinacy certainly ought to be punished.

“There were others infected with this madness, who, being Roman citizens, I adjudged to be transported to Rome for your immediate cognizance.

“ In the discussion of this matter, accusations multiplying, a diversity of cases occurred. A schedule of names was sent me, by an unknown accuser; but when I cited the persons, many denied the fact that they were, or ever had been, christians; and repeating after me the usual formula, addressed the gods, and offered supplications, with wine and frank-incense, to your image, which, with the statues of other deities, I had ordered to be produced, adding their maledictions of Christ; to which no real christian, I am assured, by any torments, could be compelled. These, therefore, I thought proper to discharge.

“ Others, named by an informer, at first acknowledged themselves christians, and then denied it, pretending, that though they had been such, they had renounced the profession, some for three years, others for a longer time, and a few for more than twenty. All these adored your image, and the statues of the gods, and at the same time called Christ an accursed object.

“ From their affirmations, I learned that the sum of their offence, call it fault or error, was, that on a day fixed, they used to assemble before sunrise, and sing together, in alternate responses, hymns to Christ as a deity, binding themselves, by the solemn engagement of an oath, not to commit any manner of wickedness; to be guilty neither of theft, nor robbery, nor adultery; never to break a promise, nor keep back a deposit when called for. This service being concluded, it was their custom to separate, and meet together again for a repast, promiscuous indeed, and without any distinction of rank or sexes, but perfectly harmless; and even from this they had desisted, since the publication of my edict, forbidding, by your orders, all clubs and associations.

“ For farther information, I thought it necessary, in order to come at the truth, to put two damsels, who were called deaconesses, to the torture; but I could extort nothing from them, but the acknowledgment of a superstition, depraved as immoderate; and therefore, desisting from farther investigation, I hastened to consult you; for indeed the matter appeared to me deserving of the most attentive consideration, especially in the view of the immense numbers of those who are involved in this dangerous predicament; for informations are already brought against multitudes of all ages, of all orders, and of both sexes; and more will be impeached, for the contagion of this superstition has not only widely spread over the cities and villages, but reached even the farm houses. I am of opinion, however, that it may yet be stopped and corrected; for it is evident, that the temples, which I found nearly deserted, begin to be frequented; and the sacred solemnities, that for a long while had been suspended, are come again into practice, so that now there is a

brisk sale of victims for sacrifices, where before there could scarcely be found a purchaser. From whence I cannot but conclude, that the bulk of the people may be reclaimed, if impunity be allowed to repentance."

As Trajan's answer to the above is calculated to throw additional light on this important subject, and enable us, from both, to take a very full and distinct view of the state of the church at that period, I have therefore subjoined it.

#### TRAJAN TO PLINY.

My Dear Pliny,

"YOU have certainly followed the right track in the discussion of the causes relative to the impeachment of the christians. No certain rule can be laid down invariably to be adhered to in all cases. They are not to be hunted up by informers, but if impeached and convicted, let them be executed; only with this restriction, that if any person deny that he is a christian, and demonstrate it by offering supplications to our gods, however suspicious his conduct may have been before, his penitence shall secure his pardon. But unless every information has the accuser's name annexed, whatever be the crime charged, it is not to be regarded, as it would be a precedent of the worst sort, and totally contrary to the maxims of my government."

From these letters we may gather, that the profession of christianity, under the Roman government at this time, was death by the laws of the empire. "I threatened them," says Pliny, "with the punishment decreed by the law; and if they still persisted, I ordered them to be executed on the spot." That their own acknowledgment, or the evidence of the fact, or even their refusal to worship the pagan deities, or curse the Redeemer of mankind; or either of these, were deemed sufficient to procure their immediate execution. That their piety, purity, and peaceful demeanour; their happy fellowship one with another, and their innocent and exemplary lives, has the unequivocal attestation of a host of apostates, from whom a very different account was expected. That their numbers must have been great, the cities, villages, and even the farm houses, were almost filled with them; while the pagan temples were literally deserted, their solemnities for a long time unattended, and the trade in victims almost annihilated.

The martyrdom of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, happened about this time. When Trajan visited that city, in his expedition against the Parthians, in 107, the persecution against the christians, as appears from the aforesaid letters, raged with unabated fury. Ignatius, who had hitherto been spared, some say protected, presented himself to the emperor, as a victim to

sooth his severity against the christians of that department. He was accordingly carried to Rome, and destroyed by wild beasts, in the theatre of that luxurious metropolis of the world. He has been blamed by some, for rushing, uncalled for, on martyrdom; his character, however, appears excellent, and his end was glorious. His writings seem to evince the dawns of prelatical supremacy; though his doctrine was evangelical, and the church, it appears, had hitherto suffered but little from heresy.

The christians having renounced the motley rabble of pagan divinities, were therefore branded with the name of atheists. Their nightly meetings were construed in the worst possible light; there they were supposed to perform the most horrid mysteries, and, under the cover of darkness, to commit the grossest impurities. They were considered the enemies of the human kind, monsters, who, puffed up with the superiority of their own superstitions, consigned to eternal torments all who did not embrace their faith; that they were unfit for the society of men, morose and gloomy, shunning every amusement of the age, public or private, and relinquishing all the pleasures of life. Moreover, they were considered as enemies to the government, from their repugnance to the army, where the military oath subjected them to the idolatrous adoration of the emperor. From these groundless apprehensions, they were persecuted to the death, while Jews, and every other sectary, were indulged with toleration. The edicts of Trajan against the christians were not repealed; and though it be probable, that in many places money might purchase a precarious respite, or humanity restrain the rigid execution of these decrees; yet, if we consider the extent of empire, the immense number of christians scattered over the different departments, and, withal, the abhorrent character the pagan priesthood had propagated, and their ignorant votaries believed, concerning them—the martyrdoms, under the twenty years of Trajan's reign, must have been great, and, calculating after the manner of this world, the prospect of the church was peculiarly forbidding. But yet a little while, and her proud and relentless enemies shall melt away, and the Roman empire itself bend to the doctrine of the Prince of Peace.

The edicts of Trajan, and of some preceding emperors, continued in full force against the christians even under Adrian; nor is it probable that the enmity of their persecutors had much abated. The apologies for the christians, addressed to this emperor by Quadratus and Aristides, exhibit the deplorable state of suffering and uncertainty under which they groaned at this period; and it is probable, that a candid representation of their unparalleled misery, by Seranius Geranius, proconsul in

Asia, induced him first to turn his attention to this subject. Hence the rescript of Adrian, to his next proconsul Minucius Fundanus, states, that *idle clamours must not be heard* against the christians; but if any thing contrary to the laws be proven against them, they must take their course.

The Jews were the first persecutors of the infant church. They had always hated the christians, and their malevolence never slumbered so long as they possessed even the shadow of power; but the fearful vengeance executed on Jerusalem and the Jewish nation, afforded a breathing time to the church. Incurably prejudiced with the notion, that Messiah should appear amongst them in the character of a temporal prince, and rescue them from the power of the Romans, they foolishly rallied round the standard of Barchochebas, to contend with the gigantic power of Rome for the empire of Palestine. The christians refusing to join the banner of this pretended messiah, suffered, during the rebellion, the most cruel indignities, and were massacred without mercy, till the destruction and dispersion of these rebels restored them once more to a precarious repose; while an utter seclusion from Jerusalem, the city of their solemnities, terminated the Jewish polity for ever.

Whatever change, if any, in favour of the christians, the rescript of Adrian produced, the manly appeal and apology of Justin Martyr, to the emperor Antoninus Pius, refuting the disgusting charges brought against the christians, and vindicating their exemplary lives and peaceable demeanour, seems to establish an opinion, that the fury of the persecutors had again been let loose against them—Anno 133.

Some of the Asiatic cities, about this time, suffering under the visitation of heaven, the pagan priests persuaded the deluded people, that their afflictions were occasioned by the wrath of the gods, for suffering the christian atheists to live amongst them. They were, of course, most cruelly sacrificed, to appease the anger of their offended deities, till the circumstances of the case, having been represented to the emperor, he issued a decree, that speaks highly in the christians favour, forbidding them to be in any way molested for exercising their religion, but that, like other subjects, they should be amenable to the laws for crimes against the state.

His successor, the highly celebrated Marcus Aurelius, whose wisdom and virtue has been eulogized in all ages, in the pride of his philosophic attainments, with the feelings of a savage, let loose his blood-thirsty assassins to massacre and destroy his unoffending christian subjects, who became the victims of popular fury. It was in vain that Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatian, and Melito, apologised and remonstrated

with this sapient ruler, who, with the credulity of a child, listened to the malevolent invectives of his pagan priests and infidel sophists, lending a deaf ear to the groans of a butchered population. Amongst the immense numbers, who perished under this bloody reign, were Polycarp, Justin Martyr, and several other conspicuous characters.

Commodus appears to be in every respect the reverse of Aurelius, an epicure, and abandoned to every species of vice; but Marcia, his favourite concubine, and possessed of great influence, either from pity for the sufferings, or respect for the opinions, of the christians, exerted it in their behalf; which afforded them a considerable relaxation from the severities of the former reign.

During the short reigns of Pertinax and Julian, the demon of persecution slumbered; and, notwithstanding that Severus, who succeeded to the empire, had passed a decree, prohibiting all his subjects from renouncing the pagan religion for that of either the Jewish or christian, it was the tenth year of his reign before the fire of his lingering vengeance burst into a flame. Whatever might have induced him to forsake his former system of moderation, it is certain that the consequences were terrible to the christians in general, and particularly to the African churches, where great multitudes, both men and women, were dragged from their friends and peaceable habitations, to be immured in dungeons, tortured, and put to death. The cities of Alexandria, Scillita, and Carthage, received a heavy proportion of this sweeping destruction. The famous Origen, though only a youth, narrowly escaped. His father suffered death; and the much-lamented Perpetua and Felicitas augmented the roll of martyrs. Perpetua had a child at the breast, and Felicitas was but newly delivered, when these beautiful and delicate females, mothers of infant children, who had already suffered much in prison, were dragged from their dungeons, and, in presence of an insulting mob, exposed to the fury of a wild cow, by whom their bodies were mangled and gored in a manner not to be described, and afterwards, with some remaining symptoms of life, removed to a conspicuous place, where the infernal tragedy was consummated, by hacking them to pieces with the sword.

Lyons was about the same time deluged with the blood of the saints; and here Irenæus is said to have received his crown of martyrdom. Numbers, at this period, are charged with having purchased the connivance of the government, and saved their lives with the loss of their property; while others appeared emulous of the honours of martyrdom, by rushing on dangers which they might have innocently avoided. The death of Severus at last paved the way for Caracalla, one of the most

infamous characters, whose atrocious vices have seldom been exceeded, but whose early attachment to a christian nurse had so prejudiced him in their favour, that during his whole reign the church enjoyed a full and unmolested toleration. Even the brutish Heliogabalus could find no leisure, from the indulgence of his favourite vices, to concern himself about their affairs; so that the toleration was not interrupted during his reign. That of Alexander Severus was equally favourable to the church. Influenced by his mother Julia, who, it seems, had been friendly to the christians, he so far discountenanced their enemies, as to account the Saviour worthy of a statue amongst the demi-gods and heroes. Still, however, the penal laws against them remained unrepealed, and capricious or malignant magistrates had it in their power, at all times, even during the most peaceable reigns, to molest them with impunity.

Maximin, who murdered Severus, fearing the resentment of the christians, whom he had so constantly befriended, directed his fury against their bishops and presbyters, in a cruel and vindictive decree, which obliquely involved many private individuals; but his death delivered the world from his political tyranny, and the christians from his persecuting rage. The short reigns of Papienus and Balbinus, succeeded by Gordian and Philip, the last of whom was accounted half a christian, procured a respite for the persecuted church, which continued till the accession of Decias, about the middle of the century, when the sword of persecution was again drawn, and legions of hungry assassins enrolled for the execution of this infernal service. The reign of this man-tyger was short, but from whatever cause his inveterate malice proceeded, the church had never before experienced any thing equally severe. His orders, to all his prætors and magistrates, went to the extirpation of the christian name. The edict was enforced with diabolical rigour, and though multitudes braved his power and malignity, yet great numbers weakly shrunk from their stedfastness, and introduced much contention and clamour relative to their re-admission into the church, which many of them earnestly requested. Gallus and Volusianus trode in the path of their bloody predecessor, though not with all the rancour and inveteracy that he had manifested. The commencement of Valerian's reign wore a more pleasing aspect. He extinguished the flames that had burnt with so much violence in the former reigns, and had excited considerable expectation among the suffering christians, till, influenced by a pagan bigot, Macrianus, his principal minister of state, when fresh edicts were emitted against the assemblies of the saints, and their principal men driven into exile, and great numbers put to death with the most lingering and unrelenting

cruelty. But falling into the hands of his enemies, his son Gallienus, and his successor Claudius, less malicious, or more engaged in business, suffered the church to enjoy a short repose; and the meditated destruction of the christian name was happily prevented by the death of Aurelian, who had already commenced persecutor. Tacitus, his successor, soon made way for Probus. Carus and his sons followed him; and Dioclesian, for the first eighteen years of his reign, permitted the tranquillity, which for forty years had, with few interruptions, been enjoyed by the church.

But this uncommonly long period of tranquillity, though it had greatly extended the boundaries of the church, and the profession of christianity, it had also introduced an itching after power and pre-eminence amongst the bishops. The simplicity of the gospel was gradually giving way to pomp and splendour, and the introduction of the Platonic philosophy, and its adulterating mixture with the pure maxims of christianity, produced heresies of the most fatal description, which, of course, called up clamour and endless contentions; and councils, numerous indeed, but inefficient for their condemnation, though highly favourable to the clerical pretensions for power. Yet, amidst all these deplorable symptoms of defection, the struggle betwixt christianity and paganism had never been more determined, nor the martyrs more numerous, than towards the middle of this the third century. Terrified at the inroads made on their establishment, the pagan priests moved heaven and earth to arrest the swelling current of defection, and recover their apostatized votaries. The various sects of philosophy, though despising the theology of their country, on this pressing occasion united their efforts with the priests, and exhausted their stock of argument and ridicule against the disciples of the despised and crucified Redeemer. The inveterate Jews, at the same time, lost no opportunity of venting their malice; while the prætors and magistrates enforced the edicts of the cruel emperors, many of them with evident marks of personal and vindictive animosity.

The fourth century was introduced with the serenity of a summer morning, and Dioclesian's moderation promised the continuance of a peaceful day; for it was not till the nineteenth year of this emperor that the rage of persecution broke out in all its terror and malignity. Dioclesian, though professing paganism, had for a long time been indifferent to all religions; but Galerius, his elected successor, who had imbibed the most inveterate aversion, and implacable hatred, against the christian faith and its professors, breathed nothing but fire and slaugh-

ter. He used all his influence with the aged emperor, to extirpate the christians, to blot out their very remembrance, and revive the faded glory of the pagan idolatry. Dioclesian, it is said, reluctantly assented to these diabolical measures. In planning the execution of these bloody transactions, the great church of Nicomedia was destined for a prelude to the sweeping desolations that Galerius had contemplated.

The first edict enjoined the suppression of christian worship, and the seizure and consignment to the flames of all their sacred books. Many eluded the edict by concealing the sacred treasure; some delivered them up, and were therefore branded with the name of traitors. The church of Nicomedia was leveled with the ground, and other sacred edifices having shared the same fate, a second edict was issued, declaring all christians ineligible to preferment, honours, or emoluments, either in the state or the army. But these measures, not sufficiently gratifying the sanguinary spirit of Galerius, he caused the palace of Dioclesian to be set on fire, and charged the christians with being the perpetrators, with the design to destroy both the emperor and his adopted successor at the same time. The credulous Dioclesian believed all this, and in his wrath made the streets of Nicomedia to flow with christian blood, and even compelled his own wife and daughter, who were suspected to be favourable to the christians, to clear themselves, by sacrificing to the pagan gods. The eunuchs of the court, and officers of the army, were amongst the first victims. The bishops and principal presbyters were dragged to prison, and urged, by the most excruciating tortures, to sacrifice; presuming that their example would effectually influence their flocks. Some purchased their lives with their apostacy, while many endured all the severity of torture, and bravely confronted the terrors of death, rather than deny their Lord and Master; besides vast numbers who were buried alive in the mines, to expire in the damp of these dungeons, pressed down with bondage, poverty, and toil.

But the unbending spirit of the confessors and martyrs confounded their enemies, and greatly disappointed the exasperated Galerius; which brought forth another edict, commanding the magistrates to use every mean, either by cunning or cruelty, to make the christians apostatise; or, in case of non-compliance, to destroy, without distinction of age, sex, or situation, all who should withstand his sanguinary decree. In consequence of which, the magistrates vied with one another who should best execute the imperial mandate. Humanity shudders at the dreadful detail, and turns away, afflicted and in tears, from the agonizing groans of the tortured, and the convulsions of expir-

ing innocence. Promiscuous slaughter now dyed the fields, the city was given up to fire and sword, and no alternative left, but either to sacrifice or suffer. During this dreadful persecution, which lasted ten years, houses, filled with christians, were set on fire, and whole droves, tied together with cords, were thrown into the sea. It is related, that in the province of Egypt alone, 144,000 christians expired under the hands of their persecutors, and that 700,000 died by the hunger and fatigue attending their banishment, or in the public works, to which, after being mangled and wounded, vast numbers were doomed to perish under the weight of unsupportable toil. Thus, through the eastern, and part of the western empire, the name of Christ was to be for ever hurled into oblivion.

An. 305.—Galerius, whose ambition was equal to his cruelty, having now completed his arrangements for seizing the empire, compelled Dioclesian and Maxemian to resign their dignity; and waited with anxiety for the death of Chlorus, then in Britain, from whose bad state of health he expected soon to become master of both empires.

Constantius Chlorus, conscious of his approaching dissolution, solicited Galerius to send him his son Constantine, who had been retained as an hostage at court. The request was rejected, but Constantine, aware of his perilous situation, had the address to make his escape; and, to prevent his being overtaken, is said to have killed all the post horses on his line of retreat. His arrival at York was scarcely announced, when his father breathed his last, and the army, without waiting to consult Galerius, immediately proclaimed him emperor of the west in place of his father. Galerius, indignant at an event so unpropitious, and, withal, so unexpected, suppressed for a time the vengeance he meditated, and, though with reluctance, confirmed the purple to Constantine, from whom he expected, in a short time, to take it by force. In the mean time, Galerius and Maxentius, who succeeded Maxemian in Italy, weakened their power by a quarrel; of which Constantine taking advantage, attacked Maxentius, defeated him, and seized the imperial capital; and Galerius, soon after, perished by a disease, tormenting as the pangs he had inflicted on his innocent subjects.

Constantine, who, with his father, had always favoured the christians, now appeared their avowed protector, and the world at last saw the strong arm of cruelty broken, and the banners of the cross erected in peace. Maximin, the successor of Galerius, soon fell by the sword of his colleague Lucinius, who shortly after resigned the purple to Constantine; and thus he became the undisturbed possessor of the whole Roman empire, east and west.

Jesus Christ, that he might impress the minds of his disciples with the utter insignificance of splendid temples and gaudy decorations in the worship of God, tells them, that as God is a spirit, he must be worshipped in spirit and in truth. That the time was approaching, when men, without regarding either Jerusalem, Samaria, or any other particular place or temple, would every where worship the Father. Accordingly, we find that the Apostles erected the New Testament church on this pattern of unshowing simplicity, and that, during the first, and great part of the second century, christian worship was performed, in almost all places, according to the apostolic rule. No consecrated churches or clerical costume. No liturgy, interlarded with useless ceremonies; nor images, or other splendid decorations, disfigured their places of worship, or affronted the virgin modesty of truth; but common men, in common attire, prayed without a prompt book, and instructed their brethren without using the enticing words of man's wisdom. Men of science and philosophical research had hitherto kept aloof from these children of simplicity; astonished at their folly, in exposing themselves to all the perils of persecution, for the sake of a religion, in which they beheld no beauty or comeliness why it should be desired.

But matters unfortunately took a very different direction. Some individuals, versed in all the wisdom of the philosophic schools, having found their way into the ministry of the church, and affecting to be wise above what is written, began to introduce the reveries of Plato, and others of the pagan philosophers. These men, in attempting to reconcile, mix, and amalgamate their metaphysical subtleties with the simple truths taught by Christ and his apostles, wrought up these heterogeneous materials into a system of the most extravagant and ridiculous description. From this unhallowed mixture proceeded almost all the heresies, superstitions, tyrannical encroachments, and consequent wranglings, that for ages debased the church, and brutalized the christian world.

The noble, the wise, or the wealthy, have never been numerous in the ranks of christianity. While the church remained in the furnace of affliction and persecution, it was not to be expected they should; but now, that the most plausible tenets of the pagan mythology had been christianized, and disseminated by such popular preachers as Justin, Origen, Tertullian, and Pantæus; it is not to be wondered that their disputations and numerous writings should draw numbers aside from the simplicity of the gospel. Their learned definitions, of invisible and undefinable objects, betrayed their own ignorance, and, at the

same time, opened a wide door for wrangling and contention, concerning the nature of God, the mode of his subsistence, the person of Christ, the soul of man, and his future state of existence; which, in the end, brought forth Arianism, with all its various degrees and modifications.

This mongrel system of christianity was still pregnant with other evils. Affecting to be more spiritual than other christians, and farther removed from all the gross enjoyments of sense, by absorption in God, the supreme good, these visionaries presumptuously held forth, that man, by the mere dint of his intellectual powers, can raise the soul to immaculate purity and perfection, even in this life. That the means, for effecting this desirable end, are contemplation, mortifications of the body, celibacy, and retirement from the world and its temptations. From these visionary doctrines sprang up, in the church, a luxuriant crop of mystics and monks, hermits and recluses, who, in after ages, like a cloud of locusts, overspread the christian world; which they shamefully abused by their hypocrisy, lust, and indolence.

At the same time that errors were thus threatening the church, a strong propensity for power and pre-eminency manifested itself amongst her leading bishops and presbyters. The increasing numbers of her converts rendered it necessary, that household churches should give place to houses of larger dimension, and more convenient accommodation. Towns and villages, contiguous to one another, became necessarily connected, and the primitive equality of the bishops gave place to a permanent president for these united churches. An individual pastor was no longer adequate to the service of the church; this circumstance rendered assistants indispensable; accordingly, deacons, originally devoted to the concerns of the poor, and other secularities of the church, were now employed in some inferior parts of the ministerial service.

Churches, thus associated, began to settle important matters of common concern, by assemblies, consisting of delegated members from the several churches; the bishop always being one. These delegate meetings, in process of time, assumed the power and authority of the churches they represented. Still the church was extending her wings, and bishops were become numerous, and naturally enough uniting in one great federal republic, of which they had already monopolized the directing power, the people gradually sunk to insignificance, and lost their voice and influence in the management of the church. Provincial assemblies of bishops became necessary, and likewise required a president; for which they modestly appointed one, with the title of archbishop; while capital towns, or very ex-

tensive sees, were gratified, under these new arrangements, with the venerable name of a patriarchal superintendent. At last, when the church became incorporated with the state, these aspiring gentlemen, tickled with the pageantry of imperial power, could not be satisfied without a supreme, visible, and universal HEAD; though much intrigue and manœuvring was found necessary before this crowning object of their ambition was effected.

During the third century, the course of defection advanced apace. Marriage was still permitted, and generally used by the bishops; but celibacy was daily acquiring additional reputation; while monkery peopled the deserts, and superstition kept pace with these unnatural fancies. The sacraments were now generally supposed to be necessarily accompanied with divine grace, and their administration essentially necessary to the salvation even of infants.

Before admission to baptism, an exorcist must now be employed, to unhouse and expel the prince of darkness from the candidate. He makes his appearance, and, with the most dreadful threatenings, commands the malignant spirit to depart; and the remission of his sins was believed to be the certain and immediate consequence of his baptism, if rightly administered by the bishop or his deputy. The annual period for baptism was from easter to the fortieth day following, when a solemn procession, of all those who had been exorcised and baptized, arrayed in white garments, with crowns, denoting their triumph over the devil, closed this august ceremonial.

The platonic doctrine of demons, generally taught and believed at this period, had brought forward all the absurdities of spells, exorcisms, and bodily macerations; which last was believed to be of never-failing efficacy in repelling the fiery darts of the devil, who was understood to be much less mischievous to the hungry, lank, and meagre, than to belly-crammed epicureans, who placed supreme happiness in the gratification of the senses. Prayers, in imitation of the Jews, were now made thrice a-day; and in their fasts, which had acquired singular estimation, their habit was to kneel, or prostrate themselves on the ground, during prayer; on which occasions forms were now pretty generally used. In holy days, however, they were accustomed to stand up; but no generally established ritual, as yet, prevented any man from expressing the sensations of his heart in extempore effusions. And notwithstanding of many offences, and unpromising symptoms, the church was rising to universal empire. With all the errors she had embraced, and all the defections attending her progress, the system, both in principle and practice, was so obviously superior to paganism, that

the folly and falsehood of the established idolatry was easily demonstrated, and contempt began to be poured on the motley rabble of pagan divinities, the former objects of popular devotion.

But christianity, thus presenting herself in the garb of Platonism, lost some of its most forbidding features, at least in the eyes of the rationalists, by which they were induced more easily to abandon gods that they never had believed in, and a religion that neither interest or inclination prompted them to support. In this way, multitudes of the wiser pagans became nominal professors of christianity. In vain had the most celebrated defenders of the pagan idolatry united their efforts in her favour, and whetted their weapons of argument or irony in her defence. The more they wrote, the christian apologists triumphed the more; and numbers of the superior classes joined the church, now that her days of mourning were apparently over, and the honours and offices of the state no longer denied to her members. The churches, no longer able to contain the vast crowds that now professed the faith of Christ, were everywhere enlarged, while the pagan altars were abandoned to their priests, who, with watchful anxiety, waited, in trembling suspense, to weep over her irretrievable overthrow. This must have been a period of unspeakable joy to all the sincere worshippers of God the Saviour, who, according to his promise, had made them more than conquerors; and, by means the most apparently inefficient, had delivered them from the power and inveterate malice of their adversaries, that they might serve him without fear.

In tracing the church of Christ through ten destructive persecutions, we have seen her numbers increasing in proportion to the severities exercised, and the indignities heaped upon her long-suffering, passive, and unoffending members. We have seen the pagan superstition melted down by the influence of her doctrines, and the most extensive and powerful empire the world had ever beheld, revolutionized by her numerical importance, and reformed by her captivating manners. It is painful, therefore, to contemplate the growing heresies, and unmanly superstitions, introduced with the obvious design of promoting corruption, and covering the encroachments of power, and the scramble for supremacy, amongst her hypocritical and ambitious ecclesiastics. Many woes are already past, but a host, more inimical to the peace of society, and infinitely more disgraceful to the christian character, are yet in reserve for the trial of her faith and patience.

The circumstances under which Constantine mounted the imperial throne, required all his art and ingenuity to strengthen

his own party, and weaken that of his enemy. His friendship, therefore, to the long persecuted, but numerous and still increasing members of the christian church, leaving religion entirely out of the question, was merely a stroke of sagacious policy. He knew from what small beginnings they had increased, in the face of every discouraging circumstance, to a multitude, so highly respectable, both for numerical strength and determined principle and resolution, that if he neglected to avail himself of the aid such a formidable body was calculated to afford him in the important struggle wherein he was engaged, his antagonist would, in all probability, disappoint him of the opportunity. Considered in this point of view, the emperor was as much indebted to the christians for their support, as they to him for his protection.

That he was a sincere convert to their opinions, we have but doubtful evidence. He does not indeed evince all that incurable bigotry and intolerance that stained, with innocent blood, the tyrannical reigns of a number of his persecuting predecessors. He tolerated the christian worship, and, for some time at least, he also tolerated that of the pagans and the Jews. His triumph over Maxentius was principally effected by the efforts of the christians, and his gratitude has been manifested in the churches he built for their accommodation, and the honours he heaped on their bishops; but to all this, he was bound by every principle either of honour or interest.

His last antagonist, Lucinius, enraged at the loss of such an overwhelming body, and especially to find them thrown between him and the grand object of his ambition, persecuted and destroyed them wherever his power was predominant; and his late attachment to the pagans, whose priests he courted with liberal promises, and more substantial favours, only shows the regret he felt for not having anticipated the wiser policy of his rival.

The death of Lucinius having left him no competitor for the imperial crown, Constantine shut up the pagan temples, or converted them to places of christian worship. He prohibited the pagan sacrifices, and throughout his whole dominions, established the christian religion; yet candour, and even charity, must pause before they pronounce him either a true christian or a good man. He reached the summit of his ambition through scenes of carnage; and, in order to clear the way more effectually, and secure to himself the darling acquisition, he murdered his nearest relations; and his old age, though possessed of all the advantages arising from long experience, was more tyrannically cruel and oppressive than any part of his former reign. In short, the whole tenor of his life leaves posterity in doubt,

whether the part acted by him, and his son Constantius, did not more mischievously injure the cause of true and genuine christianity, than all the rage of the ten preceding persecutions.

About the year 320, the bitter fruits of the Platonic doctrines began to make their appearance in the church. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, and a disciple of Origen's, a man of science, of grave deportment, an acute reasoner, and withal of irreproachable morals, having held forth in his sermons and writings, that Christ was not from eternity, that he had no existence till the period when he was begotten; that, consequently, he had a beginning, and was inferior to the Father.

The novelty of these sentiments attracted the particular notice of the Alexandrian school, whose learned definitions and distinctions, in discussing these intricate questions, had the effect of spreading the Arian heresy through every corner of the empire, and producing such a spirit of contention and bitter animosity between the abettors of these new doctrines and the orthodox christians, as involved the church in a most cruel and disgraceful persecution, which, with a few casual intermissions, lasted for ages. Arius was cited before the council of Alexandria, and excommunicated for his heretical tenets; and afterwards, in 325, at a council held at Nicomedia, where the great Constantine presided in person, he was again condemned, and the Nicene creed adopted and confirmed, with a decree of banishment for all who would not conform to its doctrines, and affix their names to its contents. Arius was deposed, and all his friends and adherents, to save their bishoprics, subscribed the articles, with only the exception of two individuals.

After the death of Helena, the mother of Constantine, his sister Constantia having great influence over him, and being warmly attached to the Arian party, had his condemnation reversed; and although the Nicene creed remained unrepealed, Athanasius and the trinitarians found the court party, with the emperor at their back, sufficiently powerful to turn the current of persecution against their party. They refused, however, to receive into their communion those followers of Arius, notwithstanding that they had subscribed the Nicene creed, seeing they utterly rejected the Nicene doctrine of the trinity. The determined opposition maintained by Athanasius, at the head of the trinitarians, drew upon him and his party the wrath of the emperor and his Arian court, who employed all their influence, and practised the meanest frauds and impositions, if, by any means, they might ruin the reputation, and, by calumny, silence the arguments, of a man, whose doctrines they found resting on a foundation, against which their united malice and ingenuity had been directed in vain. They could turn him out of his

see; to drive him out of his faith and firmness, surpassed their power; still he returned to the charge with renovated vigour and unshaken confidence. Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, a man who is said to have stuck at no fraud, and was ashamed of no villany, having possession of the ear of the emperor, had succeeded in procuring the banishment of this inflexible pillar of the orthodox church. He was accordingly sent an exile into Germany, and Arius returned in triumph to Alexandria, where his activity soon embroiled the Egyptians in the most furious contentions. The fear of more mischievous consequences, however, induced the emperor to summon him to court. Having reached the metropolis, Arius continued to manifest the same spirit; and similar disorders, to those he had introduced into Egypt, were the immediate consequence; but, in the middle of all this enthusiastic and turbulent activity, he was called to his account, and left his tenets, and zeal in defending them, an unhappy legacy, not only to his friends and abettors, now basking in the beams of imperial favour, but also to the church in general.

No heresy had, at any time, proved so fatal to the true religion; none had taken such an extensive range, or struck its baneful roots so deep in the soil of the christian church. From this noxious root has sprung up almost all the theological errors that have marred the peace and prosperity of religion in every age, and its poisoning influence has been felt in every department of the christian world.

The church, at this period of her history, was apparently exalted to the highest pinnacle of prosperity. Invested with vast authority, her clergy, arranged in their various degrees of superiority, held synods and counsels with almost sovereign power. Their churches vied in magnificence with the imperial palace; their robes, and the pomp of their service, with mitres, tiaras, tapers, crosiers, and gaudy processions, utterly eclipsed the splendour of the pagan worship; but all was deception, a painted sepulchre, outwardly fair, but internally overcharged with the rottenness and putridity of dead men's bones. Pride, luxury, and lasciviousness, covetousness, and contention, preyed on her vitals; while every species of wickedness and immorality deluged her extensive boundaries. The people had gradually sunk into insignificance, and nearly to annihilation; their voice was no longer heard, nor their consent considered necessary. Even the presbyters bowed to this episcopal sovereignty, and quietly acquiesced in the imperial appointments. The prelatical government, in imitation of the state, was now divided into great prefectures, of which Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, claimed superiority; whilst a descending series, from patriarchs

to metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, etc. was established, some with greater, and others with less extensive jurisdiction. Thus, every one was seen grasping at all he could catch as an individual, and all uniting together in support of the most despotic pretensions of episcopal authority, over a church, whose emoluments they had the shameless effrontery to claim as their divine and unalienable right.

The theoretical opinions of Plato, in addition to the numerous evils they had already produced in the church, brought forward, about this time, the first idea of a purificatory process, through which departed spirits were to pass in their progress towards perfection. The martyrs had also risen to astonishing veneration. Their tombs and relics were supposed to possess such singular sanctity, as to afford protection from the power and malignity of evil spirits. A desire to render Christianity more palatable, to the adoption of pagan ceremonies, by placing saints and martyrs in the room of their exploded deities; and the Gentile converts were now indulged in all the sports, amusements, and bacchanalian revels, with which the pagan festivals had formerly been attended; as may be seen in the decrees of Thaumaturgus.

The visitation of the tombs led to distant pilgrimages, where famous men had lived and expired, especially to the Holy Land, as it was now denominated, where Christ and his Apostles had sojourned. The distance and difficulties attending these holy peregrinations enhanced the merit of the undertaking, and rendered these *kind* visitations wonderfully fashionable. The very dust of the tombs was esteemed a precious acquisition; while a tooth or a bone was accounted an invaluable treasure, with these, and similar fooleries, did this organised junto of pious jugglers, amuse, deceive, and enslave the christian world; suppreceding, at the same time, every thing like evangelical or vital religion. Prodigies, miracles, visions and conflicts with the devil, were pretended with a design to multiply the objects of devotion, to increase the veneration of the people for the office, and replenish the pockets of the clergy. Such was the real and apparent state of the great body of the christian Church, towards the end of the *fostering* reign of the first christian emperor Constantine the Great.

On the death of Constantine, the empire was divided amongst his three sons. Constantine the second had for his share, Britain, Gaul and Spain; Constans had Illyricum, Africa, and Italy; while Constantius possessed the East with Constantinople, the new metropolis which had been erected by his father. Constantine soon fell by the sword of his brother Constans, in a quarrel of ambition, who seized on his dominions; but soon after fell by the hand of Magnentius, who aspired to empire, and contended with the remaining brother for universal dominion; but failing in his purpose, destroyed himself

in a fit of rage and despair, leaving Constantius in full and undisturbed possession of his father's dominions.

Constantius seems to have embraced the religion of his father, and like him, yielded to the influence of the two Arian Eusebiuses, and his sister Constantia. The imperial court was, of course, the abettors and supporting pillars of the Arian heresy, which naturally became the fashionable religion. The party, thus uppermost, availing themselves of their situation, urged the perverted emperor to acts of violence against the patrons of the Nicene creed, who resolutely rejected all communion with Arius or his espousers. Synods and councils were now multiplied for settling the disorders of the church; which had already assumed a dangerous aspect. The, Arians, with the support afforded them by the emperor, were usually victorious in these partial assemblies.

The old and orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, having recommended a successor, who was afterwards chosen by the people and presbyters to fill that see; but being inimical to the Arian and court religion, he was deposed by the orders of Constantius, who placed Eusebius of Nicomedia in his stead, and arrogated to himself the sole power of appointing all the superior officers in the church.

Such tyrannical proceedings could not fail to excite the most violent sensations in the christian world; and the zeal of the trinitarians in defence of their opinions and their natural rights, to give them publicity, induced them to make a resolute stand against the encroachments of their opponents, perhaps, too, with a violence ill-becoming the cause they had determined to defend; though to do both parties justice, the Arian mode of warfare seems still more reprehensible. Accordingly, an hundred bishops, with the famous and inflexible Athanasius at their head, protested against the unwarrantable deposition of Paul, and the disgraceful election of Eusebius. But all that the party gained by this bold manœuvre was the wrath of the enraged emperor, the calling together another synod, and the deposition of their revered champion. To effect this, the influence of Athanasius in Alexandria and Egypt being so powerful and extensive, an armed force became indispensable, but after a violent struggle, and many acts of cruelty, Athanasius, alarmed for his safety, retired to Rome, as yet the uncorrupted seat of orthodoxy. Under the protection of Constans, emperor of the west, for Magnentius had not yet overturned his throne, being a professed adherer to the Nicene Creed, Athanasius rested sometime in exile; and, before a council held at Rome, vindicated his conduct against the malevolent charges brought against him by his Arian antagonists.

Finding that matters were proceeding from evil to worse, the two emperors agreed to hold a general council at Sardica; in which dis-

cord prevailing, the parties separated with additional and irreconcilable animosity. The eastern church was generally affected with Arianism, and both parties were nearly equal adepts in framing their anathemas; but the affectionate regard the Egyptians had for their exiled patriarch, compelled the emperor to invite his return to the functions of his see, now vacant by the death of Gregory. He returned, and on his way was met by Constantius, and graciously received. His entrance into Alexandria was a day of triumph and exultation to the Trinitarians; and numbers manifested the arden- cy of their feelings, on the occasion, by devoting themselves to a monastic life; an evil now making rapid advances, and countenanced by many, who never anticipated the mischief it was calculated to produce.

In consequence of the death of Magnentius, and the failure of his ambitious enterprise, the power of Constantius became univer- sal; and his Arian advisers, galled at the unremitting assiduity of the aged patriarch, renewed their efforts to silence or destroy him. For this purpose, they had influence enough with the em- peror to obtain another council, which was held at Milan; where, although the menaces of power, and the clamours of the Arian bishops, could not procure the revocation of the Nicene, and the subscription of the Arian creed, they succeeded in condemning Athanasius: and his sentence was subscribed by the council with but few dissenting voices.

The emperor, enraged to find that *any* of his subjects possessed the confidence to gainsay his imperial pleasure, wreaked his ven- geance on these stedfast friends of the persecuted patriarch. They were banished from their country, and some of them put to the tor- ture. Athanasius himself, though firmly supported by his brethren of Alexandria, was under the necessity of making his retreat: he was seized in the church during the celebration of divine service, and with difficulty conveyed to a place of safety by the zeal of his clergy.

The Arians now triumphant, held council after council at Rimini and Ravenna, to confirm the fashionable and courtly religion, and the docility with which the bishops almost universally subscribed the Arian creed, shows us to what a pitch of wordly-mindedness and hypocrisy the prelatical corps of that period had arrived. The monks of the desert concealed the Alexandrian defender of the tri- une faith, who did not slumber in his secret retreat, but continued to labour in defence of the doctrine he had taught, and, in the face of every danger had hitherto maintained, against an overwhelming opposition. These defences he found means to issue from his des- art solitude, galling to his adversaries, but well calculated for con- firming the faith, and strengthening the hopes, of his dejected, des-

pised, and persecuted adherents. In one of them he thus expresses himself, "The Father cannot be the Son, nor the Son the Father. The Holy Ghost is never called by the name of the Son, but the Spirit of the Father and the Son. The holy trinity is but one divine nature, and one God, with which nothing created can be joined. This is sufficient for the faith; human knowledge goes no farther: the cherubims veil the rest with their wings."

Amid these scenes of clamour and contention, the emperor closed a life of tyranny and unceasing anxiety, after having been baptized by the bishop of Antioch, the supporting pillar of the Arian heresy, in the full confidence, it is probable, that the water in baptism would wash off every impurity from his soul.

Julian, his successor, had, owing to his youth, escaped the massacre of his family, who were butchered, by order of Constantius, on his accession to the throne. He had been privately educated amongst the clergy, and became a reader in the church. He was the only surviving branch of the family of Constantine the Great, and appointed by Constantius to the command of the army in Gaul, where he was engaged in a dangerous, but successful, warfare against the Germans. After obtaining a decisive victory, his army, in opposition to his earnest and repeated remonstrances, in a fit of triumphant acclamation, hailed him with the title of emperor.

On learning what had taken place, Constantius, burning with rage and resentment, marched, at the head of an army, to punish this daring presumption; but falling sick at Celicia, he expired, leaving the empire to the quiet possession of his hated rival.

Julian has been branded by historians with the name of apostate, which he scarcely deserved. He beheld the hands of his christian cousin dyed with the blood of his nearest relations. He saw that the religion of the court consisted merely in the ambitious intrigues of sycophant bishops; and having little opportunity to observe the genuine practice of christianity among the conscientious and sincere; it was not to be wondered that his mind revolted from a system with which he was so little acquainted, and from which he had received such unsufferable injuries. He was, moreover tired and disgusted with the endless quarrels and contentions about abstruse questions and opinions, which the opposing parties had seldom suffered to sleep under the former reign; and if no christian, he seems, at least, to have been an honest man. He supported no party at the expense of another, but left his subjects the freedom he allowed himself, namely to enjoy their own opinions. We must admire his candour and liberality of sentiment, however, much we may lament his misfortunes, in being surrounded by interested flatterers, and weakly listening to their selfish admonitions.

His death, however, soon put a period to all his purposes, whether favourable or unfriendly to the christian religion. He fell in the prime of life, after the short reign of twenty months, in an expedition against the Persian monarch, by the lance of a common soldier; and considering the shortness of his reign, and the unshackled toleration he maintained, the christians could suffer but little under his mild administration. They have abused him, however, with unmerited reproach, while infidels continue to laud him with undeserved praise.

Jovian, though blamed for his political measures, seems to have been endued with true wisdom and piety, while countenancing the christian faith, which he cordially embraced. He prohibited all violence against those of a different opinion, whether christians or pagans. Under his liberal administration, Athanasius, leaving his concealment, returned to his church, and enjoyed a short interval of repose.

Valentinian and Valens, though brothers, pursued different lines of direction. Valentinian, like his predecessor, protected the orthodox; while Valens, a determined Arian, renewed the persecution against the abettors of the Nicene creed; and having expelled their bishops, filled their places with those of his own faith. Athanasius, the prime object of Arian malignity, was doomed to suffer another and last exile under this reign; yet in spite of all the intrigues of his enemies, he was recalled to his see, and there permitted to die in peace. That he had his faults, candour must acknowledge; but the inveterate persecutions he suffered, and the unmanly attempts made to ruin his reputation, were provocations against which his patience was not always proof; and though the peculiar circumstances, in which he was placed, will not excuse his improprieties, they have considerably blunted the edge of severe reprehension. Valens perished in battle. His successors, Gratian and Honorius, agreed to suppress paganism and erect the banner of the cross; but none used methods so strong and severe as Theodosius, surnamed the Great.

Theodosius, taking a fallacious view of his prerogative, and a very erroneous estimate of his official power, planned an enterprise, to which both were unequal. The frequent disorders, arising from the contentions of religious parties, had probably led him to the chimerical notion of a wrangling empire, changed to an unconquerable fraternity, all moved by one spirit, possessing only one opinion, one faith, one baptism, and one imperial head; whose wisdom, he imagined, was equal to his power, and whose opinions were consequently the only proper standard to which those of his subjects ought to be conformed; perhaps dreaming, that such an organization could not fail in raising him to the summit of human glory,

while it restored the christian world to a paradise of happiness and tranquillity. However this might have been, Theodosius, whose temper was violent, and whose government was tyrannical and overbearing, proceeded to the hopeless task of concentrating and assimilating all the religious opinions of the empire with that of their imperial lord and master. The pagans were prohibited, on pain of death, from sacrificing, or in any way to take part in, or attend any of their pagan ceremonies; and fully determined on establishing a *uniformity* of religion throughout the empire, the severest pains and penalties were enacted against all those who refused to conform to his orthodox establishment.

Libanius, the friend of Julian, still attached to the old idolatry presumed, in this eventful crisis, to address this christian emperor and teach him an important lesson from his own creed, "That religion ought to be implanted in men's minds by reason, *not by force*; but the emperor was too wise to be taught.

---

## SECTION II.

*From the end of the fourth, to the beginning of the fifteenth Century.*

THE establishment of christianity, under Theodosius, and the uniformity of faith enforced by his imperial decree, had raised the catholic church to superlative eminence; but all was external show. Her revenues were immense, and her power and influence almost incredible; but corruption had already wormed itself into all her institutions. She had extended her borders, and vanquished her enemies; but the simplicity and purity of her doctrines and institutions were sadly adulterated, and the power of godliness lamentably decayed. Ambition, pride, and luxury, the never-failing consequences of wealth and power, with all their concomitant evils, found a ready reception in her corrupted bosom. Heresies, schisms, and unchristian contentions, marked her defection in legible characters; while an universal scramble for power and pre-eminence afforded a disgusting sample of prelatical selfishness and hypocrisy.

The Roman empire, now divided between Arcadius and Honorius, was ready to fall in pieces by its own weight; and nothing presented itself to the contemplative mind but a barbarous ignorance and ecclesiastical usurpation. A splendid hierarchy, with a showy profession, smothered beneath the fooleries, frauds, and puerile

rites of a most ridiculous and unmanly superstition. The Goths, a swarm of northern barbarians, commenced their ravages on the western empire, nor discontinued their incursions till its final overthrow. The Theodosian decree of uniformity had forced vast numbers of the Arians, under the former reign, to take shelter amongst this barbarous people, many of whom had been converted to christianity by their assiduity and zeal. The Arians, when formerly in power, had acted towards the trinitarians with the most implacable spirit of persecution and intolerance; but the triumph of the orthodox, and the decree of uniformity in their favour, afforded them a plausible opportunity for retaliation. Thus the persecuted became the persecutors, and repaid their antagonists with a liberality of vengeance, altogether incomparable with the doctrines by which they professed to regulate their conduct. The Arians, under such circumstances and feelings, it may be supposed, did not neglect to impress the minds of their Gothic converts with the sufferings that had reduced them to wandering exiles, or to invoke their vengeance on their enemies of the orthodox church. Accordingly, we find that the first incursions of these savages were directed against the adherents of the Roman faith with the most destructive precision, and attended with incredible ruin and desolation wherever they directed their march.

In Africa, they burnt, plundered, and destroyed the country, massacring its inhabitants with unsparing vengeance. The bishops, who held the doctrine of the trinity, were tortured, banished, or murdered, and their churches levelled with the ground. The Persian monarchs also exercised such severities, as threatened to extinguish the christian name; and even in those countries, where the Roman authority still subsisted, the mutual animosities of the orthodox and heretical parties rivaled, and in many instances even out-did, the cruelties of their Gothic invaders; while the orthodox prelates, to whom the opulent bishoprics, such as Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, &c., became bones of bitter contention, mustering their respective friends and dependants, disputed their claims with mutual anathemas, tyger-like ferocity, and torrents of human blood.

The pagan idolatry had, by this time, been nearly destroyed in the western empire; and in the east, the younger Theodosius had wholly converted the pagan temples to the purposes of christianity, and purged his army and magistracy from almost every remnant of polytheism. This division of the empire had escaped the incursions of the Huns, who cruelly invaded and plundered Thrace and the places adjacent, while the Vandals desolated Africa, and the Goths over-ran Spain and Gaul; and after the sackage of Rome returned to the charge with additional strength and resolution; and Italy, with its proud capital, fell into the hands of Odo-

cer. But scarcely had he begun to breathe under a settled government, when fresh hordes of Ostragoths; under the direction of Theodoric, invaded his territories, defeated his armies, and laid hold on his ill defended throne.

During these calamities, the afflictions of the church must have been incessant and severe: and though her conquering invaders assumed the profession of christianity, and whole nations and armies, following the example of their leaders, were baptized, and in this way initiated into the christian church! they had merely changed one superstition for another, and were, therefore, almost as much pagans as before.

The Britons, who in consequence of the departure of the Roman legions, had been invaded and much harassed by the incursions of their Scottish neighbours, solicited the aid of the Saxons; who, after having succeeded in driving out the Scots, seized on the kingdom they were hired to defend, and cruelly ravished the country, destroyed its inhabitants, pulled down their churches, and drave the feeble remains of the christian population to the mountains of wales,

In the furnace of affliction men are expected to be purified, but here, notwithstanding that desolation was spreading on every side, the church grew more and more corrupted, both in doctrine and practice. The imperial establishment of uniformity was far from procuring the peace of the church, and, if we may judge of the past by present experience, equally ill qualified for promoting her spiritual prosperity. The church, indeed, had greatly extended her wings; her temples glittered with gold and precious stones, and her priests with gorgeous robes: but the divine inhabitant was fled, Christ the, legitimate King and Head of his church, had been dethroned, and his crown set on the capricious head of the Roman emperor, who formed and fashioned her according to his imperial good pleasure. He had, therefore, long continued to install or depose his bishops as seemed good in his own eyes, nor had his power hitherto met with any considerable resistance. The people, long since sunk in ignorance and slavery, had lost the knowledge of their own privileges; while their prelati- cal superintendents, exercising an ever watchful jealousy over one another, were too much employed in their individual ambitious intrigues to pay much regard to the moral and religious instruction of their flocks.

The rising magnificence of Constantinople created no small jealousy in the mind of the bishop of Rome, who contended with the Constantinopolitan bishop for the right of spiritual supremacy. The east chiefly acknowledged the one, and the west the other;

while both, availing themselves of every opportunity of extending their jurisdiction, even at the other's expence dealt, out their fulminations against one another with a profligate prodigality.

The bishop of Rome, with a policy becoming the occasion, announced himself as the protector of all oppressed clergymen. This drew to his court an incredible number of appellants; and, by a regulated system of craft and encroachment, enabled him to rise in the scale of eminence. So besotted were the people now become, that the vices of the clergy did not lessen the reverence paid them by that superstitious generation. This false piety, and blind veneration of ignorant devotees, made the function of a clergyman a very agreeable thing, and introduced into the order a horde of idle and vicious men; among whom saints sprung up like mushrooms, and were looked up to by the ignorant as men highly favoured of heaven. The monks, meantime, like locusts, began to cover the earth, and rallying under various leaders, formed a veteran corps for supporting the dignity of the mother church, and watching the vacancies of the opulent bishopricks. Convents, too, were multiplied throughout the christian world in this eventful age; and such were the notions of the people, that the founders of these receptacles of indolence and every vice, were considered the most meritorious individuals.

As superstition advanced, departed spirits rose in veneration. Their images began to be held sacred; the presence of the saint was supposed to exist in the image, and astonishing miracles were not wanting to attest its deification; while relics became sovereign remedies for all diseases, either of the body or the mind. They were believed to possess the power of driving away devils, and removing every evil to which mortality is incident. The bishop of Rome was the first who patronized this lucrative trade, and, with his own hands, dispensing these astonishing favours to his ignorant votaries. The clergy had long endeavoured to raise their importance, and make themselves necessary to the people, and had so far succeeded, that they were now considered as the only persons capable of approaching the Deity, and obtaining for them the favours they wanted. The pomp of worship, garments, altars, and utensils, awed the vulgar to reverence; while a round of bawling services, night and day, kept up the ostentatious appearance of fervent devotion. And the Nestorian controversy at last introduced Mary, with her Son, to the first and most conspicuous place in the orthodox church. The public penance was now cunningly dispensed with, to make room for auricular confession and private absolution; a mode at once more convenient for the culprit, and much more agreeable, as it gave additional importance to the ghostly fathers.

We are now stepping from the glimmerings of twilight to the

the darkness of a night, where scarcely a star looks through the dismal gloom to guide the groping pilgrim on his dubious way. The Goths and Vandals were triumphant. Anastasius and Justin exerted themselves to arrest the progress of these powerful invaders, but to no purpose; their efforts rather increased the public calamity. A momentary triumph was obtained by Belisarius in Africa, and Narses in Italy; but this was succeeded by fresh swarms of Lombards, who established their empire over the degenerate Romans, and ruled them with a rod of iron. In the meantime, astonishing conversions of whole nations, Germans, Gauls, Britons, &c., increased the fame of the monkish apostles, who were now busied in baptizing their converts by thousands.

Wherever these monkish itinerants had the fortune to gain a queen for a convert, with a king complacent enough to acquiesce in the superior wisdom of his christian consort, a nation was born at once; who, notwithstanding of their new name, retained their former ignorance, and had only changed their superstition. To stimulate these hasty conversions, Gregory the Great had granted them the indulgence of all the sports and pastimes attached to their pagan festivities, only that the virgin and her Son, with the Apostles and other saints, were to be worshipped instead of Thor and Friga. About this period, miracles, became so numerous, that they nearly ceased to be miraculous.

By the beginning of this, the seventh century, the barbarian conquerors had generally submitted to the religion of the vanquished. The Lombards and Burgundians embraced the orthodox faith; and the Anglo Saxon kings of the heptarchy in England, had entered the pale of the church, several of them by the instigation of their fair consorts and could easily command their ignorant subjects to embrace the opinions of their masters. The Jews in Spain, and the Gauls, as they had been driven into the church, so they were retained by the discipline of the sword; while Heraclius, throughout his empire in the east, dragged his reluctant subjects to the fonts, and generously baptized them in multitudes. Yet, after all, these wholesale conversions scarcely amounted to a tithe of the numbers cut off by the sword of persecution, or the destructive inroads of the barbarians.

The Nestorian Christians ashamed of this imperial process, went to work in a more pleasing and apostolic manner. Their missionary efforts were directed to India, China, and the numberless tribes of northern barbarians, even into Scythia and Siberia. All outward persecution against the church as a body had now subsided, with the exception of, now and then, a scene of transitory oppression from the Persians, and some malicious attacks from the Jews in Syria and Palestine; so that the christian world slumbered in the arms of ease,

ignorance and indifference, while a stupid system of pompous, mechanical, and unceasing devotion, threatened to lull her asleep, unconscious of the scourge that was preparing to chastise her manifold and grievous backslidings.

In the beginning of this century, the famous MAHOMET first made his public appearance. A man of admirable invention, and ready elocution, possessing at once a fearless intrepidity and inflexible perseverance, with a noble and commanding exterior. He had been engaged in a course of mercantile transactions in Arabia, where, by travelling, he became acquainted with that country, and the manners of its inhabitants. The christianity professed in these regions, as elsewhere, had been wofully adulterated and jumbled together with pagan and monkish superstition, insomuch, that he considered the erection of a new religion, amongst a people so debased with ignorance, to be a matter of obvious practicability.

Accordingly, adopting the leading doctrine of the Jewish and Christian religion, the unity of the Godhead, and exploding every species of idolatry and polytheism, while manifesting the highest reverence for the one Jehovah, he pretended a divine commission for correcting the errors and abuses of Jews and christians, and for restoring the primitive and patriarchal religion of Abraham. To render his religious system more palatable, he admitted polygamy, and promised his votaries a paradise of carnal enjoyments, that he might thereby seduce the voluptuous: while the sword of vengeance was unsheathed to compel the refractory.

The gross ignorance universally prevalent, the corruption of manners, the quarrels and irreconcilable enmity amongst the christians of that period, rendered them an easy acquisition to a religion, wherein Moses and Christ held a distinguished place amongst the prophets; and sensuality was indulged with its most alluring gratifications, while the strong arm of vengeance left no alternative but conversion, death, or slavery. How much the christians must have suffered under the bloody progress of this new religion it is painful to contemplate.

In this century, the long and ardent struggle for clerical supremacy, between Rome and Constantinople, came to a final rupture. Many attempts to close up the wounds had all proved abortive: the one church, too proud to receive an equal, the other, to suffer a superior. Rome exercised all her craft and ingenuity to raise herself to supreme authority over all the churches; but her attempts this way met with a spirited opposition from many kings and bishops in the western empire; while the east, with few exceptions, remained obedient to Constantinople. The ancient Britons and Scotch had

often disputed the mandates of the Roman Bishops; and the churches of Spain and Gaul rejected whatever they considered an infringement of their privileges; and even in Italy, the bishop of Ravenna, and others refused all unqualified submission. In order therefore to strengthen the authority of Rome, her politic pontiffs contrived to attach the monks to her obedience, by encouraging them to quarrel with the bishops under whose superintendence they had formerly been placed, and transfer their obedience to Rome. A mighty host was thus rallying themselves under the banner of the pope, who to secure their allegiance, afforded them very singular indulgences. Thus, wealth accumulating with a gradual acquisition of strength, a power sprung up in the west, which, in subsequent ages, hurled its thunders at the most powerful monarchs, and brought them trembling to the footstool of the haughty possessor of the triple crown. The Scriptures notwithstanding all these lamentable circumstances were still in the hands of the people who read them without restraint. Neither, as yet, according to Ildephonsus, had the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation been invented, though the celebration of the Lord's supper had been loaded with endless ceremonies, attended with all the useless pomp of pageantry and dress.

The Saracens continued to extend their conquests, and spread their religion through Asia and Africa; while the distracted state of the eastern empire paralyzed her strength, and precluded the possibility of any thing like a vigorous defence. At Constantinople all was confusion and alarm; one emperor after another had been hurled from his throne, and the contending parties were wasting their strength on one another, in a cruel and vindictive domestic warfare, notwithstanding that the Saracens were approaching their very walls, ready to sieze on the jarring, effeminate, and already desolated empire. In the west the prospect was equally appalling. An army of Saracens having passed the Straits of Gibraltar rushed into Spain with the impetuosity of a mountain torrent, and bearing down every opposition extended their conquests to the mouth of the Rhone, and carried their ravaging excursions into Corsica, Sicily, Sardinia, and along the Italian shores. The Grecian emperors were unable to make head against this formidable irruption, and Europe was ready to bend to the Mahometan yoke, when the Gauls under the famous Martel, mayor of the palace to Childeric, interposed for the safety of the continent, defeated the invaders, and, for a time, arrested their destructive career.

The internal state of the Roman empire, at this period of her history, was truly humiliating; driven from her possessions by the Saracens, and now also attacked by the Turks, who spread disquiet wherever they directed their way; while the nobility and clergy, in place of rousing the spirit of the people to defend their

country, by their authority and example, we find them so seriously engaged in securing their private interests, and promoting their schemes of ambition, that every spark of patriotism and piety seems to have deserted the devoted empire. Enervated by luxury, the Roman intrepidity was now no more; while an ignorant, luxurious, and aspiring priesthood, sunk in sensuality, and contaminated with the most scandalous vices, cared only for their lucrative situations. They had contrived to draw, from the ignorant population, an ample share of reverence and unmerited esteem, which served to hide their enormities from the public eye, while a brotherly feeling, amongst themselves, secured their impunity, and covered their disgrace.

The transcendent merit of liberal donations to the church, had always been a theme on which the clergy dwelt with peculiar complacency; but now, more than ever, had this lucrative doctrine become the subject of monkish declamation, and procured for the holy coffers immense sums from every quarter of the christian world. So brutishly ignorant and superstitious were men now become, that no man, living or dying, in health or sickness, considered his soul in safety, unless he had interested the Virgin, or some favourite saint, in his behalf. Kings, warriors, and even men of wealth, being, perhaps, with propriety, considered the greatest sinners, so they had it in their power, at all times, to redeem their sinful souls, at an easy rate, by dividing, with mother-church, the plunder they had iniquitously acquired in prosecuting their schemes of ambitious aggrandizement. "Redeem your souls, from the punishment due to your sins, while you have the means in your power," says St. Eloi, the highly revered bishop of Noyon, in one of his homilies. "He is the good christian," continues the same writer, "who comes often to church, and brings his oblation to be presented on God's altar. Who presumes not to taste the fruits he has gathered, till he has first made his offering of them to God; who, on the return of the sacred solemnities, for many days preceding, observes a sacred continence, even from his own wife, that he may approach God's altar with a safe conscience; and who can repeat, by memory, the creed and the Lord's prayer." Again, "Offer your tithes and oblations to the churches; light up candles in the consecrated places, according to your abilities; come frequently to the church, and, with all humility pray to the saints for their patronage and protection; which things, if you do, when, at the last day, you stand at the tremendous bar of the eternal Judge, you may say confidently to him,—"*Da Domini, quia dedi.*"—Give, Lord, because I have given."

Accordingly, under the blind impression of these, and similar absurdities, emperors, kings, and nobles, were now in the habit of

giving to the church, not merely money and vestments, but also estates, dignities, and tenures; whereby many bishops became dukes, counts, and marquises. Of these gratuities, however, the Roman pontiff received the most liberal proportion; and being considered the prime object of veneration, the oracle in all difficulties, and pacificator in all cases of contention, it is inconceivable the revenues he must have derived from his then unbroken and universal jurisdiction.

In the midst of all this profusion and profligacy, science was suffered to expire, and knowledge, profane as well as scriptural, ceased to be cultivated. In the church, the most wretched homilies, interlarded with fables, and the spiritual adventures of saints and holy martyrs, were substituted in the room of gospel preaching, committed to memory, and delivered by rote; for the priests of this age, for the most part, could neither read nor write. Britain and Ireland, however, had yet afforded an asylum for the fragments of literature that had escaped the general wreck.

In the beginning of this, the eighth century, the supreme government of the church still remained with the Grecian emperors, without whose approbation, though a pontiff might be elected, it was not considered valid. The Roman pontiff had resorted to every stratagem and intrigue that appeared conducive to the success of his darling design, of placing himself at the head of the universal church, and giving laws to his hated rival, the patriarch of Constantinople. The contests and bickerings occasioned by the jealousy and ambition of these two leading ecclesiastics, received about this time an uncommon degree of exasperation. The Latin churches were become wonderfully fond of the images and pictures of Christ, his mother, and a number of other favourite saints. These representations had at first been introduced as ornaments to the churches, or simple memorials of favourite objects, without any idea of their being entitled to religious veneration; but the progress of superstition had made the important discovery, that there was connected, with these holy representations, a sort of inhabitation, or presence of the object so represented. The Greek church had not, as yet, made that very important discovery; and a very warm contest took place, in which both parties defended their positions with uncommon intrepidity. During this animated display of christian zeal, the emperor Bardanes consulted with John, the patriarch of Constantinople, on this knotty point, and with his approbation, dispatched his orders to Rome for removing and excluding all images and pictures from the churches; but the angry pontiff, so far from acquiescing or complying with the imperial requisition, ordered other paintings to be set up in the church of St Peter; and calling a council, condemned the emperor and all his abettors. But the revo-

lution that happened soon after this having removed Bardanes from the throne, for sometime suspended the quarrel.

But Leo, called the *Isaurian*, revived the dispute, and, that he might silence the sarcastic reproaches of the Jews and Mahometans, who detest, and have excluded from their worship every species of imagery, determined to remove this stumbling-block. An edict was accordingly issued, to remove from all the churches every image and picture of whatever description. The fire of contention, thus kindled, and fanned by the breath of the priesthood, immediately burned into an inextinguishable conflagration, The priests and monks saw their craft in danger, and that their profits must be curtailed, and the profusion of their tables diminished, should this lucrative trade become contraband. To prevent this terrible misfortune, they harangued their ignorant and superstitious votaries into rebellion, proclaimed the emperor an apostate, and released his subjects from all duty and allegiance to such an enemy of God and his saints.

A civil war was now raging in some of the Islands, and in part of Asia; and the Roman and Italian provinces, instigated by the enraged pontiff, rebelled and murdered or banished the emperor's officers. Leo, enraged at their audacity, hastened to revenge the insult; but was foiled and obliged to retire with disgrace; and, in his fury, commanded all the images to be collected from the churches of Constantinople, and committed to the flames, denouncing the severest punishment on all who should be found practising this idolatrous worship. Thus, the war was declared and prosecuted with arms, both spiritual and temporal to the great destruction of the empire, and the unspeakable joy of the Saracens, less hated by the bishops of Rome than their image-hunting emperor.

The son of Leo Copronymous succeeding his father, used the most strenuous efforts to suppress this hateful worship; and having subdued the rebellious pontiff and his fanatic monks and clergy, he summoned a general council at Constantinople, in which images, and the worship of images, were most solemnly condemned; but the decrees were only submitted to, so far as the imperial sword had power to enforce them. At Rome they were despised; nor were the punishments inflicted on the monkish preachers of sedition sufficient to extinguish the flame of this enthusiastic revolt. His son enforced, by the severest punishments, the decrees of his predecessor; and to avenge himself on the Roman Pontiffs, confiscated all that church's possessions in Sicily and Calabria, which together with Illyricum, he withdrew from the jurisdiction of Rome to that of Constantinople. This circumstance rendered the enmity irreconcilable, and paved the way to the final separation of these churches, while it provoked the Roman pontiff to look out another master; which, however, he had predetermined to make, not only his subject, but his slave.

When the object of all these ruinous transactions had grown stale, and almost fallen asleep in the east, a revolution, of the most horrid description, afforded a complete triumph to the Roman pontiff.

The empress IRENE, that she might hold the reins of government during the minority of her son, found means to administer a cup of poison to her husband. Adrian, the then pontiff, seized the auspicious moment to league himself with this female monster, and, by a second Nicene council, abrogated the former decrees, and established the worship of *images*, with anathemas on all who insisted on the worship of *God alone*. St. Gregory had forbidden the worship of images in any manner whatsoever. Charlemagne and his bishops held a middle path in this controversy, supposing that images might be allowed in the churches, but not the worship. Adrian the pontiff, disapproving their decision, drew up a refutation. In opposition however, both to his defence, and the decisions of his Nicene council, this worship was condemned, in a new synod, held at Frankfort, consisting of three hundred bishops, convoked by the emperor. Hitherto, therefore, the church of Rome had neither established her infallibility nor her supremacy.

A second controversy, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, rose to an amazing height, and, together with the former on images, tended greatly to complete the separation of these discordant churches. During this controversial period, vital religion sunk into obscurity; while her purity was lost in childish rites and ceremonial pomposity. No preaching remained but stupid homilies. No public worship, but an empty form. The Lord's supper was become a piece of pageantry; and private masses, by a solitary priest, for the souls of the dead, added another lucrative source of sacerdotal pillage, and a heavy burden on their deluded relatives. The mode of worship in the churches of Rome, was with a few exceptions, adopted by Charlemagne for the churches of the west; which added another link to the chain that was destined to bind them to the foot of the papal throne.

In tracing the history of a christian church destitute of christianity, we are still descending into regions of darkness and chaos, where a remaining ray of primitive piety or simplicity, to enliven the scene of accumulating darkness and deformity, can scarcely be seen. The east submitting to the caliphs, Africa subdued, their conquests extended to India, and throughout the Persian empire. Sicily, added to Spain, already in their possession. Sardinia, Crete, and the islands, augmenting the roll of their conquests; Calabria overrun, and Italy ready to bend to the Mahometan yoke; while a fresh swarm of piratical plunderers from the north, Danes or Normands, infested the

the coasts of Germany, Britain, Gaul and Spain, marking their bloody route with devastation, plunder, and captivity. When repelled in one place, they landed on another; erecting principalities wherever, the country invited, and the feebleness of the inhabitants permitted them to remain. These ignorant mauraders, not content with plundering the feeble inhabitants, destroyed the remaining fragments of knowledge that had survived the ravages of former barbarians, and escaped the observation of ages of ignorance; but especially harrasing the christian establishments, these being found most productive in objects of desirable plunder. Thus inflicting the dreadful woe pronounced against the inhabitants of the earth and the sea.

Of this once-mighty empire, now incestuously united in church and state, it may truly be said, the head was sick, the heart faint, and the whole unhallowed carcase covered with wounds, bruises, and putrifying sores. The people, brutishly ignorant, were lamentably immoral; the lower orders of the priesthood, still more wicked and profligate than their pupils; but the heads of the church at Rome were, of all, the most transcendently vicious. Pursuing, with inflexible perseverance, the grand object of universal jurisdiction, hesitated at the commission of no crime, calculated to promote or secure the darling object of their ambition. During the reign of Charlemagne, and some of his successors, who held the reigns of government with a vigorous hand, they could only make encroachments on the feeble; but, in proportion as the successors of Charlemagne declined in power and authority, the popes rose in their claims and pretensions; or when civil wars broke out amongst the competitors for the imperial crown, warily seized the moment of opportunity for acquiring additional privileges, by throwing their weight and powerful influence into one of the scales, till by pursuing this mode of policy, they assumed the right, and really possessed the power of bestowing or rather making merchandise of the imperial crown, which was frequently purchased by the richest gifts and the most abject concessions. The princes, thus raised by papal influence, were bound to support and establish the pontiff's dominion and authority. And thus embodied, they now claimed universal power in all things relative to religion, and denied, even to *councils* of the church, the power of determining, either of doctrine or discipline, without their consent and approbation. The whole body of prelacy was thus completely subjected to the pope, the successor of Peter the representative of Christ, and the only visible head of his church upon earth.

In this way, emperors, kings, prelates, and people, were ultimately subjected to pontifical sovereignty, so that the Roman pontiff may be said to have now held the reigns of government, both spiritual

and temporal, over an ignorant degraded and fearfully submissive world. But nothing contributed so much to the success of the papal ambition, as the legions of monks so universally dispersed amongst the nations, who in their interested zeal for their very liberal and indulgent master, the pope, taught the ignorant people, that to escape the tremendous vengeance due to their iniquities, their implicit belief in the doctrines of the church, and the intercession of its supreme lord and law-giver, the Roman pontiff, was altogether indispensable.

The danger was imminent; and what will a man not give for his own soul? or who would contend with a power, qualified by a single breath, to sentence them to ten thousand years' weltering in the flames of purgatory, or to consign them to the hopeless state of endless retribution! This monkish fraternity had become so reputedly holy, that even kings and princes abandoned their thrones renounced the world, and retired from its temptations, to these soul purifying solitudes. So effectually had men given up their reason, and the use of their senses, that numbers who had not the heart to renounce their dignities when living clothed themselves in monkish habiliments when dying, in the hope of becoming, at least, partial partakers of their terrestrial merits and heavenly beatifications; and what is still more unaccountable, the profligacy of these licentious vermin seems not to have diminished the general veneration for their order.

Knowledge was now at the lowest ebb, nor could the best endeavours of Charlemagne and his son to improve mankind, by promoting literature, produce any significant alteration for the better; ignorance still retained her throne of darkness. Such was the melancholy condition of the church and the world towards the end of the ninth century. The tenth added still to the accumulating heaps of rubbish. Prelates at last circumscribed in their authority by the all-grasping pontiffs, endeavoured to right themselves, by claiming civil as well as ecclesiastical authority, in the cities where they dwelt, and the diocesses over which they presided; in many of which kings and emperors connived at their encroachments; some from the reverence attached to their character; others perhaps, from an opinion, that temporary prelates were less dangerous magistrates than an hereditary nobility. A perusal, however, of St. Dunstan's conflicts with the devil, or Simeon the patriarch's lives of the saints, will exhibit a tolerable specimen, both of the taste of the times, and the debased state of literature, either christian or scientific.

Immense as were the revenues of the church at this period, the demand still out-did the returns. But now a most productive mine of

wealth was discovered, which had for ages been concealed in the Revelations of St. John the divine, who according to their selfish interpretation, had foretold, that the general judgment would take place at the end of the first thousand years. The clergy, improving this period of terror and excitement to their own advantage, multitudes, to secure some merit against that decisive crisis, bequeathed all their wealth to the church and her holy ministers, considering that *the end of all things were at hand*. This delusion was so universal, that every where multitudes consigned their persons and property to the ministers and Monasteries of the church; and others, forsaking *all*, marched off to Palestine, where they expected Christ would descend and give them a favourable reception, as the reward of their laborious pilgrimage.

But now the service of the virgin was coming into special repute in the church. It was supposed that she possessed by far the greatest influence in heaven. Accordingly, to celebrate masses to her honour, and multiply devotions in her name, became a favourite service; and a rosary and crown were invented, consisting of noisy repetitions of certain prayers; the first containing a round of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and one hundred and fifty ave-marias; the last, of seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and seven times ten salutations to the blessed, and in their mistaken views, adorable virgin.

As a strong and retentive memory became extremely necessary in the performance of these multitudinous devotions, and this not being the privilege of every devotee, a number of beads, strung on catgut, exhibiting a large necklace, was ingeniously provided for this laborious task, which, by dropping a bead at every prayer and salutation, at once determined the right, both to the deity and devotee. That men could invent such fooleries, is wonderful; that the first official character in the church should sanction their efficacy, is utterly astonishing.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, the triumphs of the Mahometan conquerors, in the west, threatened to overwhelm the European continent; and, that notwithstanding that an apparent zeal had been manifested for delivering the christians from the Ottoman yoke; the fever subsided, and the republic of Pisa alone armed in the cause. But now the Roman pontiffs, taking up the sinking interest of christianity in the east; Gregory the seventh sounded the alarm of war through the nations of Europe; but quarrels at home suspended the preparation, till Peter the *Hermit* roused the slumbering enthusiasm of the christian princes and prelates by his fanatical de-

clamations, and became the tool of Urban the second in executing the favourite plan of the papal see.

Having visited the desolated plains of Palestine and seen the proud crescent waving on the mosques, once consecrated churches of Christ, Peter had returned with a soul burning with indignation at the sufferings of the saints, and the indignities done to the cross; and, painting the scenes he had witnessed with the most impassioned eloquence, he succeeded in kindling a flame, that burst out like a volcano. At first he solicited the aid and countenance of the patriarch of Constantinople, and Urban, the Roman pontiff, but without success. The latter, whoever, so soon as he beheld the universal efficacy of the hermit's oratory, and a letter, sent him from heaven, enclosing a commission to summon the nations to battle, piously obedient to the divine mandate, he called a council at Placentia, who receiving the proposal rather coolly, he commanded a second grand assembly to meet at Clermont the following year; where the Franks fond of chivalry, and overflowing with zeal for holy church, met the most sanguine wishes of their spiritual father, listened to his pathetic discourses with all the enthusiasm of war and religion, and, by millions, inlisted under the sacred banner of the cross.

Without attempting to detail the madness, the miseries, or the conquests, attending this crusading enterprise, suffice it to say, that after various ineffectual attempts, and the destruction of one army after another, chiefly occasioned by the fatigues of the march, the change of climate, and their own excesses, an expedition, under the famous Godfrey, so far succeeded in the object of their enterprise, that they founded the kingdom of Jerusalem, though at an expense of blood and treasure sufficient to people a much larger dominion, and purchase a far more valuable principality.

But the honour of Christ, restored by the expulsion of the Saracens from the land of his nativity, and the cleansing the holy sepulchre from their profanations, rendered the conquest transcendently meritorious, at least in the opinion of the conquerors; superadded to which the immense quantity of holy relics found in Palestine, or purchased and carried back to Europe in holy triumph, afforded the possessors if not profit, at least a very considerable stock of importance. But the profligacy of manners amongst the crusaders, the rapes, murders, plunder, and desolation that marked their track were but miserable specimens of their pious purposes.

The claims of the Roman pontiffs were now become boundless. They asserted their right to confer all ecclesiastical honours and

emoluments; they also assumed the power and privilege to dispose of kingdoms at their pleasure, of granting titles to Monarchs, and absolving subjects from their allegiance, and by their bulls to this effect, emperors and kings were frequently subjected to the most mortifying submissions.

Hitherto the papal encroachments had been gradual and chiefly effected by policy; but now, that the junto had been tamely allowed to take possession of all power, they were become less cautious and careful in covering their designs. Enthroned in majesty, far above all earthly principalities and powers, sitting in the temple of God, and shewing himself as God, the pope disdainfully looked down from the summit of his proud elevation, regarding the people, who had been thus brutalized, degraded, and enslaved, as utterly incapable, from their ignorance, to detect his frauds, or, from their superstitious imbecility, to retaliate on their plunderers and oppressors. How much they had deceived themselves, in this particular we shall shortly see.

During the darkest period of the church, though all was silent, all was not secure with the Roman see. Prior to the beginning of this century, murmurs began to be whispered about, in friendly confidence amongst the people, which gradually increased, till the terrors arising from the Mahometan conquests, were much less alarming to the pope and his cardinals, than the mustering legions of his apostatizing slaves.

Accordingly, the pontifical policy, under these circumstances, was almost exclusively directed against this accumulating host of rebels. It would be endless to detail the sufferings sustained, and the tyranny exercised, at this time, or to name the numerous objects of persecution; the heaviest weight of which fell on the south of France, where, under the general denomination of Albigenses and Waldenses, were comprehended all who resisted the absurd claims of the Roman see, and refused to comply with the imperious dictates of its infallible pontiffs, or who wished and waited for a reformation of the church, both in her visible head and members. The Waldenses had distributed themselves into small societies: and, when persecuted in one city, numbers of them quietly removed to another, where their complaints were listened to by vast numbers, now become sick of the intolerable yoke of superstition, and the hypocritical exercise of clerical power.

The pontiff alarmed at the boldness of these reformers, and their increasing numbers, had an inquisition established at Toulouse, who

laboured, with the most pious and indefatigable perseverance, to extirpate these heretical rebels to the holy see; and for this purpose, had recourse to the most inhuman and unheard of cruelties; yet, after thousands upon thousands had been wantonly sacrificed, to appease the wrath, and remove the guilty terrors of the alarmed father of the faithful, and every principle of hellish malignity exhausted for their destruction, it was found, that prisons, to contain their numbers, could not be had; and though suppressed in one place, they almost instantaneously burst out in another.

The purity and simplicity of the doctrines they taught, the spotless innocence that adorned their lives and actions, the noble contempt of riches and aggrandizement manifested in the whole of their conduct, appeared so engaging to all who possessed a sense of real godliness, that their numbers increased daily. They accordingly formed societies, first in France, and afterwards in Lombardy; from whence they propagated their doctrines throughout the European continent, and Islands adjacent, with incredible rapidity, and with such unqualified perseverance, and fearless resolution, that neither fire nor sword, nor the most merciless inventions of their persecuting enemies, could damp their zeal or utterly ruin their cause.

The Roman pontiffs began to discover, that though the terrors of their thunders had partly silenced the clamours of the people, it had not convinced them; yet, in place of setting about a reformation of the clergy, and a redress of grievances, they went to work, particularly Boniface the VIII. more like a madman than a sound politician, pushing forward all the provoking claims of his predecessors with an astonishing pertinacity. His legates, in every country, imitated their infallible lord and master, in multiplying the number, and magnifying the severity of their sufferings.

The clergy, avaricious beyond belief, insufferably proud and licentious: every tongue confessed their flagitious conduct; but armed with all the terrors of a world to come, holding in one hand the keys of paradise, in the other, that of the bottomless pit, which they could shut, and none could open, and open, when none could shut, they despised the slaves who crouched to them for absolution; and, in the confidence of their power, glutted their vengeance with impunity, and continued to plunder without remorse.

To check the rising spirit of rebellion and nip heresy in its tender bud, courts of inquisition were everywhere erected, and the secular power called in to destroy without mercy. A new monkish

army, of all colours was now levied, to counteract every attempt at ecclesiastical reformation; all which contributed to lengthen out this odious reign of duplicity and plunder.

The former monks, whatever might be their number or zeal, had long wallowed in wealth and profligacy, and were too well known for their immoralities, to counteract the operations of the reformers. But this new order, sworn to perpetual poverty, begging from door to door, bare-footed, and coarsely clad, with a rope for a girdle, and habituating themselves to a sedate and sanctimonious deportment, astonished the world with their self-abasing mortifications. This begging corps increasing in number, like vermin on the banks of the Nile, were necessarily divided into four great bodies, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and hermits of St. Augustine.

It is impossible to conceive the influence these beggars acquired over all ranks of the community. Entrusted by the pope with the management of absolution and indulgences, they became almost exclusively the spiritual guides and keepers of the conscience; engrossing, by degrees, all power and all employment, so that, had they agreed amongst themselves, they offered fair to perpetuate the slavery of the world. To extirpate heresy was the object of their creation, and they found abundance of employment; for heresy was now changed from points of fundamental belief, to opinions at variance with the claims, or opposed to the powers of prerogatives, of the holy see.

This black and blood thirsty band of pious assassins was principally entrusted with the inquisitorial department; and, for the benefit of men's souls, consigned their mortal members to the flames, that were every where kindled against such as opposed the current order of the day.

The pope now, by his own authority, claimed the sole right to establish articles of faith; and in the fourth lateran council, had the audacious impudence to publish his decrees, which the assembled bishops were commanded to hear and obey; and, for the first time, the term **TRANSUBSTANTIATION** was established by his authority, and **AURICULAR** confession universally imposed on the church; two mighty engines, in the hands of such proficients, in the lucrative science of deception.

The absurd notion, of propitiating the Deity, by self-inflicted punishments, introduced the **FLAGELLANTES**, who filled the air with their piercing shrieks, while they lacerated their bodies in honour of God and his saints; yet such was the blind veneration

acquired by these unnatural inflictions, that they became fashionable, and occasioned such crowds and tumults, as compelled the popes and emperors to check the progress of this sanguinary exercise.

The papal authority had now reached its meridian splendour, and unqualified submission became a matter of course. Every order of ecclesiastics were drilled down to passive obedience; even monarchs held their crowns on a very precarious tenure, while the pope not only claimed, but really possessed, the power of transferring them at pleasure. His anathemas at once determined the fate of the unhappy culprit, both in this and the world to come; and thus the most stubborn was forced to yield to the stern mandates of persevering ambition.

About this time the scenic representations, called mysteries, were first introduced; and these sacred puppet shows served to render religion utterly ridiculous. The persons of the drama were sometimes real, sometimes allegorical; the Almighty, the devil, Jesus Christ, heresy, the blessed virgin, and a motley variety of other respectable characters, both from heaven and hell, with not a few that could neither be found in the one or the other.

Another lucrative invention of Boniface VIII, closed the century, namely, the celebration of the jubilee year, from which a rich harvest was expected, by the pilgrims, who, every centenary year, would visit the church of St Peter, and its holy relics. To draw the superstitious world to this seat of holiness, proclamation was made, that the full remission of sins, and a profusion of indulgences, should be the reward of all who effected this pious pilgrimage.

To obtain such inestimable blessings, to behold the glory, and receive the benediction of the infallible vicegerent of God, were objects too important to be treated with neglect; and the hopes of the pious pontiff were more than realized; so that the successors of Boniface made a virtue of holding the jubilee once every fiftieth year, in imitation of the Jews. Men gather wisdom by degrees; and it was afterwards held every twenty-fifth year; and this third invention rested on very plausible ground, by giving every good christian an opportunity to witness the splendour, and receive the transcendent blessings, so liberally distributed on these sacred occasions.

The fourteenth century found the Roman pontiff still zealous for measuring lances with the Saracens, beneath the walls of Jerusalem; but the courage and zeal of his vassals were wonderfully cooled. Experience had taught them the difficulty of the enterprise, as well as the selfish views of its instigators.

The kings of France and England were cajoled, threatened, and earnestly entreated to commiserate the sufferings of the Palestine christians, to feel for the honour, and merit the plenitude of the church's indulgences; but all to no purpose, they still found plausible excuses, and kept their thrones. Succeeding popes offered part of the church's treasures to forward this holy work; and opening the store-house of church indulgences, disposed of a part of this inexhaustible stock on the most liberal terms; but the enterprise failed. Another attempt was made by Clement V. encouraged by similar means; and an army, under Guy the Dauphin, proceeded on their route; but unable to procure provisions, or subsist without them, they returned with swords unsheathed, and their indulgences in their pockets. John, king of France, however, by the instigations of Urban V. prepared for the important enterprise; but his death disconcerted the whole scheme, and terminated the most foolish, ruinous, and impractical struggle to be found in the records of the world.

The church of Rome, now at the summit of power, her arrogance was equal to her authority. All who read the bible, and evinced a relish for the simplicity of truth, were noted as heretics, and delivered to their inquisitorial tormenters. The kings of the earth seemed to have given their power to the beast; and her ecclesiastical minions, to the meanest of the sacerdotal tribe, fought manfully under her banners. The inquisitors watched, with the eyes of Argus, to keep down every spirit that breathed reform, or supposed the church could possibly need it, either in her head or members; yet, under all this appearance of permanent dominion, secret causes were at work in sapping the foundation of her unsufferable tyranny.

Two popes, and sometimes three, at once claiming infallibility, tended greatly to relax the bond of spiritual obedience; for, with all the ignorance of the times, men had not wholly lost their senses, but naturally considered, that the threatened damnation, for disobedience to three different pretenders, evidently demonstrated the impossibility of all being right. The determined and successful opposition which Philip, king of France, maintained against the arrogant claims of Boniface, who, in one of his bulls, solemnly promulgated, "That all power, spiritual and temporal, was vested in the Roman see by Jesus Christ; and that every human being, who dared to disbelieve this fact, was, by that act of unbelief, constituted an heretic, and damned to all eternity." Philip treated the bull with sovereign contempt, and, in his turn, charged his insolent holiness with both heresy and simony, demanding an œcumenical council to judge and depose him. The furious Boniface instantly launched the thunders of the Vatican at the head of this

sturdy antagonist; but Philip, supported by his states, sent Nogaret, with orders to seize the refractory pontiff, and bring him bound to Lyons. Accordingly, he was surprised at Anagni, treated with every indignity, and so wounded in the head, that though carried off by the people, he died of his wounds, or the fever occasioned by his rage. His successor recalled the excommunication; but it was a dangerous example, to show that the popes might be resisted with impunity. These circumstances, together with the disputes among the Franciscans about the rules of their order, in which the power of the popes had, during this century, been frequently exerted in vain, greatly encouraged a spirit of resistance to their authority.

Ambition, like fire, reluctantly descends, and papacy, in spite of the intestine divisions, distractions, and partial oppositions made to the papal authority, still maintained its proud claims of dominion over all persons, civil or ecclesiastical, assuming all power in heaven, earth, and hell. Her claims to civil power was disputed by the princes, who asserted their independence, and were supported by all who found fault with the Roman tyranny. Her bulwarks, however, were still strong, and her defenders numerous, interested, active, and zealous. The Canonists, who lived by the spiritual courts, were her learned advocates; the monks and clergy, in general, her dependent, humble, and obsequious satellites; the inquisitors, her bloody executioners; whilst the reverence acquired by ages of imposture, and still supported by the consideration, that they were reverencing Christ himself, who paid their devoirs to his vicar, shed a glory round the seat of the beast that was difficult to destroy; yet, notwithstanding of the vast numbers that were now coming forward, as opposers of the present order of things, the most zealous of her abettors contributed the most liberally to her downfall, by their voluptuous and licentious lives, their avarice, and oppressive immoralities.

The mendicant orders, which the policy of former pontiffs had established, for the purpose of supporting and promoting ecclesiastical authority, by their pretended piety and poverty, now that the lives of the clergy had become so utterly disgusting, that their zeal and exertions had become inefficient, even they were much belied, if the monkish cowl did not cover the most scandalous immoralities. These orders having insinuated themselves into the courts and favour of princes, obtained a preponderating influence over the affairs of mankind, both civil and religious. Widely dispersed, and so firmly united in the defence of their privileges, the popes themselves were constrained to respect these beggars of their own creation, who constituted the very soul of the hierarchy, the engines of state, and the secret

springs of the movements of both, suggesting and directing every great and important concern, both in the religious and political world. Exhibiting, in their manner and general appearance, more striking marks of gravity and holiness than were observable in other monastics, the enthusiastic attachment to these sanctimonious beggars went so far, that the people were unwilling to receive the sacraments from other hands, but crowded their churches while living, and were anxious to be interred in the rags of that holy order when dead.

But their popularity and pontifical protection, their monopoly of the power, employment, and emolument of the prelates and secular clergy, procured them the envy and hatred of these disappointed parties; who, jealous of their overwhelming influence, began to dispute, not only their rights, but the authority on which they were founded. The universities of Oxford and Paris resisted their claims, and numbers set themselves to write against their abuses. John de Polliac, in France; Richard, archbishop of Armagh, and others, attacked them, but in vain: the monks triumphed at the court of Rome over all their adversaries.

The famous Wickliff particularly distinguished himself in this controversy, and vigorously supported the archbishop in his opposition to the encroachments of these insolent beggars on the privileges of the Oxford university: nor did the popes, or the Roman see itself, escape the pointed animadversions of this intelligent and energetic Englishman; for which he was deprived of his wardenship, and a monk put in his place. Incensed at this oppression, and zealous for the honour of his university, Wickliff treated the monkish order with equal severity and contempt, exhorted all men to read the scriptures, and judge for themselves, resolving to afford them that opportunity, by translating them into their native tongue. He narrowly escaped martyrdom; but his writings were condemned as heretical, and publicly burnt. His followers were less fortunate than their leader, many of whom, under the denomination of Wickliffites and Lollards, were universally sought out, and hunted down, by the bishops and their eagle-eyed inquisitors, and subjected to the unrelenting vengeance of their courts ecclesiastic, who were already engaged in the extirpation of the Waldenses, Cathari, Apostolics, and others; to whom the only alternative remaining, was either to abjure or perish. Confuted by the keen disputations of Dun Scotus, on the one hand, and, on the other, attacked by the more energetic arguments of racks and gibbets, fire and chains.

Amid all this havoc, contention, and turmoil, pope Innocent V. added to the number of holidays, already by far too numerous,

the festival of *the lance*, of *the nails*, and of *the crown of thorns*, with all their appropriate ceremonies; to which, on purpose to gratify the Franciscans, he added the festival of the five wounds, which had been so miraculously impressed on the body of St. Francis; while pope John XXII. enjoined a salutation to Mary, to be added to the daily prayers of every good christian. Nothing was now too gross, too whimsical, or absurd, for the folly, ignorance, or superstition of the age; but streaks of light were beginning to glimmer athwart this fearful condensity of circumvolving darkness.

---

### SECT. III.

*From the beginning of the fifteenth Century till the death of Edward VI.*

WASTED with incessant war, and harassed by their conquerors, the christians in Asia were compelled to bend to the Mahometan yoke, and many of them to adopt their religion; while the eastern empire, reduced to little more than the city of Constantinople, invoked the aid of the western world in vain. The pope, more intent on reducing them to spiritual subjection, than enabling them to defend their liberties, deceived them with promises, which he was either unwilling or unable to perform. In the meantime, the decisive hour arrived, and Constantinople fell; the report of which struck the western world with terror and amazement; yet, strange as it may appear, neither the dangers to which the western empire was exposed, nor the terrible consequences of eastern imbecility, could rouse the spirit of the christian princes, or engage them in any bond of mutual defence.

The triumph of the cross over the crescent in Spain added little to the christian church; the Mahometans, adhering to the religion of the prophet with unconquerable tenacity, rejected the faith of the cross; which produced their final expulsion from the country by the archbishop of Toledo; a measure equally unchristian, as it was savage and impolitic. The Jews also resisted, and suffered the most appalling cruelties. The discovery of a new world, about this period, opened a wide door for the propagation of the gospel, had the missionaries been as judicious as the mariners had been adventurous; but humanity revolts from the narrative of Spanish cruelty, and Portuguese conquests, in the southern regions of that unfortunate continent. To compel men, by the most exquisite tortures, to discover their wealth to the plunderer, and, at the same time, force their sub-

mission to baptism for the salvation of their souls, manifests an atrocity of character that merits eternal reprobation.

Under this reign of superstition, virtue retired before the overwhelming power of audacious and triumphant vice. Nourished by indulgences, and protected by kindred consciousness of criminality, every crime was now considered venal, heresy alone excepted. This was the great, the unpardonable, the mortal sin, and of very extensive import, embracing all those unfortunate christians that expressed a doubt regarding the dogmas, or resisted the dictates of the Roman see; such characters were ferreted out by the inquisitors, and destroyed by fire and sword. Such was the pontifical jealousy, that whosoever touched, or expressed a desire to touch, the grossest ecclesiastical abuse, was touching the apple of the church's eye. Yet some daring spirits would not keep silence, but denounced the Roman harlot as a traitor to Christ, and a murderer of his unoffending friends and followers, whose villanies outdid that of the accursed sinners of Sodom, and whose punishment was equally certain, and would be proportionably more terrible and exemplary. In the mean time, two popes had been elected, and their mutual animosity and anathemas threatened to drive every thing into confusion. The election of a third, with a view to heal the breach, served only to place an additional gladiator on the theatre; each of whom, maintaining his exclusive and legitimate sovereignty, and condemning his antagonist to the flames of hell for ever and ever. The scandal occasioned by these ludicrous transactions, together with the cry of reform, resounding from so many quarters of the church, induced the emperor, the kings of France and England, and other princes, to attempt a reform of abuses, which had become altogether intolerable; and nothing appearing so effectual for this purpose as a general council, it was accordingly summoned, at the instigation of Sigismund, by the last chosen pope, John XXIII. who opened the assembly at Constance, in presence of the emperor and an immense number of bishops, princes, and ambassadors from all the christian states in the western empire.

Amongst the first acts of this assembly, the pope was decreed subject to a general council, and John XXIII. was deposed for his crimes. To prevent his deposition, Gregory XII. tendered his resignation; and Benedict XIII. refusing to submit to the award of the council, was cast down from the summit of his ambition, and degraded. Martin V. was chosen in their place. The vanquished pontiffs struggled some time, but finding their efforts unavailing, they reluctantly retired from the contest. But this primary object secured, the council found that the more difficult task, the reformation of abuses, still remained.

The members of the council, with this pope at their head, could not endure the idea of suppressing their claims, and, of consequence, abridging their wealth and power, besides subjecting their crimes to the scrutiny and cognizance of the civil magistrate. The crafty pontiff, therefore, contrived to elude every attempt at reformation, by pointing out the insurmountable difficulties that stood in the way. Where shall this flattering delusion, this all-curing expedient, begin? Where shall it stop short? What are the faults to be corrected? And, when all this has been effected, how is it possible to prevent the heretics from triumphing over such acknowledgment of criminality and abuse? And, above all, what are we to expect as the unavoidable result of all this childish imbecility, but a relaxation of the bonds of unity and submission amongst the people, and the ultimate ruin of the catholic church. These, and similar considerations, induced the pope to dissolve this assembly, after sitting three years and an half without doing any thing of importance, deferring the necessary work of reformation till another council should be called for that salutary purpose.

In the mean time, they took care not to part without evidencing, that, together with their power, they retained also the inclination still to proceed in the paths of cruelty and tyrannical oppression; and whatever other differences might have taken place in the council, in this they were cordially agreed, that whoever had the fortitude to reproach the clergy for their licentious and immoral practices, or upbraid them with their ignorance, avarice, and vices, should feel the weight of the inquisitorial arm.

John Huss and Jerome of Prague, men of the most unblemished characters, eminent for their piety, talents, and learning, and highly distinguished members in the university of that city, by the boldness of their remonstrances, and the keenness of their reprehensions, had rendered themselves obnoxious to the clerical body. Huss had especially irritated the Roman see, by his efforts to withdraw the university of Prague from the jurisdiction of Gregory XII.; he had likewise offended the Germans, by maintaining the rights of the Bohemians; besides the strong measures he had taken in supporting the Realists, to whose party he belonged, against their opposers, the Nominalists. These co-operating causes had raised such a flame, as rendered it dangerous for Huss and Jerome, who had been summoned before the council, to venture themselves amongst the raging host of their enemies, till fortified against danger by the most solemn safe-conduct from the emperor. But the clergy by their intrigues, and the bribes distributed amongst the members of the council and the courtiers of Sigismund, so ma-

naged matters, that these revered individuals were accused, imprisoned, and, after forty days disputation, condemned to the flames, in defiance of the most sacred engagements. Huss was the first victim. On this shameful occasion, the clergy had a fair opportunity for exercising their implacable resentment; possessing also the will and inclination, they were determined not to let it slip through their hands. Accordingly, these upright, but zealous defenders of the cause of truth and common right, were charged with numberless heresies. The real cause of their sufferings, however, was the freedom of their remarks on the arrogance and avarice, the superstition and tyranny, of their persecutors, and the alarming effects produced by their preaching, in alienating the minds of the people from the church of Rome, and circulating the condemned works of the English reformer Wickliff, endangering thereby the very foundation of the Roman catholic faith and dominion.

The noble martyrs braved all their insults and their most exquisite tortures, since nothing short of flames could expiate their pretended crimes. Huss observed, "that they were burning a goose (for so the name signifies in German), but that God would raise out of his ashes a swan, whose song would terrify these blood-thirsty vultures. Jerome was at first staggered, and induced to make some concessions; but recovering his fortitude, he appeared before his persecutors, as Poggius, the pope's secretary, who was present at the trial, relates, with the face of an angel, and a wisdom, and boldness of eloquence, altogether irresistible. But his condemnation was predetermined; therefore the goodness of his cause, and the talents he exhibited in its defence, but hastened his execution.

Huss was burned July 15th, 1415; and Jerome May 30th, 1416. They were disciples of the English reformer Wickliff, espoused his sentiments, and circulated his works. This council would have joyfully treated him with the same severity; but he was gone where the wicked cease from troubling, and had only left his bones to glut their impotent vengeance. These, therefore, the council ordered to be dug up and burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Avon. The administration of the sacrament to the laity, *without the cup*, was one of the decrees of this reforming council.

The pope wished to have nothing more to do with councils; but the clamours for the promised reformation, and the flame occasioned by the execution of Huss and Jerome, compelled the reluctant pontiff to summon a new council at Pavia, from whence it was afterward removed to Basle in Switzerland; but Eugenius, the successor of Martin, alarmed at their bold proceedings, exhausted his stock of artifice to have it suspended.

The council proceeded, however, with unwavering stedfastness, to abolish some of the papal impositions; which exasperating the holy primate beyond all endurance, introduced such a quarrel, that the pope was summoned to appear before the council. On his part, he solemnly dissolved the assembly, and announced a new council to meet at Ferrara. Ecclesiastical thunders now again roared through the churches; the council deposed the pope, and the pope anathematized the council. Another pope was therefore chosen, and a fresh schism divided the Roman church. Borgia, the last who filled the papal chair in this century, was such a monster of cruelty and impiety, that he stuck at nothing calculated to enrich his bastard family; and if the church, under former pontiffs, had been corrupted, under his administration she became corruption personified. The monkish orders were become an unsufferable nuisance, a mass of corruption, idleness, and profligacy. The persecution against heresy, raged beyond all bounds, and the murder of heretics was considered the most meritorious services, both in the sight of God and his immaculate vicegerent. New orders of men were still arising to fight the battles of superstition; but heretics also multiplied, in spite of all the sufferings to which they were daily exposed, and the squadrons inlisted to hold them down, by argument, both physical and moral. In proportion as the voice of reform became louder, the inquisitors became more and more cruel and alert; and their bloody orgies, now universally practised, added a deeper gloom to the horror of the dismal scene.

The Bohemians were not disposed to look over the murder of their apostolic chieftains, but resolved to have teachers, imitating the virtues of their butchered Huss and Jerome, and to enjoy the ordinance of the Lord's supper according to its primitive institution. Many of them, therefore, retiring to a mountain they called Tabor, in spite of popes and councils worshipped God according to the apostolic injunctions. A bloody war was raised against them, and after dreadful carnage on both sides, they still maintained their ground, at times retaliating the cruelties they had so often received from the hands of their enemies. Unfortunately they divided amongst themselves, under the denominations of Calixtines and Taborites, which diminished their means of defence; and to confirm their separation, the holy see made some accommodating proposals to the latter; which was partly accepted, but never cordially acted upon. The Taborites were afterwards known by the name of Bohemian brethren; they were numbered amongst the Beghards, and joined with Luther and his associates at the reformation. The Moravian brethren are most pro-

bably a branch from this stock. Still the people, in general, were so absorpt in ignorance and superstition, that they readily received the despotic mandates of their ghostly fathers with great reverence, listened, and gave implicit belief, to all the lying miracles which the priesthood pretended to perform; while any attempt to open their eyes, and bring before them the naked and unvarnished villanies practised against them, was, of all dangerous undertakings, the most peculiarly ruinous.

The government of the church was now generally admitted to exist under one visible head; and to support and perpetuate this absurd supposition, the pontiffs endeavoured, by all means, to inculcate the maxim, "That all lawful power on earth was derived from Christ, and that through his vicegerent the pope." But, as we have seen, the temporal princes greatly demurred at this, while the prelatical orders were much disposed to exalt the power and authority of a general council above that of the pontiff. This became an important struggle; for, although the clerical orders were at great pains to enslave the people, they would have willingly retained the power in their own hands. This knotty concern has never yet been adjusted in the Roman Catholic creed; but whoever dared so much as to insinuate, that the church could exist without a visible head, was taking the shortest road to martyrdom; as such revolters, from the Roman jurisdiction, were sure to be attacked by the sophistry of the schools, and pressed down by the zeal of the mendicants and the clergy, supported, as they were, by the secular power of the princes, and the ensnaring malignity of the inquisition. After all, their numbers were not diminished; in place of which, they continued to multiply, and circulate their tenets through every part of the christian world. What especially contributed to this, was the obstinate determination of the ecclesiastics in power to maintain their claims; in proportion to the absurdity and tyrannical nature of which, was their tenacity in defending them. Even where abuses existed, so flagrant and so gross, that they bade defiance to every reasonable mode of vindication, they were still maintained with the most audacious hardihood, lest, forsooth, the heretics should find an occasion of triumph; and thus the overweening attachment of the priesthood, to the power and emoluments by which they had plundered the people, and wallowed so long in affluent profligacy, drove matters to desperation, and necessarily brought forward the mighty revolt they had so ardently laboured to prevent.

The church, sinking beneath the weight of rites and ceremonies, had need to be relieved from the unsupportable load; yet, in place of attempting any such reformation, every pope racked

pry into the mystery of iniquity established by law, and recognised by custom; a feeble band, of pious and patriotic individuals, scattered amongst the nations, yet united in the cause of religion and common right, every where hunted down by their adversaries, and only preserved by a gracious providence. The fire, however, that had been so long smothered and kept down, was now ready to burst into a flame, destined to consume the wood, hay, and stubble of overwhelming superstition.

After toiling through the windings of superstition, and the dismal regions of papal darkness, how cheering are the rising beams of the Sun of Righteousness. Borgia, Julius, and Leo, were successively enthroned in pontifical majesty, and, trampling on the prostrate world, defied the power, and despising the impotence of their enemies, gloried in the stability of an empire, confirmed by ages of ignorance, and supported by legions of monks, clergy, and inquisitors, whose cunning and cruelties overawed the consciences or the feelings of mankind. Not that the world was wholly insensible of their chains; numerous writers had attacked the notorious abuses of the church, many princes had complained of the encroachments of pontifical ambition, not a nation but had uttered its groans under the papal exactions; all, all was in vain; unmoved, in omnipotent tranquillity, the pontiffs, from their lofty throne, looked down, with supercilious disdain, on the supplicating herd, treated their complaints and petitions with inattention and scorn. Armed with power to punish the refractory, having favours and preferments to win the mercenary, and silence the troublesome with the admitted character of being the vicar of Christ, the holy father seemed to sit secure in the exercise of his boundless authority, conscious, that whatever redress was requested, must come as a favour, and only through his own hands. Maximilian the emperor, and Lewis of France, attempting to form a general council at Pisa, only discovered the weakness of opposition, and the power against which they contended. The pope insultingly annulled their decrees, and dissolved their assembly, treating their power with equal arrogance and contempt. Leo the X. a scholar, and a man of pleasure, the successor of Julius, and who presided at the lateran council, took care, not only to prevent all reform of the acknowledged abuses, but prevailed on Francis the first to sacrifice the liberties of the Gallician church, by substituting a new arrangement, called *the concordate*, in place of *the pragmatic sanction*; a transaction abhorred alike by the French people and their priests. The prodigality and luxurious magnificence of Leo, began, however, to drain the holy coffers, insomuch, that some expedient, for supporting his unparalleled extravagance, behoved to be provided; and the success,

formerly attending the sale of indulgences, induced his holiness to recur to that often tried, and ever productive mine of wealth, which, while it afforded an opportunity for his holiness to manifest his paternal regard to his dear children, at the same time filled his pontifical exchequer, with what, of all things, Leo wanted the most—*money!!* The profligate examples of such a long succession of pontiffs could not fail to demoralize the clergy, particularly as their vices were winked at by their superiors, in the hopes of a reciprocity of similar kind offices. Leo himself is said to have been an infidel, and his sacerdotal troops were not likely to follow a more heavenly example than that of their master. The churches and monasteries overflowed with wealth, affording them the means of every sensual gratification; and both their friends and enemies agree, that these precious privileges were neither overlooked nor neglected. The better informed of the people could not help smiling alike at the adroitness of their hypocritical management, and the credulous stupidity that permitted them.

The immensity of the mendicant tribes at last became a burden, that the church and the world could with difficulty support; the arts and devices practised, to procure veneration for their several orders, and enable them to fleece the people more effectually, brought into operation the grossest frauds and the most scandalous deceptions. Sometimes they were detected, but much more frequently the juggle succeeded, and the ignorant multitude cried out, with one enraptured exclamation, *a miracle! a miracle!*

The ministry of the unadulterated word and worship of God was no longer to be found. Any thing approaching to a similarity of such evangelical exercises, would have been branded with the name, and perhaps visited with the punishment, awarded against heresy. Every pulpit was occupied with panegyrics on the saints, the transcendent glory and power of the virgin, and the efficacy of relics; while the virtues of those of the neighbouring churches or convents, were sure to be set forth with all the puffing flourishes of the modern quack. The thunderbolts of vengeance, forged at the purgatorial furnace, were occasionally brought forward to open the sale of their indulgences; the excellency, the safety, and indispensable necessity of which, were displayed to the gaping, and almost breathless, audience, in strains of piteous and plaintive eloquence. The wretched people, thus bound in fetters of ignorance and superstition, suffered themselves to be priest-ridden with the most exemplary patience; while their leaders amused them with the rareshow of the mass, gaudy processions, and unintelligible mysteries, till, like swindlers and sharpers, they succeeded in picking

their pockets; and the church reaped a harvest, rich in proportion to the ignorance and consequent immorality of the times.

As the deepest darkness of the night precedes the dawn of the day, so the most distressing period of the church was the immediate precursor of her triumphant deliverance. Although the terrors of the inquisition, and the slavish submission of the princes of christendom, seemed immoveable pillars of the Roman see, the utter rottenness of the foundation required only a breath of public opinion to shake the mighty fabric to pieces. The silent dispensations of divine providence had also been preparing for the event, however impossible it might seem. The diffusion of knowledge, through the recently acquired art of printing, tended likewise greatly to remove the veil spread over the christian church. The scriptures became less and less inaccessible, and many now dared to read and judge for themselves. The kings of the earth, without intending to separate from the communion of the Roman church, secretly rejoiced to hear of the schemes of reform everywhere spoken of, as they seemed well calculated to rescue their delegated sceptres from the all-grasping fangs of the Roman pontiffs, and their overbearing legates, who, for ages, had left them only a species of mock-royalty, a mere shadow of sovereign power. With this view, they were in no haste to suppress the activity of these reforming preachers, whom they supposed themselves able at any time to regulate and control; while the pride and security of the Roman see, despising the meanness of its opposers, and the weakness of their resources, neglected to extinguish the spark of reformation, till it blazed forth an unextinguishable conflagration.

Such was the general state of christendom, when the increasing wants, and plundering rapacity of the profligate pontiff, set him on replenishing his exhausted exchequer. In order to prosecute his pious purposes with success, orders were issued to the legates, wherever situated, to find out the best qualified instruments to preach and dispense the rich indulgences which Leo X. in his paternal love, and great munificence, was disposed to grant to all christian people who had ready money to purchase them, for sins of every species and dimension, past, present, and to come. To the labours of this extensive field, all the mendicant monks were invited; and the Dominicans engaged in the service with peculiar zeal and activity. The legates, with a view to the success of the undertaking, selected men of popular talents, unblushing effrontery, of tried devotion to the Roman see, and every way qualified to impose on the vulgar credulity. In his search after tools of this singular description, the archbishop of Mentz fell in with the

famous monk John Tetzel, whose craft was equalled by nothing but his impudence and hypocrisy. He undertook the task with alacrity, and performed it with astonishing success, by exalting the value of the commodities he was dispensing, with an extravagance of exaggeration, which nothing but the most brutal ignorance, and unequalled credulity, could attempt to swallow down. He blazoned the virtues of the saints as transcendently glorious, and their influence and efficiency as all-powerful. He proclaimed, to the greatest sinners out of hell, the immense stores of merit, now opening in the churches' repository; the keys of which, together with its blessed and all-saving contents, had been exclusively committed to his dispensing care and management. He, John Tetzel, could exceed all their wants, supply all their deficiencies, and cancel all their crimes. Such, indeed, was his power, that he could save from damnation even the ravisher of the blessed virgin herself; assuring his auditory, at the same time, that he had saved from perdition, and rescued from purgatory, by his indulgences, a much greater number of souls than ever St Peter, the great predecessor of the pope, had converted by all the sermons he had ever delivered. The listening crowd heard, with astonishment and catholic confidence, the powerful and efficacious nature of these holy wares, and hurried up their money to the stage where they purchased these precious packets, that were to silence for ever the bawlings of an angry conscience, preclude the necessity of penance or purgatory, and save them from all the horrors of hell.

In the meantime, a monk, of no extraordinary consideration, belonging to the order of Augustine, who, for his learning and talents, had been raised to the divinity chair in the academy of Wittemberg, having heard the ridiculous and hyperbolical bombast of this pontifical auctioneer, resolved to check the audacious mountebank, and not permit him tamely to propagate his blasphemies without rebuke. Accordingly, he challenged him, on ninety-five propositions, to defend himself and his employers. The challenger was Martin Luther, the great German Reformer, of whom so much has been spoken, both by his friends and his enemies.

Thus the gauntlet was throynd down, and a warfare begun, that has been carried on, with more or less violence and animosity, down to the present day, and, from the nature of the quarrel, must necessarily continue till one or other of the parties be driven from the field. Who shall obtain the triumph, the increasing knowledge of the age, the cry of liberty, and the nearly annihilated power of the Roman see, leaves no longer doubtful. Never was there a man better qualified for contending with the see of Rome than this fearless and indefatigable

German. His faculties were powerful, and his memory astonishing. His mind was stored with the riches of ancient erudition, and, what was of still greater importance, he was singularly conversant with the scriptures, and well acquainted with the best writings of the fathers. He was an excellent disputant; his voice was powerful, and the thunders of his impassioned eloquence darted the lightnings of his argument to the hearts of his confounded antagonists. Fearless, he defied all danger, while his unrelinquishing perseverance triumphed over every difficulty. The imperious pontiff, secure in his fancied omnipotence, despised, for a while, the solitary exertions of this hitherto undistinguished individual; nor did Luther himself either know his own strength at this time, or intend to push the quarrel to the extent it was afterwards carried: But when God will work, who shall dispute his will, or arrest the progress of his operations?

The age of violent and angry disputation had now commenced, and the partisans were actively engaged in furbishing their arms. The propositions maintained by Luther, had not only irritated the mendicant Tetzels, but enraged the whole order of Dominicans, and all the zealots of the Roman church, a host of whom rushed into the battle, to bear down the despised monk with their numbers, their eloquence, and their importance. But Luther, whose soul was composed of very unyielding materials, hurled back their thunders, rebutted their best arguments, and treated their persons and professions with sovereign contempt. And the pope, good easy man, was only roused from his inactivity by a dispatch from the emperor, stating that Germany was already in a flame. Luther was now commanded to appear before his holiness, and answer to the many and grievous charges laid against him. Aware of the danger of such an appearance, especially in such a place, by the influence of the Elector of Saxony, he had the matter referred by the pope to the consideration of Cajetan, his legate, who insolently commanded him to submit with humility to the penance to be awarded by the Roman see. Luther was not to be so easily humbled as this angry legate seemed to suppose; but considering that argument was unavailing, and to remain was dangerous, he silently retired, having first lodged his appeal with Leo, when he should be made better acquainted with the merits of the controversy.

The pontiff, now awakening from his dreams of security, issued a decree, commanding universal submission to the Roman church, and universal confidence in her power to save all her subjects from *punishment, either in this or the world to come*. And after a number of unavailing attempts to reclaim

this apostatizing child of the church, a bull of excommunication against his person was fulminated, with a sentence of condemnation, consigning his writings to the flames, but allowing him sixty days to weigh the consequences, and recant. Indignant at the sentence, and having already made up his mind on the subject of controversy, Luther came to the resolution of parting for ever with the Roman church; and, that he might do so with dignity and exemplary confidence, he called together a vast concourse of people, consisting of all ranks, in whose presence the pope's bull was brought forth, and, with great solemnity, burnt by the hands of the hangman. The boldness of this measure astonished the christian world, while it confounded the pride, and, beyond all bounds, exasperated the spirit of the yet unhumiliated pontiff. Accordingly, the sixty days having expired, a second bull sealed the final damnation of this perverse heretic, and met the fate of its predecessor.

Amid the pressure of his numerous avocations, and the malignity of a world in arms against him and the doctrines he was circulating and defending, it was no small comfort for Luther to know, that many excellent men, even in the first ranks of literature, were anxious for, and ready to co-operate with him, in obtaining a reformation from the disgusting absurdities of the church. Nor was it less pleasing to perceive, that the princes of the empire, papists as they were, secretly rejoiced at the prospect of curtailing the pontifical authority; while the Elector of Saxony, who had embraced the doctrines taught by Luther, powerfully contributed to their protection.

The emperor Charles, hard pressed by the pope to seize and execute this incorrigible heretic, and unwilling to disoblige his friend the Elector of Saxony, persuaded the pope to let Luther be judged by a German tribunal, composed of the princes, secular and ecclesiastic, to be held at Worms. Fenced with a safe-conduct, thither the culprit repaired, and, before that august assembly, boldly appeared in person, rejoicing at the public opportunity afforded him for pleading the cause of God and his country. His friends were afraid his natural impetuosity might drive him beyond the line of prudence, yet he charmed them, as much as he confounded his adversaries, by the firmness and temperance of his defence, as well as by the eloquence and force of his arguments. The emperor, who was interested in pleasing the pontiff, endeavoured, by every soothing consideration, to reconcile Luther to the holy see; but finding him inflexible, he threatened him with all the vengeance of Rome and the empire. To which Luther coolly replied, "that so soon as his doctrines were proved erroneous, or his conduct criminal against Christ and his church, he should testify the deepest humilia-

tion; but till then, no man had a right to censure or condemn him." The emperor, too honourable to violate his safe-conduct, permitted him to depart, though the unanimous voice of the diet had condemned him to the punishment awarded to all obstinate heretics; subjecting to the same severity all who should entertain, support, or conceal him; adding, by a solemn decision, that *the pope was the sole judge of religious controversies in the christian world*. A tenet so expressly in the teeth of the Germanic liberties and the councils of the church, that numbers, otherwise little concerned about the fate of such an inconsiderable individual, were shocked with its absurdity. In the mean time, Frederick the Elector, afraid that Luther might fall into the hands of men who thirsted after his blood, contrived to seize him on his way back, and, by men in masks, who were in the secret, had him carried to the castle of Wittenberg, where he remained ten months, hid from all pursuit and discovery. In this retirement he translated the New Testament, and carried on an active correspondence with his reforming friends, establishing their faith, and animating their hopes.

Luther's translation of the bible was now circulating through Germany with incredible rapidity, and producing powerful effects on the minds of the people. The Saxons, and many of their neighbours, had taken the liberty of reforming themselves. The mass was abolished; the convents were evacuated, and celibacy generally abandoned by the clergy. Amongst an army of authors, now pouring their shafts of argument and invective against this presumptuous reformer, Henry VIII. of England graciously condescended to take his place, and, in the overflowings of his zeal for the cause of Rome, undertook to write a refutation of Luther's *Babylonish Captivity*, with a defence of the Romish church and the catholic faith. This royal volume procured for Henry the perfumed rose of papal benediction, besides, what he gloried in the most, the mighty title, *Defender of the Faith*, still retained by the kings of England. It met, however, with a different reception from Luther, who, looking down with contempt on the puny labours of this monarchical champion, treated both the work and its author with an asperity which numbers condemned, but which Luther vindicated, by stating, that even a king, in controversy, must stand or fall with the merit or demerit of his work.

Sensible of the incurable obstinacy of Rome, John, the successor of Frederick the Elector, took a very decided part in the controversy, and, by his own authority, undertook the regulation of all ecclesiastic concerns within the bounds of his own jurisdiction. Luther and Melancthon were the authors of a

church directory for Saxony and its dependencies; and the churches were forthwith furnished with faithful pastors, as far as these could be procured. Many of the princes of the empire, and the free cities, followed the example of the Elector; and thus a complete Lutheran establishment was erected through a considerable portion of the empire, and the yoke of Rome broken from off the galled necks of the people.

The temporal, as well as the spiritual interests of the pope and the emperor, roused their activity in arresting the progress of these organized and otherwise formidable malcontents. The Lutherans, who had penetrated the designs of their adversaries, resolved on a plan of union, in case the matter should call for an armed defence; and the emperor, finding them determined to risk an appeal to arms, prudently acquiesced in holding a diet at Spire, where it was agreed, that every prince should regulate the concerns of the church throughout his dominions, according as he thought fit, till such time as a council of the church could be held to decide this very important controversy. The pope proposed Trent for the meeting of the council. The protestant princes objected to the place, and also to the nomination of the members by the pope; but the emperor and catholic princes assenting, the letters of convocation were issued; and the protestant princes refusing to attend, Charles, supposing himself sufficiently powerful, determined to compel them, and both sides prepared for battle. Amid the din of these preparations, Luther took farewell of this scene of inveterate animosity, deploring the miseries he sadly feared, and exhorting to prayer, patience, and mutual forbearance, as the fittest weapons of spiritual warfare.

The council of Trent met. The protestants disclaimed their authority. The emperor prepared to enforce their decrees by arms. The Saxon Elector and the prince of Hesse boldly prevented him, and, by penetrating into Bavaria, were ready to force his camp at Ingolstadt, when, by an ambitious stratagem, Maurice, nephew to the Elector, fell suddenly on Saxony, and forced his uncle to leave Bavaria to defend his own dominions. The cause of reformation, to all human appearance, was now lost. The protestant leaders were obliged to consent to whatever might be the decision of the council of Trent; but the plague breaking out at that place, the members of the council dispersed; nor could the emperor, by all his influence, persuade the pope to call them back to their duty, so terrified was his holiness lest they should establish their claims of superiority. Charles, however, was determined to mortify the pope, by showing him that he could settle the business without him. He therefore ordered a formula to be drawn up, that he imagined

might please all parties, in which were a few concessions to the protestants; such as restoring the cup and the marriage of the clergy. This done, he called the diet, and, without discussion, or taking the voice of a majority, he despotically ordered the same to be the rule till a general council should otherwise direct. The formulary, however, pleased none of the parties.

In the mean time, the politic Maurice saw through the design of the emperor, to erect his power on the humiliation of the princes; he was also glad of an opportunity to redeem his lost credit with the protestant princes, amongst whom he still professed to number himself. Being also provoked at the emperor for detaining in captivity his father-in-law, the prince of Hesse, he watched for an opportunity, and finding that Julius, the new pontiff, had been prevailed upon to re-assemble the council at Trent, and that the emperor was preparing to compel the reformers to accede implicitly to whatever decrees they might resolve, Maurice dared to qualify his consent with conditions; which the archbishop of Mentz considered so derogatory to the papal authority, that he refused to enter them on the register of the diet.

In the mean time, the protestants set about preparing for the worst; and Maurice, who had hitherto amused the emperor by his apparent submission, prepared for efficaciously resisting and deranging his schemes of ambition. Accordingly, the emperor, in the midst of his imaginary triumph, was surprised at Inspruck with the sudden approach of a mighty army under Maurice, who had leagued with himself many princes, together with the king of France, and rushed upon the unsuspecting and unprepared emperor; who, to save his army and himself from captivity, was glad to obtain his safety by the pacification of Passau, which contained a solemn grant of perfect liberty to the princes and the protestant cause. The INTERIM was revoked, and all edicts against the Lutherans annulled; the prisoners set at liberty, and a certain number of protestants admitted into the council chamber of Spire, that impartial justice might be administered to both parties. And to confirm all these concessions, a diet was to be held at Augsburg; which accordingly met, and, after long deliberations, the conditions were sanctioned, and received the name of the Religious Peace. The states and free cities were to be for ever unmolested in the exercise of whatever form of religion they chose to establish; all persecutions and animosities were to cease, and the disturbers of this harmony to be severely punished.

Henry VIII. applied to Rome for a divorce from his queen Catherine, that he might make room for Ann Boleyn. The duplicity of the pope, and the procrastinating manœuvres of his

legate Campeggio, offended him to that degree, that he threw off the Roman yoke, and renounced for ever the papal jurisdiction. But the hopes with which this pleasing circumstance had inspired the reformers, were sadly disappointed, for, notwithstanding that Henry declared his kingdom free from the pontifical supremacy, he had not renounced the doctrines of the popish church, which were too congenial with his tyrannical disposition to forego; he had merely robbed the pope, that he might exercise his power, possess his infallibility, and rule his people with a rod of iron, more intolerably tyrannical than Rome herself. Proud and overbearing in his disposition, the least deviation from the rules he had prescribed, particularly regarding *his right* to regulate the concerns of the church of England, was sure to subject the unfortunate malcontents to the flames of Smithfield, whatever might be their creed, popish, protestant, or presbyterian. Under such a capricious monarch, no man's life was in safety; even Cranmer, who especially possessed the favour of this tyrant, held his life, on some occasions, by a very precarious tenure. But the death of the unfeeling despot introduced a more propitious order of things. Edward VI. succeeded his father when very young, and, under the faithful tuition of Cranmer, soon became acquainted with the doctrines of the reformation, which he cordially embraced and defended; and, with the advice of his judicious tutor, had the churches forthwith filled with faithful pastors, wherever these could be procured. Thus the unhallowed mixtures of the former reign gave way to a more liberal and evangelical system; and England enjoyed, under his mild administration, a short period of happiness and repose; during which, the cause of truth was so firmly fixed in the minds of the people, that all the fires kindled at Smithfield, Oxford, and elsewhere, were unable to eradicate or destroy.

The reformation, thus happily established in ENGLAND, it was impossible that SCOTLAND could long remain an idle spectator of the many important changes with which she was surrounded. Numbers of Scotsmen had returned from foreign countries, where the reformation was considerably advanced, and had brought along with them the books and tenets of the reformers; which, spreading by degrees amongst the people, prepared their minds for embracing the first opportunity to break asunder the cords that bound the nation to the papal jurisdiction, and the people to the rapacity of a luxurious and irrational priesthood.

But although the tenets of the reforming churches abroad were especially serviceable in animating the Scottish population, at this eventful crisis, we are not to imagine that the light of

truth had been totally extinguished in that part of the island. On the contrary, it seems pretty clear, from a number of circumstances mentioned in the history of the country and the church, that the Culdees, who flourished at an early period, had not been wholly extirpated, even down to the thirteenth century, when the simplicity of the gospel, which they maintained, was farther corroborated, strengthened, and extended, by similar opinions held forth by the Waldenses, at that period spreading through the nations of Europe with uncommon rapidity; and that, shortly after this, the same witnessing remnant were farther reinforced by the numerous adherents of Wickliff, the illustrious English reformer. But nothing had hitherto given such a mortal blow to the idolatrous worship of Rome as the martyrdom of Huss and Jerome of Prague; which, in place of stopping the progress of the reformation, had the effect of arresting and riveting the attention of the serious, in every country, to the cruelty, injustice, and hypocrisy exercised by the papal authorities over a debased and prostrated world; and all this with the obvious design of perpetuating a system of ignorance, superstition, and slavery, by which they might plunder the christian world with impunity, and support the insatiable cravings of a priesthood, whose lives were become a scandal, not only to religion, but also to every thing like decency, truth, or common honesty. Such sentiments began to be pretty generally expressed, and the veneration for the priesthood was losing ground in almost every quarter of the church. It was particularly so in Scotland. But although several of her kings had manfully, and on some occasions successfully, resisted the encroachments of the Roman authority, none of them, as yet, had attempted to break the disgraceful chain. The priesthood, therefore, though sunk in public estimation, still retained their power, which they began to exercise with a rigour of severity, that alarmed the people to that degree, that a leader, adequate to the importance of the enterprise, was only wanted to rally the best portion of the community under the banner of the reformation. In this state of anxiety and suspence, the fearless and intrepid John Knox arose; and having, by the power of his eloquence, united the friends of reform into one great body, bore down every opposition that stood in his way, overturned the whole popish hierarchy, and ultimately established a presbyterian form of government in its place.

THE BELGIC PROVINCES being nearer the scene of action, early received the light of the reformation; and no country suffered more for their adherence to its principles. Philip of Spain, their bigotted master, had resolved to extirpate indiscriminately all who refused to subject themselves to Rome. His

merciless general, the Duke of Alva, and the accursed inquisition which he had set up in the provinces, poured out their blood like water. The intolerable cruelties exercised against this harmless people, produced a revolt that divided the provinces, one part of whom put their enemies to defiance, maintained their liberties, and triumphantly erected a republic, under the famous William of Orange.

Spain had also received some cheering rays of the reformation. The learned doctors brought by the emperor to combat Luther, caught the heretical contagion from his lips; and returning to their country, like Paul, began to preach the faith they had been deputed to destroy. But there the bigotry of the Spanish monarchs, and the superstition of the priests, set all their machinery a working to extinguish the spark that threatened a general conflagration; and, after torrents of blood had been shed, and innumerable martyrdoms effected, the light of truth was utterly extinguished, by the instrumentality of racks, gibbets, and other engines of human destruction; and that region, including Portugal, has ever since been, more than any other christian country, left to grope their way through darkness and the shadow of death.

Italy shared nearly the same fate; and though Naples rejected the inquisition, the persecution of the reformers was equally cruel and inveterate. Ochino and Peter Martyr exerted themselves with singular zeal, not altogether without success; but were unable to effect any general change. At last, compelled to fly for their lives, they took refuge in foreign lands, and watered the garden of strangers with that celestial dew, which their deluded countrymen forbade them to drop on their own. Thus, through all the regions that remained under the pontifical authority, superstition, craft, and cruelty, were put into requisition; and all the terrors of purgatory, heaven, and hell, conjured up to terrify men into the obedience of the holy mother church, insomuch, that from the summit of the Alps, to the extremity of Calabria, the protestant name was obliterated.

Thus the mighty rent in the christian church left the contending parties nearly balanced. Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Brandenburg, Prussia, England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, all protestant governments. Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Belgic provinces under Spain, all popish governments. Germany, with its vast dependencies, divided, and nearly poised every state, having part of each; in some tolerated, in others persecuted. Switzerland also divided the preponderance on the side of the protestants. And France, more than once on the equilibrium, and ready to change its dominant religion, had at last returned to the house of bondage, but with millions of its inhabitants firm in the protestant faith.

In numbers the catholics were still triumphant; while the protestants, by separating into two great bodies, with other subdivisions, rather diminished their power and influence. Luther and Melancthon at the head of the one party, with the Augsburg confession, and Œcolampadius and Calvin at the head of the other. These also were pretty nearly balanced. Lutheranism generally prevailed in the north. Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and the greater part of the German empire, held by the Augsburg confession; whilst the British islands, Holland, Switzerland, Geneva, and France, adopted the confession of faith, since denominated the reformed or calvinistic.

In tracing the outlines of the church's history, we have travelled through scenes of sorrow the most agonizing, as well as of joy and exultation: We have seen the regions of darkness illuminated with the light of life and immortality; the habitations of cruelty transformed to dwellings of righteousness, peace, and joy; the church extending her empire on the right hand and on the left; the college of fishermen triumphing over the schools of philosophy; the weak things of the world confounding the mighty; pagan idolatry annihilated, and the cross of Christ triumphant. We have likewise beheld a little cloud overspread the heavens and obscure the sun, so that men walked in darkness at noon-day: We have seen cruelty personified, a mongral power enthroned in terrible majesty, and surrounded with the various engines of human destruction, racks, gibbets, faggots, and chains, drunk with the blood of the saints, and desolating the world with a sceptre of iron. But we have also seen, that the day-star, breaking through the dismal gloom, discovered the hideous monster, and pointed him out as a proper mark for the arrows of the mighty, who sorely shot at him, and covered him with incurable wounds.

We now proceed with the lives of our most distinguished reformers.

## SELECT MEMOIRS.

JOHN WICKLIFF,

*The first English Reformer.*

JOHN WICKLIFF, or De Wickliffe, was born in the year 1324, at a village of the same name, situated near Richmond in Yorkshire, but now extinct. He was early sent to Oxford, and at first admitted commoner of Queen's College, and afterwards at Merton, where he became fellow. Merton college, at this time, was the best seminary in the university for great and learned men; and the following eminent individuals were his contemporaries at this celebrated seat of learning: Walter Burley, called the plain doctor; William Occam, called the singular doctor; Thomas Bradwardine, the profound doctor; Simon Mepham, and Simon Islip; which last three succeeded one another as archbishops of Canterbury; William Rede, an excellent Mathematician, and Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry. Wickliff was afterwards called Dr. Evangelicus, or the Gospel Doctor, from his close application to the study of the holy scriptures, in which he took great delight. He was soon distinguished among his illustrious contemporaries for the vivacity of his genius, the elegance of his wit, and the strength of his reasoning. He was celebrated as a philosopher and a divine to that degree, that men of mediocrity considered him something more than human. He had acquired a thorough knowledge of the civil and canon law, the study of which, at that period, had been much neglected, as well as the municipal laws of his own country, in which he was an able proficient. He not only studied and commented on the scriptures, but also translated them into his own lan-

guage, and wrote homilies on several passages, and was well acquainted with the writings of St. Austin, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory, the four fathers of the Latin church. He was thirty-six years of age, however, before he had an opportunity of exerting his excellent talents, or attracting the public observation.

The mendicant friars established at Oxford in 1230, had been extremely troublesome to the university, and occasioned considerable inquietude, both to the chancellor and scholars, by encroaching on their privileges, and setting up an exempt jurisdiction. These preaching friars laid hold on every opportunity to entice the students from the colleges, and into their convents, which greatly deterred the people from sending their children to the university. To remove this evil, an act of parliament, passed in 1366, prohibiting them from receiving any scholar under the age of eighteen; and empowering the king to adjust all controversies between them and the university. Still the friars, audaciously disregarding the determination of parliament, persevered in their offensive courses. Wickliff distinguished himself, on this occasion, by the boldness and zeal with which he attacked their errors and usurpations; while they endeavoured to defend their mendicant profession by asserting, that the poverty of Christ and his apostles made them possess all things in common, and beg for a livelihood. This mendicant trade was first opposed by Richard Kilmyngton, dean of St. Paul's, then by the archbishop of Armagh, and afterwards by Wickliff, Thorsby, Bolton, Hereford, Bryts, and Norris, who openly opposed the system at Oxford, and made the friars ashamed of their ignorance and audacity. Wickliff wrote with an ease and elegance unknown in that age, especially in the English language, of which he is not improperly considered amongst the first improvers. The following specimen will shew what improvements have taken place, particularly in the orthography, since his day: In one of his tracts, where he exposes the friars for seducing the students of the university into their convents, he goes on to say, that "Freres drawn children fro Christ's religion into their private order, by hypocrisie, lesings, and steling; for they, tellen that their order is more holy than any other, that they shullen have higher degree in the bliss of heaven than other men that been not therein, and seyn that men of their order shullen never come to hell, but shullen dome other men with Christ at domes-day." He wrote and published several tracts against sturdy beggars and idle beggary. In one of which he observes, that "There were abundance of poor people in the world prior to the existence of the mendicant orders; that their numbers had increased, and were still in-

creasing, while these indolent and impudent beggars, roaming from house to house, took advantage of the piety and simplicity of the people, and were snatching the morsel of charity from the famishing mouths of the aged and the infirm. That their vows of poverty amounted to a declaration, on their part, that they were determined to lead a life of indolence and idleness; and that whoever might be hungry, they should be fed at the expence of the community, and riot on the earnings of industrious poverty."

He disputed with a friar, on the subject of idle beggary, before the duke of Gloucester, to whom he sent an account of both their arguments, addressing his grace in these words, "To you, lord, who herde the disputation, be geve the fyle to rubbe away the rust in either partye." By these controversies, Wickliff acquired such a reputation in the university, that, in 1361, he was advanced to master of Baliol college; and four years after, made warden of Canterbury-hall, founded by Simon de Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1361. The letters of institution, by which the archbishop appointed Wickliff to this wardenship, are dated the fourteenth of December 1365, in which he is mentioned as "a person in whose fidelity, circumspection, and industry, his grace very much confided, and one on whom he had fixed his eyes for that place, on account of the honesty of his life, his laudable conversation, and knowledge of letters." Wickliff performed the duties of his office to the satisfaction, and with the approbation of all concerned, till the death of the archbishop in April 1366, when the archiepiscopal dignity was conferred on Simon Langham, bishop of Ely, who had been a monk, and was much inclined to favour the religious against the seculars. The monks of Canterbury, calculating on the frater feelings of the archbishop, applied to Langham to eject Wickliff from his wardenship, and the other seculars from their fellowships, alleging that, according to the original institution, the warden ought to be a monk, nominated by the prior and chapter of Canterbury, and appointed by the archbishop, but that Wickliff had obtained it by craft.

Accordingly, Wickliff and three other seculars were ejected, and a mandate issued, requiring their obedience to Woodhall as their warden. This they refused, as being contrary to the oath they had taken to the founder; and Langham sequestrated the revenue, and carried off the books and other things which the founder, by his will, had left to the hall.

Wickliff and his suffering companions appealed to the pope; the archbishop replied; and the pope commissioned cardinal Andruynus to examine and determine the matter. In 1370, the cardinal ordained, by a definitive sentence, which was con-

firmed by the pope, That none but the monks of Christ church, Canterbury, ought to remain in the college called Canterbury-hall; that the seculars should be all expelled; that Woodhall, and the other monks who were deprived, should be restored; and that perpetual silence should be imposed on Wickliff and his associates. Against such a powerful combination, Wickliff and three poor clerks formed but a feeble opposition; the decree, pursuant to the papal bull, was rigorously executed, and the munificent intentions of the founder frustrated by these arbitrary proceedings.

While this dispute was carrying on, king Edward had a notice from pope Urban, that he intended to summon him before his court at Avignon, to answer for his default of not performing the homage that king John had acknowledged to the Roman see, and for refusing to pay the tribute of 700 marks yearly, granted by that prince to the pope. This subject was discussed in parliament, where it was determined to oppose the arbitrary claim with all the energy of the country. Here the pope prudently stopped short; nor has his successors, ever since, attempted to revive the odious claim. A monk, however, more daring than his brethren, ventured to defend the justice and propriety of the pontifical demand; to which defence Wickliff replied, and proved that the resignation of the crown, and the tribute promised by John, could neither prejudice the nation, or obligate the present king, inasmuch as the transaction was done without the consent of parliament. This especially procured for Wickliff the bitter resentment of the pope, but introduced him to the knowledge of the court, and particularly to the duke of Lancaster, who took him under his patronage. At this time Wickliff styled himself *peculiarus regis clericus*, or the king's own chaplain; but, in order to avoid the personal injury intended him by his adversaries, he professed himself an obedient son of the Roman church. The reputation he had acquired received no injury from his expulsion from Canterbury-hall; the obvious partiality of the transaction rather pointed him out as a meritorious, but much-injured individual; and Wickliff was soon after presented, by favour of the duke of Lancaster, to the living of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln; where he published, in his writings and sermons, certain opinions, which, because they were at variance with the doctrines of the day, were considered as novel or heretical.

Wickliff not having explicitly declared his sentiments till after losing his wardenship, his enemies have taken occasion to accuse him of acting from a spirit of revenge from the injuries he had received. "I shall not," says Rapin, "undertake to clear him of this charge, God alone sees into the hearts of men;

it is rashness, therefore, either to accuse or excuse them, with regard to the motives of their actions. I shall only take notice, that his bitterest enemies have never taxed him with any immoralities. He was turned out of his wardenship by the court of Rome; and a man must be of a very disinterested way of thinking, who would not resent such notorious partiality. Moreover, the spirit of the times was no small inducement to the measures he pursued." "I must, however," says Mr. Guthrie, "do Wickliff the justice, which has not been done him before, of observing, that he seems to have maintained his reforming opinions even before he was turned out of his rectorship." This is the more to his honour, that it comes from an author unfriendly to his memory. The same opinion is further confirmed by the ingenious Mr Gilpin; and Wickliff's tract, entitled, *The Last Age of the Church*, published fourteen years before his expulsion, leaves the matter no longer doubtful. In 1372 he took his degree as doctor of divinity, and read lectures in it with very great applause. So much was his authority regarded, and his opinion respected in the schools, that he was considered as an oracle. In these lectures he boldly exposed the fooleries and superstitions of the friars; he charged them with holding fifty heresies; he exhibited their corruptions, tore off the veil of pretended piety that covered their immoral and licentious lives, and lashed their beggary with unsparing severity. The pope still continued to dispose of the dignities and ecclesiastical benefices of the English church as he thought fit, a large proportion of which were bestowed on Frenchmen, Italians, and other aliens, who had their revenues remitted abroad, to the great loss of the nation. The parliament complained to the king, who ordered an exact survey of all the ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, throughout his dominions, that were in the hands of aliens. The enormous amount astonished the king, who appointed seven ambassadors to treat with the pope on this delicate subject, and Dr. Wickliff was the second person mentioned in the order. The commission was met at Burges by the pope's nuncio, two bishops and a provost, who, after consulting two years, agreed that the pope should forego the reservations of benefices. But all treaties with that corrupt court were useless. The very next year the parliament had to complain that the treaty had been infracted; and a long bill was brought in against the Roman usurpations, which were considered the cause of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty, under which the nation groaned. The tax paid to the pope was calculated to amount to five times the sum paid in taxes to the king; and it was roundly asserted, that when God gave his sheep to the pope, it was for the purpose of being pastured, not to be fleeced, and far less to be flead.

The doctor was, by this time, better acquainted with the pride, avarice, ambition, and tyranny of the pope, whom he designated the proud priest of Rome, Antichrist, the most accursed of clippers and purse-kervers. Nor did he spare the corruption that prevailed among the prelates and inferior clergy, asserting that the abomination of desolation originated in the pride, profusion, and profligacy of a perverse clergy. Of prelates, he says, "O Lord, what token of mekeness and forsaking of worldly riches is this, a prelate, as an abbot or priour, that is dead to the world, and pride and vanity thereof, to ride with fourscore horse, with harness of silver and gold, and to spend, with earls and barons, and their poor tenants, both thousand mares and pounds, to meyntene a false plea of the world, and forbare men of their rights." But Wickliff sufficiently experienced the persecuting animosity of those men he thus attempted to reform.

The monks complained to the pope that Wickliff had opposed his claim to the homage and tribute due from the English nation, and supported the royal supremacy; and, moreover, charged him with nineteen articles of heresy, which they had carefully extracted from his public lectures and sermons; all which were forwarded to his holiness. As these charges are inserted in the Introductory Sketch, we shall only notice their general import in this place, namely, That the true church is one, and composed of the predestinated to eternal life; that reprobates, though they be *in*, are not *of* this true church; that the eucharist, after consecration, is not the real body of Christ, but a sign or symbol thereof; that the church of Rome is no more the head of this true church, than any other church is her head; that Peter had no more authority given him than any other of the apostles; that the pope had no more power than another priest in exercising the keys; that the gospel was sufficient to direct a christian in the conduct of life; that neither popes or prelates had any right to imprison or punish men for their opinions, but that every man had a right to think for himself.

This was laying the axe to the root of the tree. It went to exempt the members of the church from corporeal punishment under ecclesiastic laws, and, on the other hand, to remove the exemption of clergymen, and the goods of the church, from the power of the civil magistrate. Such are the heresies with which this famous reformer was charged; and, if we consider for a moment the circumstances under which this noble stand for the rights of men, and the purity of faith and manners, was made, we shall find more cause of astonishment at what was attempted, than surprise that his reprehensions were not further extended.

Wickliff had now opened the eyes of the people, who began to think the moment they could see; to which the example of the duke of Lancaster and lord Henry Percy, earl marshal, added considerable excitement, by taking him, and the cause he defended, under their particular protection and patronage. All this alarmed the court of Rome, and Gregory XI. issued a number of bulls against this gigantic heretic, all dated the twenty-second of May 1377. One was addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, a second to the king, and a third to the university of Oxford. In the first bull, addressed to the prelates, the pope tells them, that he was informed Wickliff had rashly proceeded to that detestable degree of madness, as not to be afraid to assert, and publicly preach, such propositions as were erroneous and false, contrary to the faith, and threatening to subvert and weaken the estate of the whole church; he therefore required them to apprehend and imprison him, by his authority, to take his confession concerning his propositions and conclusions, and transmit the same to Rome, also whatever he should say or write by way of introduction or proof. Of the king, he requested his patronage and assistance to the bishops in the prosecution. But the king died before his bull reached England, and the university treated their's with contempt, and protected Wickliff; who was also powerfully protected by the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy. These noblemen avowed their determination not to suffer him to be imprisoned; neither as yet was there any act of parliament empowering the bishops to imprison heretics without the royal assent. But the delegated prelates issued their mandate to the chancellor of the university of Oxford, commanding him to cite Wickliff to appear before them, in the church of St. Paul, London, in thirty days.

In the mean time, the first parliament of Richard II. met at Westminster, where the important question, Whether it was lawful to retain the tribute, and refuse the homage, claimed by the pope from the king and the English nation, was, after much discussion, submitted to the decision of Dr. Wickliff; who declared the retention wise and warrantable.

The day appointed for Wickliff's examination arrived, when he appeared at St. Paul's, attended by the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy. His learning, talents, and integrity, had procured him the friendship and good opinion of these illustrious noblemen, who assured him he had nothing to fear in appearing before the bishops, who were mere children, and ignorants, compared with himself; that he might therefore make his defence with the utmost confidence. An immense concourse of people blocked up the passage, so that there was great difficulty in en-

tering the church. The manner of their entrance, with a train of attendants, was highly offensive to the bishop of London, to whom it appeared more like a triumph than a trial. The court was held in the chapel, where a number of prelates and a few noblemen attended. Wickliff, according to custom, stood up to hear what was charged against him. The lord marshal would have him seated; the bishop of London opposed the proposition. The duke of Lancaster, in a warm reply, threatened to humble the pride of all the prelates in England; the bishop, making an animated and rather sarcastic reply, the duke threatened to drag him out of the church by the hair of his head, and in an instant all was uproar and confusion. The Londoners would revenge the insult offered to their bishop; the noblemen treated the citizens with disdain, and carried off their protégée in triumph.

The duke of Lancaster was made president of the council, and the bishops, enraged at the treatment they had received, as well as to please the pontiff, would have gladly exercised the utmost severities against this audacious heretic; but they were cautious in drawing down the resentment of his powerful protectors. He was summoned, however, a second time before them at Lambeth, where he appeared, and had a very different reception from the good citizens of London, who now rushed into the chapel to encourage the Doctor, and intimidate his adversaries. Wickliff seemed willing to give the prelates some sort of satisfaction, and presented a paper, wherein he explained the several conclusions with which he was charged. It is more than probable, that an explication so general would not have satisfied the delegates, if the king's mother had not sent Sir Lewis Clifford to forbid their proceeding to any definitive sentence against him. On receiving this message, the delegates were utterly confounded; and, as their own historian relates, the asperity of "their speech became as smooth as oil," though burning with rage at this fatal and unexpected rebuff. All thoughts of censure or punishment were therefore immediately relinquished, silence enjoined, and the heretic dismissed. To the silence imposed on Wickliff he paid no regard, but more avowedly than ever maintained his opinions, going about barefooted, it is said, in a long freeze gown, preaching every where to the people, and without the least reserve, in his own parish. All this assiduity and public exertion but ill agrees with the equivocating evasions with which he is said to have explained his opinions before these bishops. But timidity was, of all others, the least observable ingredient in the temperament of this great man; nor can there be any thing more improbable than the disguise he has been charged with in explaining his sentiments. A

modern writer, however, takes upon himself to say, that Wickliff appears to have been a man of slender resolution, and that his explanations are awkward apologies. Before venturing this bold and groundless assertion, this writer might, at least for his own credit, have considered, that the slender resolution and awkward apologies he charges on Wickliff, are merely what we have received from Walsingham, whom he has elsewhere charged with disingenuous partiality.

The duke of Lancaster flattered himself with the hopes of becoming sole regent during the minority of his nephew; but the parliament joined some bishops and noblemen with him in the regency, which considerably damped the rising spirits of the followers of Wickliff, who were, by this time, 1377, become so astonishingly numerous, that, it is said, two men could not be found together but one was a Wickliffite. But the death of Gregory XI. March 1378, was highly favourable to Wickliff, as it put an end to the commission and power of the delegated bishops; and the double election to the pontificate, that happened at this time, afforded a breathing space to his persecuted followers, as Urban VI. was not acknowledged in England till the end of the following year. In the interim, he wrote a tract, entitled, the Schism of the Roman Pontiffs; and shortly after published his book on the Truth of the Scriptures, in which he contended, contrary to the faith of the church, for the necessity of having them translated into the English language; asserting that the law of Christ was a sufficient rule to his church; that the will of God was delivered to man in two testaments; and that all disputations, not originating from thence, must be accounted profane.

The fatigue of attending the delegates threw Wickliff into a dangerous fit of illness on his return to Oxford. On this occasion he was waited on by a very extraordinary deputation. The begging friars, whom he had heretofore treated with so much severity, sent four of their order, accompanied by four of the most respectable citizens of Oxford, to attend him; who having gained admission to his bed-chamber, acquainted him, that on learning he lay at the point of death, they had been sent, in name of their order, to put him in mind of the manifold injuries he had done them, and hoped, that now, for the sake of his own soul, he would render them that justice that yet remained in his power, by retracting, in presence of these respectable persons, the many false and malicious slanders, and injurious misrepresentations, he had published of their lives and opinions. Wickliff, surprised at the solemnity of this strange deputation, raised himself on his pillow, and, with a stern countenance, thundered in their ears, "I shall not die, but live to declare

the evil deeds of the friars." Struck with the unexpected force of his expression, and the terror of his looks, the deputation retired in precipitant confusion.

In 1380, while the parliament was engaged in framing a statute, for rendering all foreign ecclesiastics ineligible to hold any benefices in England, and for expelling from the kingdom all foreign monks, Wickliff was ardently employed, both by his lectures and his writings, in exposing the Roman court, and detecting the vices of the clergy, whether religious or secular. Wickliff considered it as one of the leading errors of popery, that the bible was locked up from the people; and having resolved to remove that grievous inconveniency, by a translation, was encouraged in the undertaking with the best wishes of all sober people. It, however, raised the clamours of an enraged priesthood; and Knighton, a canon of Leicester, has left us a specimen of the language of his brethren on this important subject. "Christ," says he, "entrusted his gospel to the clergy and doctors of the church, to minister it to the laity and weaker sort, according to their exigencies and several occasions. But this Mr John Wickliff, by translating it, has made it vulgar, and laid it more open to the laity, and even women who can read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy and those of the best understanding; and thus the gospel jewel, the evangelical pearl, is thrown about, and trode under the foot of swine." Wickliff and his assistants were at much pains in making their translation. Having carefully corrected the Latin text, collected the glosses, and consulted the ancient fathers, they proceeded with the translation, not literally, but so as to express the meaning and import of the text, according to the Hebrew, as well as the Latin bibles. In this laborious undertaking, they found the commentators, and particularly the annotations of Lyra, of especial service; they distinguished the books having the authority of holy writ from such as were apocryphal, and asserted the justness of their translation.

The zeal of the clergy to suppress Wickliff's bible, only tended, as is commonly the case, to promote the circulation. The reformers, who possessed the ability, purchased whole copies; the poorer sort were obliged to content themselves with transcripts of particular gospels or epistles, as their inclinations directed, and their means enabled them. Hence it became a practice among the prelates, when the reformers became numerous, and the fires of persecution were kindled, to fasten these seraps of the scriptures about the necks of the condemned heretics, and to commit them, with their possessor, to the flames.

Wickliff still proceeded in detecting the errors, and lashing the abuses of the clergy, and set himself to oppose, both with

the arms of reason and ridicule, that doctrine of absurdity called transubstantiation. Prior to the ninth century there had been a vast number of foolish ceremonies attached to the sacrament of the supper, and, with a view to impress the minds of the communicants, much nonsense had been expressed about the eucharist; but none had seriously taken up the subject of transformation till about 820, when Radbertus asserted, and in a copious work defended the proposition, that the bread and wine in the sacrament are, after consecration, no longer bread and wine, but really and substantially the body and blood of Christ; a doctrine at variance with the canons of the church for nearly a thousand years after the death of Christ, and particularly the church of England, as appears by the Saxon homilies. This Wickliff attacked, in his divinity lectures, in 1381, and maintained the true and ancient notion of the Lord's supper. On this point he published sixteen conclusions, the first of which is, that the consecrated host, seen on the altar, is not Christ, or any part of him, but an effectual sign of him. He offered to engage, in a public disputation, with any man on the truth of these conclusions; but was prohibited by the religious, who were doctors of divinity, and Wickliff published his opinions to the world; but soon found he had touched the most tender part, by attempting to eradicate a notion, that, above all others, exalted the mystical and hierarchical powers and importance of the clergy. Accordingly, William de Barton, chancellor of the university, and eleven doctors, eight of whom were of the religious, condemned his conclusions as erroneous assertions. Wickliff told the chancellor, that neither him nor his assistants were able to confute his opinions, and appealed from their sentence of condemnation to the king.

William Courtney, archbishop of London, and a devoted tool of his patron the pope, had, by this time, succeeded Sudbury in the see of Canterbury; he had formerly opposed Wickliff with uncommon zeal and animosity, and now proceeded against him and his adherents with renovated asperity. But so soon as the parliament met in 1382, Wickliff presented his appeal to the king and both houses.

This appeal is represented, by Walsingham, as a crafty attempt to draw the nobility into erroneous opinions; who further asserts, that the appeal was disapproved by the duke of Lancaster, by whom Wickliff was ordered to withdraw it. Others as confidently assert, that the duke advised him against appealing to the king at all, but submit to the judgment of his ordinary. On which ground the monks take the liberty to assert, that he retracted his errors at Oxford, in presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, six bishops, and many doctors,

surrounded with a great concourse of the people. It has never been denied, that, on such an occasion and place, Wickliff publicly read a Latin confession; but this paper, so far from being a retraction of his principles and opinions, was a defence, so far as the doctrine of transubstantiation was concerned; for it declares his determination to defend it with his blood, and boldly censures the contrary heresy, and explains at large in what sense he understands the body of Christ to be in the eucharist: "This venerable sacrament," says he, "is naturally bread and wine; but is, sacramentally, the body and blood of Christ."

Archbishop Courtney, still continuing his persecuting rage against Wickliff, appointed a court of select bishops, doctors, and bachelors, who met in the monastery of the preaching friars, London. This court declared fourteen conclusions, of Wickliff and others, erroneous and heretical. Wickliff was accordingly summoned to attend, but prevented by his friends, who had been apprised of a plot laid to seize him on his way thither. His cause, nevertheless, was taken up and defended by the chancellor of Oxford and two proctors, as also by the greater part of the senate, who, in a letter addressed to the court, to which was affixed the university seal, gave him an unqualified recommendation for learning, piety, and orthodox faith. Dr. Nicholas Hereford, Dr. Philip Rapyndon, and John Ashton, M. A. appeared, and at this court, as well as at the convocation, defended his doctrines.

The bigotted Courtney, in the rage of his disappointment, exerted all his authority in the church, and exercised all his ingenuity, interest, and influence, at court and in the state, to punish the Wickliffites, and suppress their opinions. But Wickliff rose in reputation in proportion to the persecuting severity of this dignified ecclesiastic; and his doctrines, taking hold of the affections of the people, were circulated with astonishing rapidity through most part of the European continent; but Wickliff, amidst the blaze of his fame, and in the zenith of his usefulness, was forced to quit his professorship, and retire to his living at Lutterworth; where he continued to vindicate the doctrines he had taught, and encourage the converts he had made.

In 1382, soon after his leaving Oxford, he was struck with the palsy; and, about the same time, summoned to appear at Rome, to answer, before the holy father, for his many and great offences; but excused himself, in a letter to the pope, wherein he tells him, that "he had learned of Christ to obey God rather than man." His enemies were now sensible, that his disorder would soon put a period to his opposition, and therefore suffered him to pass the short remains of a life, already exhausted

with labour and unceasing persecution, without further molestation. On Innocent's day 1384, he had another and more violent attack of the same disorder, when officiating in his own church, where he fell down, and never again recovered his speech, but soon after terminated a life of laborious activity and triumphant opposition, in the sixtieth year of his age.

Such was the life of John Wickliff, than whom the christian world, since the age of the apostles, has not produced a greater man. His enemies, however, and that of the cause he defended, have some of them vainly endeavoured to depreciate his talents, and even to question the strength of his resolution; but the dangers he encountered, and the victories he achieved, under circumstances so peculiarly unpropitious, while they mark the character of his traducers with malice, envy, and unmanly partiality, will serve to secure his glory, and transmit his untarnished renown. For mankind, with all their defects, are not so blind, but they can perceive that the man who, single-handed, dares to attack at once the prejudices, the interests, and the united power of a world, cannot be a coward; and most assuredly, that he who triumphs over such a powerful combination, convinces or confounds the learned, opens the eyes of blinded ignorance, and, through an inextricable maze of error, traces out the plain path of religious purity and moral propriety, it were madness to call him a fool: All this did Wickliff, whose amazing penetration, and rational manner of thinking, and facility in shaking off the prejudices of education, drew forth the admiration of his contemporaries, and will secure him the veneration of posterity, by whom he will be considered as one of those prodigies which providence, on some rare occasions, raises, inspires, and abundantly qualifies for conducting his most difficult and astonishing operations.

Wickliff had studied theology with great care and remarkable success. He was endowed with an uncommon gravity, and the purity of his manners corresponded with his character as a teacher of religion and a minister of Jesus Christ. His anxiety to restore the primitive purity and simplicity of the church, in that ignorant and degenerate age, was such, that he laboured in season and out of season, if, by any means, he might draw the public attention and consideration to a subject so much neglected, and so shamefully perverted by the Romish church; and we have reason to believe, that his success far exceeded his warmest anticipations. He was allowed, even by his enemies, to be a man of excellent practice, uncommon learning, and gigantic abilities. His works, that are yet extant, discover a soundness of judgment, and reasoning powers of the first order; they breathe a spirit of genuine piety, and manifest a modesty

altogether uncommon in that age of trifling puerility. Every thing he says is judicious, important, and correct.

Next to his reading the scriptures, Bradwardine's writings first opened Wickliff's eyes to the genuine doctrine of justification by grace; in these he discovered the amazing difference between salvation by the grace and unmerited favour of God, and that held out by merit-mongers, penances, purgatory, and pilgrimages.

Wickliff was an avowed necessitarian; and in vindicating his opinion on this singularly delicate and long contested point, had averred, that without admitting his argument, all prophecy must be considered as mere conjecture, inasmuch as God's foreknowledge of any event is paramount to his having decreed and determined the bringing of it to pass; and, on the supposition that it was unforeknown, how was it possible to foretel its future existence? This argument so puzzled an archbishop of Armagh, that he laboured two years to reconcile the prophecies of Christ to the doctrine of free-will; but, with all his skill and labour, the task turned out more than a match for this learned and dignified Roman prelate.

Regarding the doctrine of gratuitous pardon, Wickliff says, "The merit of Christ alone is sufficient to redeem every man from hell; and that, without the aid of any other concurring cause whatever, all those who are justified by his righteousness, shall be saved by his atonement." Save us, Lord, for nought, says Wickliff, that is, without any merit of ours, but for the merits of the great atoning sacrifice.

As Dr. Wickliff was diligent in preaching and reading his divinity lectures, so he wrote a great many tracts, of which bishop Bale has given a particular account. They amount to two hundred and fifty-five, of which thirty-two are preserved in Trinity college, a great many in Cambridge, five in Trinity college, Dublin, four in the Bodleian library, two in the Cotton library, and three in the king's library; most of them are theological, but some philosophical. Forty-eight are written in English, and the rest in Latin. A fair copy of his translation of the bible is in Queen's college, Oxford, and two copies more in the University library; besides these, there is also a volume of English tracts, said to be written by Wickliff, some of which are yet extant. His works, especially his translation of the bible, were wrote in the most expressive language of the age, though extremely uncouth to a modern ear, of which we have formerly given a specimen. His opinions were greatly misrepresented by his adversaries; but he was protected by many powerful friends, and his doctrine embraced by the greatest part of the kingdom. Edward III., the princess Dowager of

Wales, the duke of Lancaster, the queen of Richard II., the earl marshal, Geoffrey Chaucer, and lord Cobham, were his patrons and friends. Under such powerful and exemplary patrons, his adherents were daily increased. Many eminent divines, noblemen, and other persons of distinction, attaching themselves to the new religion, were followed by vast numbers of the people; and though violently opposed by the dignified clergy, who, during the reigns of Richard the II., Henry the IV., and Henry V., stirred up bloody persecutions against the Wickliffites, their numbers were multiplied like suckers from the roots of trees in a forest. Soon after this, the seculars and ecclesiastics combined their power and influence to suppress and extirpate this rising heresy, which threatened to overturn the Romish hierarchy; and archbishop Arundel, twelve years after Wickliff had slept with his fathers, condemned, in convocation, eighteen of his conclusions. Acts of parliament were likewise obtained against his followers, and numbers of them burnt for their heresies. His books were prohibited in the universities; and in 1416, archbishop Chichely erected a species of inquisition, in every parish, to discover, and drag before their tribunals, all who adhered to, or appeared to favour these obnoxious tenets. By these cruel and unchristian means, that zealous advocate for the reformation of the church, John Lord Cobham, was burnt for heresy. He was the first nobleman in England whose blood was shed for religion in this contending period. Mr Fox, in his acts and monuments, affirms, that Gower and Chaucer, two poets, famous at that time, were followers of Wickliff, and that they ingeniously covered their opinions by a parabolic mode of writing, which they, who were favoured with the key, could fully comprehend; and that in this way many were converted to Wickliff's opinions. Chaucer died in 1400, and Gower soon after.

The doctrines taught by Wickliff unhinged the infallibility of the pope; and the council of Constance, on the 5th of May 1415, condemned forty-five articles which he had taught and maintained; but finding the archheretic had retired beyond the reach of their battering artillery, they wisely contented themselves with insulting his mouldering remains. Accordingly, this venerable assembly of *holy men*, in sober gravity, and awful solemnity, decreed, that the bones of this fallen adversary should be disinterred, and cast on the dunghill. This part of the sentence, however, was not put in execution till thirteen years after; when, in 1428, the bishop of Lincoln had a peremptory order from the pope to have it put in immediate execution. The remains of this excellent man were therefore dug

out of the grave, where they reposed for four-and-forty years unmolested, publicly burnt, and the ashes thrown into an adjoining brook.

Such was the resentment of the holy see, and such the poor satisfaction obtained by the pope, and his obsequious council of Constance, from him who has been justly denominated the first English reformer. The Wickliffites were grievously oppressed, but could not be extinguished; persecution only served to establish those doctrines, which, about an hundred years after this, became general in England, when the nation embraced the faith which this morning-star of the reformation had so early restored, not only to his own, but we may say, without hesitation, to all the nations of christendom. His works were circulated by lord Cobham through great part of the continent. The servants and attendants of queen Ann, the wife of Richard II. on returning to Bohemia, carried along with them several of Wickliff's writings, which were the means of promoting the reformation in that part of the continent. Numbers were also brought into Germany by Peter Payne, an Englishman, and a disciple of Wickliff's. They were so numerous in Bohemia, that two hundred volumes, finely written, and elegantly covered, were burnt by archbishop Sbinko. A young Bohemian nobleman, who had been prosecuting his studies at Oxford, likewise took home several of Wickliff's books; and being well acquainted with John Huss, favoured him with a perusal; which was the means of converting this excellent man, and the greater part of the university of Prague, to the faith of the reformation; which Huss, ever after, publicly taught and circulated with almost enthusiastic assiduity; vindicating the same in the face of the council who condemned his body to the flames. He considered Wickliff an angel sent from heaven to enlighten mankind; and amid the fire that consumed him, exulted in the prospect of associating with him in the enjoyment of celestial happiness.

In concluding this memoir, we cannot help expressing our regret, that nothing has been done to perpetuate the memory of this great man, to whom his country is evidently more indebted, both for her civil and religious privileges, than to any one of her most distinguished warriors. Let us hope, however, that the monument lately erected to the memory of John Knox, the celebrated Scottish reformer, may stimulate his countrymen to some similar expression of public regard.

The works of Wickliff are amazingly numerous, but, with the exception of his translation of the bible, they are generally small, and most of them might, with propriety, be called tracts; but the circumstances of the times, and the exigencies of the people, pointed out the propriety of this mode of circulation.

And as some readers may be curious to know what subjects he chose, a list of those more remarkable has been selected from the various collections, and are as follows :

Trialogorum, lib. 4.—De Religione Perfectorum.—De Ecclesia et Membris.—De Diabolo et Membris.—De Christo et Antichristo.—De Antichristo et Membris.—Sermones in Epistolas.—De Veritate Scripturæ.—De Statu Innocentiæ.—De Stipendiis Ministrorum.—De Episcoporum Erroribus.—De Curatorum Erroribus.—De Perfectione Evangelica.—De Officio Pastoralis.—De Simonia Sacerdotum.—Super Pænitentii Injunctis.—De Seductione Simplicium.—Dæmonum Astus in Subvertenda Religione.—De Pontificum Romanorum Schismate.—De Ultima ætate Ecclesiæ.—Of Temptation.—The Chartre of Hevene.—Of Ghostly Battel.—Of Ghostly and Fleshly Love.—The Confession of St. Brandoun.—Active Life, and Contemplative.—Virtuous Patience.—Of Pride.—Observationes Piæ in Christi Præcepta.—De Impedimentis Orationis.—De Cardinalibus Virtutibus.—De Actibus Animæ.—Expositio Orationis Dominicæ.—De 7 Sacramentis.—De Natura Fidei.—De Diversis Gradibus Charitatis.—De Defectione a Christo.—De Veritate et Mendacio.—De Sacerdotio Levitico.—De Sacerdotio Christi.—De Dotatione Cæsarea.—De Versutiis Pseudocleri.—De Immortalitate Animæ.—De Paupertate Christi.—De Physica Naturali.—De Essentia Accidentium.—De Necessitate Inturorum.—De Temporis Quidditate.—De Temporis Ampliatione.—De Operibus Corporalibus.—De Operibus Spiritualibus.—De Fide et Perfidia.—De Sermone Domini in Montem.—Abstractiones Logicales.—A Short Rule of Life.—The Great Sentence of the Curse Expounded.—Of Good Priests.—De Contrarietate Duorum Dominorum.—Wickliff's Wicket.—De Ministrorum Conjugio.—De Religiosis Privatis.—Conciones de Morte.—De Vita Sacerdotum.—De Ablatis Restituendis.—De Arte Sophistica.—De Fonte Errorum.—De Incarnatione Verbi.—Super Impositis Articulis.—De Humanitate Christi.—Contra Concilium Terræ-motus.—De Solutione Satanæ.—De Spiritu Quolibet.—De Christianorum Baptismo.—De Clavium Potestate.—De Blasphemia.—De Paupertate Christi.—De Raritate et Densitate.—De Materia et Forma.—De Anima.—Octo Beatitudines.—De Trinitate.—Commentarii in Psalterium.—De Abominatione Desolationis.—De Civili Dominio.—De Ecclesiæ Dominio.—De Divino Dominio.—De Origine Sectarum.—De Perfidia Sectarum.—Speculum de Antichristo.—De Virtute Orandi.—De Remissione Fraternali.—De Censuris Ecclesiæ.—De Charitate Fraternali.—De Purgatorio Piorum.—De Pharisæo et Publicano.—And his translation of the Scriptures into the English language.

## JOHN FRITH.

THE first in England that professedly wrote against the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, was John Frith, an excellent scholar, and an eminent divine, born at Sevenoaks, in Kent. He was educated at king's college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; but afterwards went to Oxford, where the brilliancy and the solidity of his talents soon procured him the office of a junior canon, in Cardinal Wolsey's new college, now called Christ-church. Some time prior to 1525 he became acquainted with the famous William Tyndale, who, conversing with him on the abuses of religion, was made the happy instrument of convincing him of the fallacious ground on which men rested their hopes of salvation, who trusted either to their own righteousness or that of the saints. That the merits of Christ, and his all-perfect righteousness alone, could justify the sinner, and secure him from the wrath denounced against every violation of God's holy and perfect law; that works of supererogation only existed in the blinded imaginations of ignorant and deluded men; that penances, pilgrimages, and popish absolutions, had no efficacy in removing the guilt, or cleansing the conscience of sinners, whatever they might have in enabling a crafty priesthood to pick their pockets. Frith, pondering these things in his mind, the more he considered, the more he was convinced, and soon after publicly professed the reformation principles; for which he was seized, examined by the commissary of the university, and, along with some of his associates, imprisoned within the limits of his own college, where some of them died in consequence of the maltreatment they had received.

In 1528, being released from his imprisonment, he travelled through various places on the continent, where, by visiting the reformed churches, and conversing with their leading ministers, he returned to England greatly confirmed in the faith; but no sooner had he reached Reading, in Berkshire, than he was taken up for a vagabond, and set in the stocks; where, after sitting a long time, and almost perishing with hunger, he requested some of the spectators to call the schoolmaster of the town, who, at that time, was Leonard Cox, a very learned man. Cox having discovered the eminent talents of the sufferer, by conversing with him on the Greek and Latin classics, procured his release, and supplied him with victuals and money. After this he went to London, where, notwithstanding that he frequently changed his apparel and the place of his residence, he could not long evade the inquisitive eyes of the lord chancel-

lor, Sir Thomas More, who had spies at every port of the kingdom, and even along the roads, and a great reward promised to whoever would give information against this excellent man.

It is not improbable that Sir Thomas More had some feelings of personal animosity against Frith, from a book he had written. The matter stands thus. A book, entitled, the Supplication of the Beggars, published by a Mr Fish, of Gray's inn, inveighing against the imposing arts of the mendicants, and taxing the Roman pontiff with extortion, cruelty, and deception, as he granted his indulgences and absolutions from purgatory to none but such as could pay for them. This book was received with great attention by the public, and even by Henry VIII. himself, as it favoured him greatly in his then quarrel with the pope.

Sir Thomas answered this publication by another, entitled, the Supplication of the Souls in Purgatory, wherein he strongly exhibits their supposed misery, and the relief afforded them by the masses that were said in their behalf; and, in the name of these wretched beings, implored their friends to step forward and support the religious orders, at a time when they were surrounded and attacked on every side by their inveterate enemies. Sir Thomas exerted all his wit and eloquence in the composition of this publication; but whether it arose from the badness of the cause, or the increasing information of the people, it met with no encouragement.

Frith, however, undertook to return an answer, which he performed with all necessary gravity, showing that the doctrine of purgatory had not the least foundation in scripture; that it was inconsistent with the merits of Christ and his consequent pardon of sin; and that it stood diametrically opposed to the whole plan of his salvation by grace. That the fire spoken of by the apostle, as that which would devour the wood, hay, and stubble, could only be understood as the fire of persecution, that puts to the severest trial both the faith and fortitude of the saints. He strenuously urged, and from the history of the primitive church produced abundant evidence, that such a doctrine was then wholly unknown, and that, as it could not be found in scripture, so neither did it exist in the writings of Ambrose, Jerome, or Augustine; insisting that it was introduced into the church by the monks, for the express purpose of deluding the world, and enhancing the value and importance of their craft. This spirited attack on the strong holds of the ecclesiastic empire, enraged the clergy almost to madness; and finding they could not withstand the arguments of Mr Frith, they determined to silence him by the more energetic syllogisms of fire and faggot.

Some short time after this, Mr Frith had a conversation with a familiar friend of his regarding the doctrines of transubstantiation, when he was requested to commit the substance of the arguments he had used to writing, and favour him with a copy for the help of his memory. Frith was rather backward to this, knowing the dangers to which he was exposed; but yielding to the importunity of his friend, he wrote down the following arguments.

1. That the natural body of Christ, sin only excepted, possessed similar properties with the bodies of other men, and could not therefore occupy two or more places at one and the same time; and that consequently the ubiquity of Christ's natural body was an incredible absurdity.—2. That the words of Christ, as they occur in Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, 28, were by no means intended to be literally understood; but that their sense and meaning are to be taken from the analogy of the scripture.—3, *and lastly*, That this holy ordinance of the supper ought to be administered and received according to the true and proper institution of Christ, notwithstanding that the present mode of administration, in the Romish church, is in every respect different therefrom.

At this time, one William Holt, a taylor, who professed himself a warm friend to the cause of reformation, by his hypocrisy, found an opportunity to betray its friends and adherents. This man expressed a strong desire to see Mr Frith's arguments; which he no sooner received, than he hurried away to Sir Thomas More, to whom he presented the heretical billet with no small share of consequential importance. Sir Thomas lost no time in apprehending the unsuspecting Frith, and lodging him in the tower, where he had several conferences with the chancellor and others. At length he was taken to Lambeth before the archbishop, afterwards to Croydon before the bishop of Winchester, and at last, on the 20th of June 1533, examined before an assembly of bishops, sitting in St. Paul's cathedral, who, after interrogating him respecting the sacrament and purgatory, urged him to recant. Frith confuted all their arguments; and in place of recanting, subscribed his declaration in the following manner:—I Frith, thus do think, and as I think and believe, so have I said, written, taught, and published to the world.

From the tenor of Mr Frith's open defence and unequivocal assertions, both in his writings and before the assembly, he was deemed incorrigible, and condemned to be burnt. Accordingly, he was carried to Smithfield along with a young man named Andrew Hewet, on the 4th July 1553. When Mr Frith was tied to the stake, he evinced amazing courage, resigna-

tion, and self-possession. He embraced the burning faggots that were flaming around him, as an evidence of the cheerfulness with which he could suffer for the cause of Christ and his ever-blessed gospel. One Dr. Cook, a priest, standing by, in an audible voice admonished the weeping spectators not to pray for the sufferers more than they were dogs! Frith smiled at his impotent malice, and prayed the Lord to forgive him. The wind carried the flames in the direction of Hewet, his fellow-martyr, by which Frith had a lingering and exceedingly painful death; but his mind was so fixed, and his patience so invincible, that he seemed less careful for his own, than for the sufferings of his faithful companion. At last, committing himself into the hands of his Father and Redeemer, he expired in the prime of his life.

When Mr Frith, as we have seen, was to be examined at Croydon, two of the archbishop's servants were sent to fetch him. Frith's pious and edifying conversation, and amiable deportment by the way, made such a favourable impression on the minds of these men, that they contrived between themselves how they might let him escape; and having completed their arrangements, one of them thus addressed him. "Mr Frith, I am extremely sorry for having undertaken this journey. I am ordered to bring you to Croydon; and knowing the rage of your enemies, I consider myself as bringing you like a lamb to the slaughter. This consideration overwhelms me with sorrow, insomuch, that I disregard any hazard I may run, so as I may but deliver you out of the lion's mouth." To this friendly proposal Mr Frith replied, with a smile, Do ye think I am afraid to deliver my sentiments before the bishops of England, and these manifestly founded on the unerring veracity of divine revelation? It seems strange to me, said the other, that you was so willing to quit the kingdom before your apprehension; and that now you are even unwilling to save yourself from almost certain destruction. The matter, said Mr Frith, stands thus. While I was yet at liberty, I cherished it, and to the utmost of my power, endeavoured to preserve it for the benefit of the church of Christ; but now, by the providence of God, having been delivered into the hands of the bishops, I consider myself particularly called upon as an evidence for Christ and the truths of his religion, as well as bound by the ties of gratitude and love to my adorable Redeemer, publicly to acknowledge his supreme government in the church, and contend for the purity of that faith which in old times he committed to the care and guardianship of the saints. If therefore I should now start aside, and run away, I should run away from my God and the testimony of his word, deny the Lord that bought me, and grieve the

hearts of his faithful servants. I beseech you, therefore, bring me to the place appointed, otherwise I must needs travel thither by myself. In the present instance, Mr Frith is perhaps more to be admired than justified. The saints are nowhere commanded to give themselves up to their persecutors, but to avoid them wherever this can be done with a safe conscience. The primitive christians, it is true, many of them rather courted than avoided the martyr's crown; but what makes it more remarkable in Mr Frith, he was of an eminently meek and quiet disposition, by no means of that lion-hearted temperament that distinguished Luther, Knox, and several others of the reformers.

Frith's greatest adversaries were Fisher, bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas More, and his son-in-law, Rastal. These he had refuted in his writings; and the vigour with which this was effected, most probably subjected him to their animosity and unmanly resentment. He was a polished scholar, says bishop Bale, as well as a master of the learned languages; and these, and all his other qualifications, were cheerfully devoted to the service of God and his generation. His works are—1. Treatise of Purgatory—2. Antithesis between Christ and the Pope—3. Letter to the faithful followers of Christ's gospel, written in the tower 1532—4. Mirror, or Glass to know thyself, written in the tower 1532—5. Mirror, or Looking-glass, wherein you may behold the Sacrament of Baptism—6. Articles for which he died, written in Newgate, 21st June 1533—7. Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogues concerning Heresies—8. Answer to John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, &c.—All these treatises were printed at London, in folio, 1573.

---

### WILLIAM TYNDALE.

WILLIAM TYNDALE, the subject of the present memoir, was born on the border of Wales, some short time prior to 1500. He was of Magdalane-hall, in Oxford, where he distinguished himself, not merely by his literary acquisitions, but also and especially by his zealous attachment to the doctrines of the reformation, which were now spreading through many places in England. Here he applied himself to the study of the scriptures with uncommon assiduity, not as a mere scholar, but as a sinner deeply interested in the truths they unfold; and, anxious to communicate to others the blessings he had received, he took much pains to instruct a number of his fellow-students in the knowledge of the truth by his private lectures.

Having taken his degrees, he removed to Cambridge, and from thence, after a short stay, went to live with Mr Welch, a gentleman of Gloucestershire, in the capacity of a tutor to his children. While in this situation, he had several occasional disputes with abbots and doctors who visited the family, sometimes about learned men, at other times concerning the scriptures. Mr and Mrs Welch, after returning from a visit one evening, where several of those dignitaries had been descanting largely on some topics of divinity, they attacked Mr Tyndale with the whole force of the arguments they had heard from the ecclesiastics; all which he overturned by ready and pertinent quotations from scripture. Upon which Mrs Welch, who was a very sensible woman, broke out in a rapturous exclamation, What! says she, there was Dr. ———, who can afford to spend an hundred pounds; Dr. ———, who can spend two hundred; and Dr. ———, who can as easily spend three; and is it reasonable, think ye, that your single assertion should supercede the united opinions of three such respectable and dignified clergymen. Mr Tyndale made no reply, and in future was more reserve on these topics.

At this time he was translating a book of Erasmus, entitled *Enchiridion militis Christiané*, which, when finished, he presented to Mr and Mrs Welch; who, after perusing it, seemed so far convinced in the truth of Tyndale's arguments, that the visits of the ecclesiastics were coolly received, and soon after discontinued. This anecdote, though it may appear too trivial for a work of this nature, will be excused for the important consequences it produced. The neighbouring clergy to a man were incensed against Mr Tyndale, on account of his arguments, and had him accused of many heresies to the bishop's chancellor, before whom he was cited to appear; but nothing having been proved against him, after railing at him for some time, and abusing him, he was dismissed.

On his way home he called on an old friend of his, who had at one time been a bishop's chancellor, to him he opened his mind with regard to the rising opinions, and consulted him on many passages of scripture. Before they parted, the doctor said, are you not aware that the pope is the very antichrist spoken of in scripture? Be careful, however, of what you say, for if it be known that this is your opinion, it will cost you your life. I have been an officer of his, added he, but have given it up, and I renounce him and all his works.

Some time after, having fallen in company with a certain divine, remarkable for his learning and the acuteness of his disputations, a controversy ensued, and having driven the doctor to his *dernier resorte*, he blasphemously cried out, We had

better want the laws of God than those of the pope. Tyndale, fired with zeal and indignation at the unclerical expression, replied, I defy the pope and all his laws; and if it please God to spare me a few years, I will cause a plough-boy to know more of the scriptures than the pope himself and the greater part of his agents. All these circumstances roused the resentment of the priesthood against Tyndale to that degree, that he was forced to leave his native land, and seek that security among strangers which was denied him in his own country.

In the mean time, recollecting the praise that Erasmus had bestowed on the learning of Tonstal, bishop of London, and hoping he might be willing to afford him protection, he applied to this celebrated literarian; but this not being the path which providence had marked out for Tyndale, the bishop excused himself, that his house was full, that he had already more than he could accommodate; advising him to look out in the city, where he could scarcely fail in procuring employment.

Mr Tyndale remained in London for almost another year; but anxious to translate the New Testament into English, as, in his opinion, and that of his dear friend John Frith, the most effectual method of removing the darkness and ignorance of the people; but judging it could not be safely effected in England, by the kind assistance of Mr Henry Monmouth and others, he retired to Germany, where he laboured on the work, and finished it in 1527. With respect to the translation, he says, in a letter to John Frith, "I call God to witness, against that day when we must all appear before our Lord Jesus, to give an account of our various transactions, that I have not altered a single syllable of God's word; nor would I now, though all that this world contains of pleasure, honour, or wealth, were held out as my reward." This was the first translation of the New Testament into *modern* English, the language, by this time, being much improved. He then began with the Old Testament, and translated the five books of Moses, prefixing excellent discourses to each book, as he had done to those of the New Testament. Cranmer's bible, or, as it was called, the great bible, was Tyndale's merely revised and corrected, omitting the introductory discourses and tables, and adding marginal references and a summary of contents.

On his first leaving England he went to Saxony, where he had much conversation with Luther, and other learned Germans; afterwards, returning to the Netherlands, he fixed his residence at Antwerp, at that period a very populous and flourishing city.

Having finished his translation of the books of Moses, he set sail for Hamburg, with the intention of putting them to the

press; but being shipwrecked on the coast of Holland, all his books and manuscripts were lost. He took his passage, however, in another vessel for Hamburgh, where he met with Mr Coverdale, who assisted him in again translating the five books of Moses. This was in the year 1529. His translation having gone through the press, he sent part of the impression to England, where his translation of the New Testament had made a considerable noise, as well as it had done in Germany. The priests everywhere cried it down, and charged it with a thousand heresies; boldly asserting, that the translating of the bible into English was a foolish attempt, and one that could never be realized; and if it could, it was both unlawful and inexpedient to put a translation of the scriptures into the hands of the laity. Nor did they rest, till, by their importunity, they had procured a proclamation, prohibiting the people from purchasing or perusing any English translation of the scriptures. This proclamation was issued in 1527, in which, as well as by the public prohibition of the bishops, a number of other treatises, which had been written by Luther and other reformers, were also prohibited and condemned. But all this noise and stir amongst the clergy only served to call up additional purchasers for the work. In this state of danger to the Roman church, and anxiety amongst her zealous partizans, when every head was at work to contrive some expedient to arrest the progress of reformation, the bishop of London hit on an artifice, which he flattered himself would effectually answer the purpose, by stopping the circulation of Tyndale's English New Testaments; a scheme which, in his judgment, would be not only more effectual, but likewise attended with less noise, as well as by a considerable saving of expence, this was, to buy up the whole impression at once. With this view, and full of these hopes, his lordship employed a Mr Packington, then residing at Antwerp, in this delicate business; assuring him, at the same time, that whatever might be the cost, he would have them all burned at Paul's cross. In consequence of this engagement, Packington, who was a secret friend to the reformation, entered into an engagement with Tyndale, by which the bishop had the books, and Packington abundant praise for his dexterity; but Tyndale had all the money. This enabled our reformer to publish at once a more correct and much larger edition, so that, as Mr Fox expresses it, "They came over to England thick and three-fold." This disappointment filled his lordship with equal rage and astonishment, nor could he comprehend by what means his policy had been over-reached, till some time after, that one Constantine, who had been apprehended by Sir Thomas More, divulged the laughable secret. The bishop at last perceiving, that Tyndale was a man

of very superior abilities, and capable of seriously injuring their craft by his publications, resolved, as they could neither draw him into their party, nor otherwise silence him, to have him put out of the way. To effect this cruel purpose, one Philips was despatched to Antwerp, where, having hypocritically insinuated himself into his company and confidence, under the pretext of friendship, delivered him into the hands of his enemies.

The simple and unsuspecting Tyndale was accordingly carried a prisoner to the castle of Tilford, about eighteen miles from Antwerp; where, notwithstanding that the English merchants did every thing in their power to procure his enlargement, and that letters from lord Cromwell and others from England urged the same request, the activity and dexterity with which Philips executed his sanguinary commission, brought him before a tribunal, where he received the sentence of death.

Pursuant to the sentence of the court, Tyndale was brought to the stake, and while they were binding him, he cried out, with an audible and fervent voice, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes." He was first strangled by the hangman, and afterwards burned near Tilford castle, in the year 1536. And thus the man, whom Fox has, with the utmost propriety, styled the Apostle of England, rested from his labours, having fought a good fight; and by finishing his course in a faithful adherence to the truth, left the powers of this world, particularly tyrannical oppressors and persecutors, an additional demonstration, that the mind of man is not subject to their capricious or selfish control, but scorning the narrow limits of their diminutive jurisdiction, can break through their barriers, and, only subject to the laws of reason and conviction, triumphantly rebel.

Mr Tyndale was a man of seraphic piety, indefatigable study, and extraordinary learning. So careless was he about the wealth of this world, that he declared, before he went to Germany, that he would cheerfully consent to live, in any county of England, on an allowance of ten pounds a-year, and oblige himself to take no more, if he might only have authority to instruct children, and preach the gospel of Christ. His eminent talents and extensive knowledge, united with a fervent zeal and a confirmed stedfastness of faith, richly qualified him for the labours of a reformer. During the time of his imprisonment, which lasted eighteen months, such was the blessing of God on his faithful preaching, that he was the means of converting his goaler and his daughter, besides several others of his household. Even the procurer general, or emperor's attorney, publicly said concerning him, that he was *homo doctus, pius, et bonus*, a learned, pious, and good man. Bishop Bale says, that "for knowledge, purity of doctrine, and holiness of

life, Tyndale ought to be esteemed the next English reformer to Wickliff. His picture is said to represent him with a bible in his hand, and this distich;

*Hac ut luce tuas dispergam, Roma, tenebras,  
Sponte extorris ero, sponte sacrificium.*

Rendered thus:

That light o'er all thy darkness, Rome,  
With triumph might arise;  
An exile freely I become,  
Freely a sacrifice.

His works, beside the translation of the scriptures, were all published in one general volume, and are as follows:

1. A Christian's Obedience—2. The Unrighteous Mammon—3. The Practice of the Papists—4. Commentaries on the Seventh Chapter of St. Matthew—5. A Discourse of the Last Will and Testament of Tracii—6. An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogues—7. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper against More—8. Of the Sacrament of the Altar—9. Of the Sacramental Signs—10. A Footpath leading to the Scriptures—11. Three letters to John Frith.

The remains of such men, when these are few, are on that account the more desirable, we shall therefore insert said letters, as they have been preserved by Mr Fox, whose works are too voluminous to be in the possession, or even within the purchase, of many serious people.

#### LETTER I.

“THE grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be with you, *Amen*. Dearly beloved brother John, I have heard say, how the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great business which letted them, or at the least way have brought it to a stay, return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all.

“Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord; fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair: But trust him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well-doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable with God. For to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no

sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him. Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself.

“Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may at his coming be made like to his immortal body; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, they find none but who will abjure rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is not glorious: For the hypocrites say, he must needs die, denying helpeth not. But might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times; but seeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and meer malice together, they spake with their mouths what their conscience knoweth false. If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself wholly and only to your loving Father, then shall his power be in you and make you strong, and that so strong, that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death: And his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise: He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine; yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death. *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*; To look for no man's help, bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: Yea, it shall make God to carry you thorow thicke and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his hour be come; and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

“Fear not the threatening, therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words; with which twain the hypocrites shall assail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart, no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you, let not their vizer beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end

shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you.' And pray to your Father in that name, and he shall cease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, *Amen*.

“WILLIAM TYNDALE.”

### LETTER II.

“Two have suffered in Antwerp, *in die sanctæ crucis*, unto the great glory of the gospel; four at Rysels, in Flanders; and at Luke hath there one at least suffered, and all the same day. At Roan, in France, they persecute. And at Paris are five doctors taken for the gospel. See, you are not alone; be cheerful, and remember that among the hard-hearted in England, there is a number reserved by grace: For whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's ease. The Lord be yet again with you, with all his plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over, *Amen*.

“If when you have read this, you can send it to Adrian; do, I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

“George Joy, at Candlemas, being at Barrow, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a letter to N. to deliver them; and to purchase license, that he might so go through all the bible. Out of this is sprung the noise of the new bible; and out of that is the great seeking for English books at all printers and book-binders in Antwerp, and for an English priest that should print.

“This chanced the ninth day of May.

“Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not, for her sake, have the glory of God hindered.

“WILLIAM TYNDALE.”

### LETTER III.

“The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, *Amen*.

“DEARLY beloved brother, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus is, that you arm yourself with patience, and be cool, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you keep you a low by the ground, avoiding high questions, that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the veil of Moses to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable; and then, as a faith-

ful minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of Him, and then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them, I mean the law of God and mercy of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

“Of the presence of Christ’s body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative; whether constant or obstinate, I remit it to God. Philip Melanchthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerp that say, they saw him come into Paris with an hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise of that matter, but I have stopt him as yet: What he will do, if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to that purpose: My mind is, that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the scripture, and let them talk what they will. For as to believe that God is everywhere, hurteth no man that worshipping him nowhere but within the heart, in spirit and verity: Even so to believe, that the body of Christ is everywhere (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no man, that worshipping him nowhere save in the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind: Howbeit, if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

“I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spirituality, to catch themselves in their own subtilty, and trust it is come to pass. And now me thinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore’s flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things unto him: And if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, that the scripture may be in the

mother-tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But if ought be required contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions; which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

“Brother, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as in you; not the thousand part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep alow by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain: In fear, and not in boldness: In open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: Insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure you will defer, or say (till other agree with you) Methinks the text requireth the sense or understanding. Yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me: For I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

“Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow witted; your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me: Remembering, that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority; but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

“Sir, as concerning purgatory, and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the spirituality hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's word, and

alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you, but now you find them lyers, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer, but are as you were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: Howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them, when you have found them with so many lyes, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

“My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and was once my scholar; he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen: Whether he is gone ambassador secret, I wot not.

“The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph, and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him: And his is the glory. *Amen.*

“*January, 1533.*

WILLIAM TYNDALE.”

---

### JOHN LAMBERT.

THE real name of this very remarkable contender for the truth of the gospel was Nicholson; but the dangers to which his religious opinions subjected him, during the latter part of his life, induced him to assume the surname of Lambert. It does not appear when he was born, though his having suffered in 1538, makes it probable that it might be about the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth century. Neither has the place of his birth been precisely ascertained, only he is said to have been born in some part of the county of Norfolk. He received his academical education at the university of Cambridge, where he acquired the learned languages; and, by the instrumentality of the pious Bilney, was also converted to the knowledge of Christ and his gospel.

Lambert, who began to be distinguished for his learning and piety, was soon obliged to save himself, from the outrageous fury of Henry VIII., by retiring to the continent. Accordingly, he went over to Antwerp, where Tyndale and Frith, who seem to have been his confidential friends, had also taken refuge from the violence of the persecution. There he officiated as preacher and chaplain to the English factory in that city,

for nearly two years. But the tenor of his discourses, though admired by the reformers, proved gall and wormwood to the zealots of the Roman church; and one Barlow, in the fervour of his zeal for Rome, lodged an accusation against him with the lord chancellor of England, Sir Thomas More; and poor Lambert was carried a prisoner to London, and handed over to his persecutors in 1532, as an innocent lamb to the callous and cold-blooded butcher. His first examination was taken at Lambeth, by Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards at the bishop's house at Oxford, before a multitude of his adversaries. He was interrogated on forty-five articles; to all of which he replied, at great length, in an animated, powerful, and very learned address, highly honourable both to himself and the noble cause he so triumphantly defended. It is even doubtful, whether a more solid and comprehensive apology for the principles of the reformation can any where be found; its great length exceeds the limits of our plan, otherwise we should have willingly inserted it. The curious reader will find it at large in Fox's Monuments of the reign of Henry VIII. We shall nevertheless give a short extract at the end of his life as a specimen.

Lambert continued in custody till the next year, 1533, in which the archbishop died, and was succeeded by Cranmer; which circumstance, together with the marriage of Anne Boleyn, seem to have been the immediate cause of Lambert's release; which he had no sooner obtained, than he repaired to London, where he became a teacher of the Greek and Latin languages. The aspect of the times induced him to follow this secular employment, in preference to the priesthood; and having resolved to marry, and settle in London, he had proposed to take up the freedom of the city in the grocer's company. But God, who over-rules all the purposes of men according to his own good pleasure, called this eminent individual to act on a more honourable and exalted theatre. Some time in 1538, Lambert having been present at a sermon, preached by Dr. Taylor, who, at that period, was considered rather friendly, as otherwise, to the reformation principles. Lambert, not altogether satisfied with what he had heard, desired a friendly conference with the doctor; in the course of which, he proposed several theological points, on which he wished the doctor's opinion, and particularly that relating to the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament. Taylor, pressed perhaps too close, excused himself for the present, on account of other business; but suggested, that it might better answer the purpose for Lambert to write his opinion on these matters, which they would afterwards talk over at their leisure.

Lambert accordingly proposed ten arguments in writing, for supporting his opinion against transubstantiation; most of which are lost. The first, however, is founded on these words of our Saviour, *This cup is the New Testament*. Now, says Lambert, if these words neither change the cup nor the wine it contains substantially into the New Testament, which nobody asserts, or ever has asserted; then, by a parity of reasoning, the words, *This is my body*, spoken of the bread in the same passage of scripture, do not change it into the real body of Christ. His other nine arguments are said to be equally acute, and the whole supported with abundance of scripture evidence, and quotations from the primitive fathers. Taylor was seriously inclined to satisfy Lambert; but finding himself unable to withstand the force of his reasoning, applied, among others, to Dr. Barnes, a good man, but, like many good men at the dawning of the reformation, in a state of hesitating dubiety with regard to the sacrament of the supper. Under these circumstances, Barnes advised Dr. Taylor to lay the matter before Cranmer, the archbishop, who, at this time, was still an advocate for transubstantiation. Thus Lambert was under the necessity of defending his propositions before a court of bishops, with Cranmer at their head, by which means his sentiments were published to the whole city, the court, and the country.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, ever ambitious of royal favour, thought this opportunity, for insinuating himself into the good graces of the king, was not to be neglected, and accordingly suggested to his majesty the propriety of seizing the propitious moment for silencing the clamours of his subjects, and satisfying his friends, that though he had renounced the Roman authority, he had not thereby abandoned the catholic faith, and that by punishing, with salutary severity, all who dared to set forth doctrines opposed to the faith of the church. Moreover, that Lambert, an obstinate and contumacious heretic, who held the most heretical and blasphemous tenets, and supported them with audacious pertinacity, had thereby subjected himself to the heaviest censures of the canon law, and would prove, by his death, a wholesome example to the nation at large.

Henry caught the bait, and forthwith issued a general ordinance, commanding the immediate appearance of all the nobility and bishops of England, to assist him against increasing heresies and heretics, as he purposed personally to sit in judgment on these important and national concerns.

Such was the apparent solemnity and splendid apparatus of this extraordinary trial, that crowds of spectators arrived from every quarter. The king, attended by a strong guard, made his appearance, and seated himself on a throne prepared for the

occasion. He was arrayed in white garments, emblematical of innocence and impartial justice. On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind him the judges and crown lawyers, all clothed in purple; while, on his left, the peers of the realm, and other officers of the crown, were arranged according to their precedency. The scene was awful and imposing, while the severe looks, the reckless language, and despotic manner of the royal judge, was more than sufficient to sink the courage, and destroy the self-possession of any man, whose confidence was not founded on the promise of an infinitely more powerful Judge.

It were too tedious to enter on the cruel, despotic, and shamefully partial proceedings of this memorable day. The imperious frowns, and bullying threats of the judge; and the mild, but firm and self-possessing deportment of Lambert, has scarcely a parallel, even in the records of catholic cruelty. Lambert defended himself with the firmness of a man, the learning and acuteness of a consummate scholar, and, at the same time, with all that gravity, meekness, and modesty, expected in the demeanour of a christian; but truth was of no avail, the propriety of his conduct, the force of his reasoning, and the captivating power of his eloquence, went all for nothing. His case was predetermined, the tyrant had resolved to destroy him. The king commanded Cromwell to read the cruel sentence of condemnation and death. It was Lambert's peculiar case, not only to become a martyr for the truth, but also to suffer by men who soon after vindicated the same cause, and suffered death for the self-same opinions. Having received his sentence, he seems to have been confined to Cromwell's house, where, it is said, Cromwell asked his forgiveness for what he was compelled to do against him. On the day of his death he breakfasted among Cromwell's gentlemen with cheerfulness; and on his departure to the stake, saluted them with much ease and respect, and was thus led like a lamb to the slaughter.

No man ever suffered more diabolical cruelty at the stake than this evangelical martyr, he was rather roasted than burnt to death; if the fire became stronger, or if the flame reached higher than they chose, it was removed or damped. When his legs were burnt off, and his thighs were reduced to mere stumps in the fire, they pitched his broiling body on pikes, and lacerated his flesh with their halberts. But God was with him in the midst of the flame, and supported his spirit under the anguish of expiring nature. Almost exhausted, he lifted up his hands, such as the fire had left him, and with his last breath, cried out to the people, **NONE BUT CHRIST! NONE BUT CHRIST!** These memorable words, spoken at such a time, and

under such peculiar circumstances, were calculated to make a deeper and more lasting impression on the minds of the spectators, than could have been effected by a volume written on the subject. At last his remains were beat down into the flames, while his triumphant soul “mocked their short arm, and, quick as thought, escaped where tyrants vex not, and the weary rest.”

During his confinement, he wrote a long treatise to the king, in which he apologised for his faith and doctrine; part of which has been preserved in Fox’s Monuments, to which we refer the reader. We shall now, according to promise, extract a few words from his first examination, in order to give the reader some idea of the evangelical principles of this distinguished soldier of Jesus Christ.

On his first examination before archbishop Warham, he was asked, “Dost thou believe, that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity.” Lambert could easily perceive that the question was a trap laid for his life, and answered it with equal prudence and faithfulness. “Unto the first part of your riddle, I neither can, nor will give any definitive answer. Concerning the second part, whether man hath free-will or no to deserve joy or pain: As for our deserving joy, in particular, I think it very little or none, even when we do the very commandments of God. When you have done all that is commanded you, saith our Saviour, say ye be unprofitable servants. When we have done his bidding, we ought not so to magnify neither ourselves or our free-will, but laud him with a meek heart through whose benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleasure. Hence Justin prayeth, *Domine, da quod jubes, et jube quod, viz.* Lord, give what thou commandest, and require what thou wilt. Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as St. Austin, That of ourselves we have no liberty or ability to do the will of God, but are shut up and sold under sin; as both Isaiah and Paul bear witness. But by the grace of God we are rid and set at liberty, according to the portion that every man, that is, every regenerate man, hath received, some more, some less.” He was farther questioned, whether faith alone, without good works, may suffice to the salvation and justification of a man who has fallen into sin after baptism. The martyr answered in the words of Austin, *Opera bona non faciunt justum sed justificatus facit bona opera*, The performance of good works does not justify a man, but the man that is justified performs good works.

## JOHN ROGERS,

*The Proto-martyr under Queen Mary.*

THIS intrepid warrior, under the Captain of our salvation, was the first, in the persecuting reign of Queen Mary, who led the way, by the cross, to the martyr's crown of glory. He had his education at Cambridge, where he soon acquired an eminent proficiency in learning. He was chosen by a company of English merchants, at Antwerp, for their chaplain, to whom he preached for many years in that populous and flourishing city; and having become acquainted with William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale, who had there taken shelter from the persecution in the boisterous reign of Henry VIII., was, by their means, brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. Here he joined hands with these eminent individuals, in forwarding the translation of the holy scriptures, and was thereby so thoroughly convinced of the gross absurdity of the doctrines of the Roman church, that he renounced them for ever. At Antwerp he married, and removed to Wittemberg, still increasing in knowledge, and became such a proficient in the Dutch language, that he was chosen pastor of a congregation in that place; the duties of which office he faithfully discharged for some years, when he was called home by bishop Ridley, in the reign of Edward VI. He was appointed prebendary and divinity lecturer of St. Paul's, where he continued to labour in his Master's vineyard till the accession of Queen Mary. But having preached a sermon in the beginning of that persecuting reign, at Paul's cross, wherein he exhorted his audience to an inflexible adherence to the doctrines they had been taught, and to beware of the idolatry, superstition, and pestilent doctrines of the church of Rome. It was impossible, that zeal so fervent, and at the same time so publicly manifested, could be either concealed or suffered to pass unopposed. Accordingly, he was called before the privy council, where he confirmed his answers by the scriptures, and defended his cause with so much good sense and propriety, that for the present he was dismissed. After the queen's proclamation against preaching was promulgated, he was again called before the popish bishops, who thirsted for his blood, and ordered to remain a prisoner in his own house, where he continued under this sort of imprisonment for six months. From this confinement he might have easily escaped, and to this he had many inducements, having a wife and ten children, and many friends in Germany, with certain preferment awaiting him in that country; but being called upon to appear for the cause of his heavenly Master, he would

not depart, though remaining at the hazard of his life. From his own house he was removed to Newgate, where he was closed up with thieves, robbers, and murderers. At length, on the twenty-second, and several succeeding days of January 1555, he was examined before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and others, where, after many things, the bishop asked him, "What sayest thou? make us a direct answer, whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us, in the state in which we are now?" To this Mr Rogers replied, "My lord, I cannot believe that ye yourselves do think in your hearts, that the pope is the supreme head in the forgiving of sin, &c. as you have now said, seeing you, and all the bishops of the realm, have now, for twenty years long, preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the parliament hath, so long ago, condescended unto it." Here Mr Rogers was interrupted; he was treading on the corns of the clergy, opening up their sores, and exposing that vile hypocrisy, and shameless villany, that interest, honour, and royal favour, had induced the bishops of England to exercise against their stedfast brethren, for avowing and defending the doctrines which they had for so many years preached, and at last so meanly abandoned. But he was not permitted to make any farther defence, either for himself or the doctrines he held forth. Again, on the ninth of the same month, he was called before the bishops, where he was condemned for an heretic, and his sentence pronounced by Gardiner, in the following words:

"In the name of God, *Amen*. We, Stephen, by the permission of God, bishop of Winchester, &c. &c. do find, that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended diverse errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church; as namely these, 'That the catholic church of *Rome* is the church of antichrist; *item*, That in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially, nor really, the natural body and blood of Christ.' We do therefore judge thee, and condemn thee, John Rogers, otherwise called Matthews, thy demerits and faults being aggravated, through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church; and that thou hast been, and art, by law, excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee an excommunicate person. Also, we pronounce and declare, being an heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, by this our sentence definitive, which we here lay upon, and against thee, with sorrow of heart."

On hearing this sentence, Mr Rogers attempted to speak,

but was not permitted. He requested that his wife, a poor stranger, might be permitted to see him before his death. This also was denied him, and she was peremptorily prohibited. When returned to prison, he wrote the questions put by the bishops, on this and the preceding days, with his answers, so far as he had been permitted to speak, and what he intended to have answered, if suffered to proceed. From the great length of this article, we can only admit a short specimen, referring the curious reader to Mr Fox's Martyrology, where it is given at large.

“The bishops,” says he, “cry out, lo, these men will still be a John the Baptist, an apostle, a prophet, &c. I answer, we make not ourselves like unto them in the gifts and power of God, bestowed upon them to the working of miracles; but that we are like them in believing the same doctrine, and in suffering persecution and shame for the same. We preach their very doctrine, and none other: This we are able to prove from their writings, which I have proferred to do again and again by writing. And, for this cause, we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world; suffering the same persecution, to the loss of our goods, and even of our lives; and to the forsaking (as our master Christ commandeth) father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, &c. being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and all-sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice: Who, for us, as well as them, hath pleased the Father, quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins; and, by imputation, hath made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight; although we, of and in ourselves, are polluted with many filthy sins, which, if the measureless unspeakable mercy and love of God in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them to us, would have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual. In this, and in no other sense, do we affirm ourselves to be like Christ our head, his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And so far ought *all* Christians to be like them, according to the measure of faith, and the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit that God hath given unto them.

“But let us now consider, that if it be God's good-will and pleasure to give the members of his beloved church into the hands of their enemies, it is to chasten, try, and prove them, to bring them to an unfeigned acknowledgment of their natural perverseness and disobedience towards God and his commandments, as touching their love of God, their brethren and neighbours; and to shew them their natural inclination and readiness to seek their own ease and pleasure, and to desire that good

from the creature which God has forbid, as only to be found in himself. And in order, that having fallen into gross outward sins, like David, Peter, and others, they may be brought to a true and earnest repentance, and to sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortify and subdue all evil desires and affections in future. And many other wise and gracious purposes of the Lord concerning his people are answered by their being often put into the furnace of affliction. But let us also consider what he doth with those enemies into whose hands he giveth his tender darlings to be chastened and tried. In truth, he does but chasten and cross them for a little while, according to his fatherly love and good pleasure, as all fathers do their children (Heb. xii. and Prov. iii.); but he utterly destroyeth, yea, and everlastingly damneth, their impenitent enemies.

“Let Herod tell me what he got by killing James, and by persecuting Peter, and Christ’s tender darlings and beloved spouse, his church? Verily God thought him not worthy to have death ministered by men or angels, or any other creature, than those small, filthy vermin, lice and worms, which were ordained to destroy his beastly tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, with all their pride and might, must at length let God’s favourite people go freely out of their land, from their bands and cruelty: For when they could obtain nothing but counterfeit mercies, like those of our day\*, namely, extreme cruelties and death, then did God arise, as one awoke out of sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand, and stretched-out arm. When Pharaoh grievously oppressed the poor Israelites with intolerable labours and heavy burdens, his courtiers noised abroad his tender mercies towards them, in suffering them to live in the land, and in setting them to work, that they might get their livings; for, if he should thrust them out of his land, they must be no better than vagabonds and runagates. Have we not the like examples now-a-days? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to the bishop of Winchester’s mercy! I have not time to speak how *merciful* he hath been to me and to my good brethren, and to the duke of Suffolk’s most innocent daughter, and her innocent husband: O that I had time to paint it in its proper colours! but there are many that can do it better than I, who shall live when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues; and his once most flourishing land utterly destroyed, on account of hypocrisy and counterfeit mercy, which was no other than cruelty and abominable tyranny. And think ye, that the bloody

\* Alluding to the hypocritical pretensions of sorrow they were in the habit of expressing for the victims of their inveterate malice.

butcherly bishop of Winchester, and his bloody brethren, shall escape? Or that England, for their offences, and especially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them in it, shall not abide as great brunts? Yes, undoubtedly.

“If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are already sown in it by these hypocritical tyrants and antichristian prelates, papists, and double traitors to their country: And yet they speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and of strengthening the realm! This double dissimulation will appear in the day of the Lord’s visitation, when those crown-shorn captains, who have shewn no mercy to the poor godly sufferers of this realm, shall have judgment without mercy.”

On Monday morning, the 4th of February, Mr Rogers was awakened from a sound sleep by the keeper’s wife, who warned him to make haste in preparing himself for his latter end. If it be so, said he, I need not tie my points. He was then taken before bishop Bonner, who degraded him. Here he requested the bishop that his wife might be allowed to speak with him before he suffered. This small favour being also denied him, he added, you thus evidence the extent of your charity! The hour arrived, Rogers was brought out of Newgate, and delivered up to the sheriff’s of London. One of them said, Mr Rogers, Will you revoke your abominable doctrine, and your evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar? What I have preached, said Mr Rogers, I am ready to seal with my blood. Then thou art an heretic, said the sheriff. That will be known, said Rogers, at the last judgment. Well, said the sheriff, I will not pray for thee. But I will pray for thee, said Mr Rogers; and so proceeded towards Smithfield, reciting the 51st Psalm; while the people, rejoicing at his stedfastness, gave thanks to God for the fortitude with which he inspired him. His wife, with ten children by her side, and one at her breast, met him by the way, being the only opportunity left of ever seeing one another in this life; and though it is difficult even to imagine any thing more tender and affecting than this parting scene, this last adieu to a beloved wife, and so numerous an offspring, all in tears; he stood the shock with the feelings of a father and husband, but with the unshaken confidence of a christian hero. When he came to the stake, having been indulged to speak only a few words, he very briefly admonished the people to hold fast the doctrines he had taught them, and for which he was now about to deliver up his body to the flames, as an evidence of his belief of their truth and infinite importance. He was again offered a pardon on condition of recanting. This he again rejected with

christian magnanimity, and suffered with the most astonishing patience, washing his hands, as it were, in the flames, and ejaculating with his last breath, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.

During the eighteen months that Mr Rogers was held prisoner, he was always cheerful, but intent on pushing forward every thing he undertook. He wrote much, especially his examinations; which were wonderfully preserved, in spite of all the watchful care of his enemies to prevent any of his papers from finding the way from his cell. This is supposed to be one reason for prohibiting his wife or his friends from visiting him in prison. Moreover, they searched his room frequently; and so soon as he left it for Smithfield, it was again subjected to a thorough investigation; but nothing found. They therefore readily permitted his wife and son Daniel to enter the apartment on their return from Smithfield, who looked into every corner; but found nothing, and were coming away, when Daniel observed something in a dark neuk, under a pair of stairs, that attracted his attention; and on exploring it, found his examinations and his other writings, to which the reader has been referred.

Mr Rogers was a man of singular charity to the poor and needy. He agreed with Mr Hooper, and others in prison, to confine themselves to one meal a-day, that the rest might be given to the prisoners on the debtor's side, who were literally starving; but the cruel keeper, it was afterwards discovered, withheld it from them. It was supposed that Hooper and Rogers would be burned together; and with this opinion, Rogers, the Sunday before he suffered, drank to Hooper, whose room was just below, and desired the keeper to tell him, "there never was a little fellow would better stick to a man than he would to Mr Hooper."

Thus died, triumphant in the faith of the blessed gospel, John Rogers, the first martyr who suffered under the tyrannical, but short reign of the bigoted Queen Mary; and by his death demonstrated the reality of the ancient observation, that the blood of the saints is the seed of the church; for instead of being intimidated by the severity of his sufferings, multitudes were encouraged by his magnanimous example; and many, who had no religion, were led to inquire into the cause for which pious, learned, and benevolent men, were so contented to lay down their lives; and thus changed from atheists or catholics, by the grace of God, to the profession of that gospel, which, as it discovered the fallacy of the Romish superstition, so it drew down the most inveterate and merciless resentment of her voluptuous ecclesiastics.

## LAURENCE SAUNDERS.

THIS distinguished individual was descended from an opulent family. He was educated at Eaton, and from thence chosen to king's college in Cambridge, where he prosecuted his studies for three years with the greatest assiduity and success. But his mother, anxious to improve his already affluent fortune, had him engaged as an apprentice to a capital merchant in London. His master, who was a sensible and serious man, soon perceived that Saunders had no relish for mercantile transactions, but that the bias of his inclination leaned to the schools; and presuming, from his apparent piety, and the moral propriety of his life, that God had more important work in reserve for him, freely gave him up his indenture. Upon this agreeable change in the manner of his life, Saunders returned to Cambridge, and proceeded with his studies. He was a man exercised with sore temptations and inward conflicts; but graciously supported by the grace of God under these heavy afflictions; which qualified him, by experience, how to minister comfort to others under similar cases of mental distress. He remained at Cambridge, after he had taken his degree of Master of Arts, for some considerable time; and in the reign of Edward VI. entered into holy orders. He was first appointed lecturer of Fathringhay, and married about the same period. He was afterward made reader in the cathedral of Litchfield, where his labours were blessed of God to the conversion of many to the christian life and manners; while his exemplary conversation, and active exertions in his Master's vineyard, gained him a good report even from his adversaries. After this he was removed to Churchlangton in Leicestershire; and, lastly, to All-hallows in Bread Street, London. He intended to resign his office in Churchlangton; but Mary coming to the throne, he was aware that his room would be filled up with a papist; to prevent which he continued to retain his office. In his way thither from London, he preached at Northampton, where he boldly testified against the errors of the popish religion, which he could easily perceive were about to be restored to the church; warning his audience of the visitation of God that England was threatened with, for her lukewarm indifference in the cause of Christ, and the privileges of his glorious gospel, so plentifully administered amongst them. Foreseeing the evils that were approaching, he applied himself, with more than ordinary diligence, in confirming his people in the truth, and to arm them against the delusions of the Roman idolatry. But the queen's proclamation, prohibiting all such preaching, had

been emitted some time before this; he was accordingly opposed, and finally restrained by open violence. His friends, perceiving the danger to which his faithfulness had subjected him, seriously advised him to leave the kingdom; but to this he would by no means consent, but straightway set out for London to visit his flock in Bread Street. In his way to the metropolis, he was overtaken by the queen's counsellor, Mordaunt, who asked if it was him that preached in Bread Street at such a time? And being answered in the affirmative, was asked, Will you there preach so again? Yes, said Saunders, to-morrow you may hear me there, where I mean to confirm all that I then advanced. I would advise you, said Mordaunt, to forbear. If you forbid me by lawful authority, said Saunders, then I must forbear. Nay, said the other, I shall not forbid thee; so they parted. The next day, being Sunday, he expounded the xith chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians; designing, in the afternoon, to give his people another exhortation; but when he came to church, he was seized by the bishop of London's officer, and carried before him, Mordaunt, and some of the bishop's chaplains.

Bonner charged him with the unpardonable crime of heresy; and to put a better face on this unpopular cause, added to heresy the weighty crimes of sedition and treason; at the same time demanding his opinion, in writing, on the doctrine of transubstantiation; with which he was forced to comply. You seek my life, and you shall have it, said Saunders; and I pray God you may be so baptized in my blood, that you may for ever after loathe such cruel proceedings, and become a better man. Bonner sent him to bishop Gardiner, where he was kept standing at the door of the room, for the space of four hours, uncovered. At length the bishop, returning from court, ordered him into a proper place for examination, where he proceeded in the following manner:

How dare you to preach notwithstanding of the queen's proclamation to the contrary? Mr Saunders replied, because I am commanded by God; yea, woe unto me if I preach not the gospel, and obey the commandments of God in preference to those of men. A goodly conscience, to be sure, said the bishop. Is it not, Saunders, to make our queen a bastard or mis-begotten? I deny the charge. It is not I who go about to make the queen base or mis-begotten; but let them look after the matter, who, to their shame and disgrace, have published the same to the world. This was a sore thrust at the bishop, who had prefaced the book of *True Obedience*, in which Mary was openly declared to be a bastard. We only preach, said Saunders, the word of God, which, though now prohibited to

do, I trust that our blood shall hereafter preach an abundantly more convincing and efficacious sermon. On which the bishop cried out, take away the frantic fool to prison. I thank my God, said Saunders, who has at last given me a place of rest and quietness, where I may pray for the conversion of your lordship.

Mr Saunders was accordingly sent to prison, where he wrote a letter to the bishop of Winchester, in answer to several particulars with which he had charged him. The following is all that has been preserved of said letter.

“Respecting the cause of my imprisonment, I am not aware of having violated any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I have not, inasmuch as by the proclamation we were permitted to preach according to our consciences, and officiate in such services as were then established. My doctrine was according to my conscience, and the services were such as were then used in the church. Nor could my expounding the scriptures, in my own church at Bread Street, impartially considered, amount to the least breach; but, at all events, not to a wilful breach of said proclamation, seeing I caused no bells to be rung, occupied no place in the pulpit after the order of the regular service. But granting that the proclamation had been violated to the full amount of the charge made against me, the long imprisonment I have suffered is surely more than adequate to the offence. Touching the heresies with which I am charged, I answer, with Paul, this I confess, that after the way which you call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers; and herein I endeavour to keep a conscience void of offence, both towards God and man. Yes, my lord, I have a conscience, and that conscience is not satisfied with illusive fantasies, or my faith founded on the ordinances of men, but on the verity of the written word of God, who cannot lie, and the testimony of his church built on the same foundation.

“The sheep of Christ’s pasture can readily distinguish the voice of their shepherd from that of wolves, hirelings, and strangers; and knowing their Shepherd by his voice, him only will they follow, and that wherever he chooses to lead them. The wolf may appear in masquerade, he may dress himself in sheep’s clothing; but his very voice betrays him to be a wolf in spite of all his hypocrisy. That the Romish religion is ravenous and wolfish, appears from a number of considerations; but especially from their idolatrous worshipping of beings that be no gods, their tyrannical assumptions over the rights of conscience, and their masses for the souls of the quick and the dead, whereby they crucify the Son of God afresh, and, in place of honouring, put him to an open shame. Having therefore weighed the

Romish religion in the balance of God's verity, and found it wanting in its most essential points, and in others superfluous, the foundation false, and the superstructure vain; I adhere to that church, the foundation stone of which is Christ, whose only head, lord, and lawgiver is Christ, who feeds his flock like a shepherd, and, as Captain of their salvation, protects them from the secret frauds and open violence of all their enemies. And having thus cast in my lot amongst the humble followers of the Lamb, and joined the standard of my adorable Lord, I may not, and, by the help of his grace, *I will not* relinquish my place, nor betray my Commander, be the cost and consequences what they may."

Mrs Saunders could not be admitted to see her husband while in prison. The goaler, however, on one occasion carried her child into his father. Some who were standing by, admiring the child, Mr Saunders said, he had rather have such a boy than be master of two thousand pounds. They urge me to recant, said he; and by so doing I must bastardise my son, make my wife a whore, and myself a whoremonger! What man, that fears God, would not rather suffer death? If there were no more cogent reasons for a man of my estate losing his life, yet who would not give it to avouch the legitimacy of this child, and the honour of holy matrimony? After having remained in prison fifteen months, Mr Saunders was brought before the queen's council, and examined by bishop Gardiner, Bonner, and others, in the following manner:

*Gardiner.* It is well known, that the abominable heresies, and false doctrines you have disseminated, was the only cause of your imprisonment, and it is now thought expedient that mercy be extended to such as seek mercy; wherefore, if you will now conform to the established rule, mercy is at hand. We must acknowledge we have all of us fallen; but now we are risen again, and received into the holy catholic church. You must therefore rise with us, and come home from your unhappy wanderings. Give us your answer explicitly?

*Saunders.* My lord, if it please your honour, give me leave to speak with deliberation.

*Gard.* Leave off your painting and rhetorical flourishes; you are all of you smit with the humour of pleasing yourselves with lofty words and high sounding epithets. Answer yea or nay.

*Saund.* My lord, the present is no time for me to paint and polish my discourse, nor have I any cause to be proud. My learning, I confess, is but small, and my wealth is reduced to nothing; nevertheless, it behoves me to answer your queries with caution, exposed, as I am, to the danger of either losing my life, or sacrificing the peace and purity of my conscience;

and, to tell you the truth, I am in love with both life and liberty, if these can be obtained without violating my conscience.

*Gard.* Conscience! you have no conscience but pride and arrogancy. Your schism from the church is merely the effect of your ambition, for being distinguished by a hypocritical singularity.

*Saund.* God knows the consciences of all men, and in place of being a separatist to gratify my ambition, I deny the charge of at all separating from the church. I hold the same principles, preach the same doctrines, and govern my life by the same maxims, acknowledged in the church of England. When I was fourteen years of age, I was taught that the pope of Rome was an usurper, and the Roman church a mass of corruption and errors; which doctrines I have even received from your hands now present, as a matter agreed upon by the church, and confirmed by public authority.

*Gard.* Yea, marry. But pray, have you also received your heretical sentiments, concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, from consent and authority of the church and the state?

*Saund.* My lord, it is assuredly less offensive to cut off an hand, arm, or joint of a man, than to cut off his head, seeing he may live without one of these; but what man can live without his head? But you formerly agreed, all of you, to cut off the head of the Roman church, and now again you are for restoring it.

*Bishop of London.* My lord, I have his own hand-writing against the blessed sacrament. What say you to that Saunders?

*Saund.* What I have written, I have written, and further I will not accuse myself. You cannot charge me with the breach of any of your laws since they were in force.

*Gard.* Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty.

*Saund.* I may not purchase liberty at such a price. But I beseech your honour to obtain such a pardon for us from the queen, as will enable us to live without having our consciences clogged, and we will live as most obedient subjects. If this cannot be granted, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the extremity of your resentment, rather than act against the light of my conscience.

*Gard.* Ah, sirrah! you will live as you list. The Donatists affected a singularity of life; but indeed they were not fit to live upon the earth, neither are you, and that you shall know within these seven days. Away with him!

*Saund.* Welcome the will of God, be it life or death. I can tell you, with confidence, that I have learned to die. I would nevertheless exhort you to beware of shedding innocent blood. Truly it will cry aloud to heaven for vengeance against you.

Mr Saunders was now removed to another apartment, to wait till some others were examined. Here finding a great number of people, he upbraided them with their defection from the cause of Christ, and earnestly entreated them to return to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls; and in defiance of anti-christ, sin, death, and the devil, to confess him before a perverse generation, and so live in the love, fear, and favour of God, and at peace with their own consciences. He was taken to the prison in Bread Street, out of which he preached to his parishioners, as he had formerly done out of his pulpit.

On the 4th of February the bishop of London went to his prison and degraded him. On being stript of his clerical habiliments, he said, I thank God I am none of your church. Next morning the sheriff of London delivered him up to a party of the queen's guard, who had been appointed to conduct him to Coventry, where he was ordered to be burned. The first night they halted at St. Albans, where they were met by Mr Grimoald, a man of greater learning than fortitude or stedfastness; to whom, after reproving his unfaithfulness in the cause of Christ, he said, Will you pledge me out of this cup which I am about to drink? Grimoald, shrugging up his shoulders, replied, Out of that cup in your hand I will pledge you with all my heart; but out of that other which you mean, I will not promise you. Well, said Saunders, my dear Lord and Redeemer drank for me an exceedingly more bitter cup, And shall I not pledge my gracious Saviour? Yes, I hope I shall. At Coventry he was lodged among the common prisoners, where he spent the greater part of the night in prayer, and in instructing or exhorting those about him. Here he said to a friend, I am the most unfit person that ever was called to perform the duties of this exalted office; but I trust my dear Father and tender-hearted Redeemer, who knows my weakness, will vouchsafe to afford me all necessary strength and resolution.

The next day, being the 8th of February 1555, he was led to the place of execution, which was without the city. On his way, and within sight of the dreadful apparatus, the officer commanding told him, that notwithstanding the errors he had disseminated, and all he had done to disturb the realm, and mar the queen's government, he had a pardon for him in his pocket, which, upon his recantation, would be granted him with much pleasure. To this Saunders replied, It is not I, nor my fellow-labourers in the work of the gospel, but yourself, and such as you are, that disturb the realm, and mar the queen's government. I hold no heresies, but preach the ever-blessed gospel of Jesus Christ. It is that I hold, it is that I believe, it is that I have taught, and that, be assured, I will never renounce.

Away with him, was the only reply; and Mr Saunders proceeded with much apparent comfort and resolution. On reaching the fatal place, he kneeled down and prayed; after which, taking the stake to which he was to be chained in his arms, he kissed it, saying, Welcome the cross of Christ, Welcome ye faggots and ye flames destined to consume my mortal body; but which, in place of hurting, shall only serve to raise this immortal spirit to the mansions of glory and life everlasting. He was fastened to the stake, and the fire kindled; but the wood was green, which cruelly prolonged his torments, but at the same time verified the promise of God, that his grace shall be sufficient for his people, and his strength made perfect in their weakness. And this holy man, after enduring these lingering torments with more than human fortitude and resignation, sweetly fell asleep in Jesus.

In the beginning of Mary's reign, Mr Saunders and Dr. Pendleton meeting one day, the conversation turned on the aspect of the times, and the great probability of a cruel persecution. Saunders seemed timid and fearful that he might not have fortitude to stand the severe trial to which their faithfulness were likely to be exposed. What, man! said Pendleton, I have much more reason to be afraid than you, I have a large fat body, yet will I see the last drop of this grease of mine melted away, and the last particle of this my flesh consumed to ashes, before I forsake Jesus Christ and his truth, which I have professed and preached. It was not long, however, till both were put to the trial, when the fearful and doubting Saunders, by the grace of God, sealed his testimony with his blood; while the self-sufficient Pendleton fell away and turned papist. So true it is, that the most confident in themselves are generally the first to shrink from a suffering lot, and make shipwreck of their faith and profession.

The letters written by this faithful martyr are numerous. The following extract will serve to show the temper and mind of this resolute contender for the faith of the saints.

*Extract from one of Mr Saunders' Letters.*

“ My dear wife, and ye the rest of my friends, rejoice with me, I say rejoice, and be exceeding thankful for this my present promotion; that I, a most unworthy creature, should have been honoured to bear witness for the truths of my God, not only with these slow and uncircumcised lips, in proclaiming his message of mercy to perishing men, but also and especially that I have been accounted worthy to seal his testimony with my blood, to the honour of my Redeemer, and the confirmation of his true church. I am a prisoner, but enjoy the

liberty of the sons of God. I am alone, but Christ is my companion in tribulation, my friend that sticketh closer than a brother; his presence fills my cup of consolation, that it runs over, insomuch, that I testify unto you, that my present comforts, and glorious anticipations, have driven from my mind and imagination all the terrors of death and the grave. Were Christ to hide his countenance from me, alas! I know what would be my poor condition; but should he thus, to try me, hide himself, I am assured he will not be long, or far away. Though he stand behind the wall, as Solomon says in his mystical song, yet will he peep in by the hole in the door to see how I do. Like Joseph, though he should speak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly; yea, should he even threaten his best beloved brother Benjamin with grievous bondage, yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us, and upon us; from falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is Christ; wherefore come unto him, as Jacob did with his family; for Christ has so ordered matters, that Pharaoh, the blaspheming infidel, shall afford chariots to transport us to his heavenly kingdom. Witness how our very persecutors help us to a premature felicity, by the blood-thirsty despatch they make in executing their inveterate malice.

“Be not afraid of the dangers that crowd the path of holiness. Fear God, tremble at the thought of everlasting burnings. Fear sin, the sting of death, terrible to all who are unacquainted with Christ, the destroyer of death, and him that has the power of it. And, oh, my dear wife and friends, we, we whom God hath delivered from the power and prison of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of his dear Son, poor, despised, insulted, and persecuted as we are, even we have a glorious triumph yet in reserve, when the God of peace shall bruise satan, sin, death, hell, and damnation, under our feet, when we shall join with all those whom he has ransomed from the power of the grave, and redeemed from death, in the triumphant exclamation of the apostle, ‘Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory?’

“Wherefore, be merry, my dear wife, be merry, and all my dear fellow-heirs of the everlasting kingdom. Remember the Lord always; rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be, unto our heavenly Father, an acceptable sacrifice. I can hardly find opportunity to write you; wherefore, let these few words be witness of my commendations to you, and all them that love us in the faith of the gospel, particularly my poor flock. Be not careful, good wife, but cast all your cares on God, and commend me to him in your prayers; and in the

lively hope of being joined with you in joy everlasting. Farewell, dear wife; farewell, friends, dearly beloved in Christ. This hope is shut up in my bosom. Amen, amen, amen. Pray, pray."

## JOHN HOOPER,

*Bishop of Gloucester.*

THIS very learned divine was born in Somersetshire, 1495. He was sent to Merton college, Cambridge, in 1514, about eighteen years of age, where he received his academical education under the tuition of his uncle John Hooper. He was admitted Bachelor of Arts, which was the highest degree he took at this university. What became of him from this time, for several years after, is uncertain. Some say he became a Cistercian monk, and continued so for some few years; but tired of a monastic life, he returned to Oxford, where he was converted by the writings of the German reformers, and became a zealous protestant.

In 1539, when the statute of the six articles was put in execution, he left Oxford, and became chaplain and steward to Sir Thomas Arundale, a gentleman of Devonshire, and a Roman catholic, who discovering that his chaplain was a reformer, declined being his protector; which obliged him to fly to France. Here he continued among the Hugonots, till his dislike of some of their proceedings induced him to return to his own country; where he was known, and soon found it impossible to remain in safety. Accordingly he assumed the dress and character of a sailor, hired a boat, passed into Ireland, from thence into Holland, and onward to Switzerland. Bullenger had, by this time, succeeded Zuinglius in the chair. He too had been forced into exile for the same cause, and therefore gave a very friendly reception to this persecuted stranger, who was famed for his great proficiency in the Greek and Hebrew languages. During his residence at Zurich, Hooper, by the advice of his friend Bullenger, married a Burgundian lady. But the accession of Edward VI. to the throne, and the happy consequences of that event, removing his apprehensions of danger, he once more set his face towards England; where he arrived in safety, and settled in the metropolis. Here he preached to the people on various points contended for by the reformers, particularly on the impropriety of pluralities in the church. He possessed a singular sweetness of temper, and was highly respected by the reformers, particularly such as inclined to the presbyterian form

of government in the church. Hooper's residence among foreigners, where the presbyterian form of government was generally admitted, had given his mind a strong bias to that mode of discipline. He made the avoiding of all manner of superstition a matter of conscience, but was blamed for running into the opposite extreme, by opposing usages, which he himself acknowledged to be matter of indifference in themselves, and only became important in consequence of the injunctions of superiors. He was perfectly agreed with Cranmer and Ridley in the main points of the reformation, and equally zealous for its promotion; but having gone beyond their more limited views, they seem to have been doubtful of his principles. Hooper, however, was a worthy and conscientious man, had an unblemished reputation, but singularly averse to every thing that had the appearance of useless pageantry and parade. He was a person of noble parts, singularly versed in the learned languages, a good philosopher, but a far greater theologian; considered, however, by his adversaries, too rigid a disciplinarian. He was now appointed chaplain to the duke of Somerset, and most probably treated with more severity on that account, after his patron came to lose the protectorship. In 1549 he accused bishop Bonner, who was deprived of his bishoprick. This rendered him obnoxious to the government of Queen Mary.

After Hooper had practised himself some time in his popular mode of preaching, he was called to preach before the king, who, in 1550, made him bishop of Gloucester; and about two years thereafter gave him the bishoprick of Worcester, to keep along with the former in commendam. The earl of Warwick recommended him to this preferment, as a man possessed of all the qualifications required by Paul in a good bishop.

It was customary, at this time, for the bishops of England to wear the same, or similar garments, to those worn by the Romish clergy:—a chymere, and under it a white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, representing the world divided into four equal parts. These sacerdotal vestments Hooper considered as worse than useless, having been chiefly invented for the celebration of the mass, and used in that idolatrous service, he refused to wear them. Cranmer defended the vestments, on the ground that they were indifferent things in themselves, and having been long used in the church, and admitted by the church of England, it became necessary that Hooper should conform to the law. Hooper absolutely refused a rochet; and Cranmer would not consecrate him without one. But the earl of Warwick, whose influence at court was, at that time, very powerful, wrote to the archbishop, requesting him not to insist on these ceremonies with Hooper, nor charge him

with an oath burdensome to his conscience. Some have conceived this to be the oath of supremacy; others, with greater probability, think it refers to the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop, which naturally, at least in the present case, regarded the ceremonies in question. Warwick likewise prevailed on the king to write Cranmer on the same subject; which he did to the following effect: That he, the king, had chosen Hooper to the bishoprick of Gloucester, in consideration of his great learning, deep judgment, and long study, both in the scriptures and other profound sciences, which, together with his ready utterance, great discretion and honest life, peculiarly fitted him for such a vocation. Understanding also that certain ceremonies, used in the consecration to the office of bishop, are offensive to his conscience, and that you hesitate to let them pass on the present occasion, lest you should fall in premunere of law; we have thought good, therefore, to dispense and discharge you from all dangers, pains, and forfeitures, for so omitting any of said ceremonies. This letter was dated Augt. 1550, and signed by the duke of Somerset and five other lords of council. But Cranmer insisted that Hooper should conform; and, in the meantime, debarred him from preaching, while the council confined him to his own house. After many arguments had been used on both sides, Hooper published a confession of his faith, wherein he complained of the privy council; upon which he was committed to the custody of the archbishop, who endeavoured in vain to wean him from his singularities. After this, he was, by an order of the council, lodged in the Fleet prison, where he remained till some time the following year. At last Hooper was deserted by his protector, the earl of Warwick, and brought before the council to explain himself on the difficulties he had started. Here he strongly objected to the oath to which his conformity would subject him, inasmuch as every oath ought to be sworn in the name of God, and of him alone; whereas that by which he was to be consecrated, was to be done in the name of God, the saints, and holy gospels. The king allowed that Hooper was in the right, and struck out the obnoxious words with his own hand, with a declaration, that an oath ought to be taken in the name of no creature whatsoever. The matter of the vestments was then compromised; Hooper was to wear them at his consecration, when he preached before the king, in his own cathedral, and on all public occasions; other ceremonies were dispensed with. On these terms he was consecrated in the usual form, but lost much of his popularity by his acquiescence. This squabble introduced a controversy into the church of England, which, in place of subsiding, has increased with its years, and driven a large proportion of the people away from the dominant religion.

Thus Hooper was at last consecrated bishop of Gloucester; from which time forward he neglected the use of no means, within his reach, to train up his flock in the fear of God, and in the knowledge of the gospel of his grace. To the poor he was a powerful protector, and an hospitable benefactor. He preached the word of truth in season and out of season; was indefatigable in rebuking, comforting, and instructing the people, and regarded with universal love and esteem.

In 1553 the good king Edward died, and the protestant religion in England was totally subverted. Hooper was one of the first sent for by Queen Mary to answer for his conduct in accusing her favourite bishop Bonner. In this precarious state of things, Hooper was advised to make his escape, but having determined to meet the storm, he replied, that once before he had taken to his heels, but that now he had resolved to remain, and live or die with his sheep. Accordingly he was brought to London by a pursuivant, and had a very unchristian reception from the bishop of Winchester, who committed him to prison in the Fleet. Here he remained several months, during which he was several times examined and admonished to recant, but held fast to the profession of his faith without wavering. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Ferrar, were imprisoned about the same time; while the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Bristol, Chester, and St. Davids, were deprived of their benefices for being married. The sees of Lincoln, Hereford, and Gloucester, were declared vacant, because these bishops, according to the new doctrine, had misbehaved.

And now the queen's new council began to proceed with vigour to put down what they called heresy, and to punish, according to the usage of the Roman church, all obstinate heretics; when Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were despatched to the convocation at Oxford, on the pretence of disputing with some of their members; where they all suffered martyrdom.

The council having carried their purpose, on this occasion, so much to their own satisfaction, several bishops, and other eminent clergymen confined in Newgate, the Fleet, and the King's Bench prison, were intended for the victims of a similar stratagem to be played off at Cambridge; but the prisoners emitted a declaration, signed by Hooper, Ferrar, Coverdale bishop of Exeter, and seven divines, stating that they would not dispute unless by writing, excepting before the queen and her council, or one of the houses of parliament. To this declaration they added a summary of their belief, for which, they farther declared, that they were ready to offer their lives to the halter or the flames, as it might please God to appoint. This bold measure put an end to all future conferences in religion;

their enemies, however, found other more efficacious means to silence them.

It were endless, as well as unpleasant, to enumerate the hardships, deprivations, expulsions, examinations, and imprisonments to which the protestants, clergy and laity, women and men, were now subjected. The parliament supported the government, which drove on with more fury than good policy or discretion; and nothing was now to be heard but oratorical rant and florid declamations in favour of good old holy mother church, nothing to be seen on the streets but popish pageants, and pillories occupied by protestants. But all these pompous exhibitions could not amuse, nor could their severities terrify or damp the spirit of the people.

Gardiner cheerfully undertook the execution of the laws against heretics; but the council, finding that the people were neither to be terrified nor cajoled out of their religion, determined to sacrifice the most popular of their preachers, as the first examples of what others had to expect, who held out against the Roman faith; and that Hooper, the most obnoxious to government, and perhaps also the most popular, should be made the leading sacrifice.

He was called before the council, in consequence of this arrangement, on the 21st January 1555, where he was offered a pardon, not as bishop of Gloucester, but as John Hooper, clerk, providing he would acknowledge his heresies, recant and return to the bosom of the apostolic church. Hooper, on refusing to comply with the terms proposed, was charged with three articles of heresy, relating to marriage and divorce, and particularly with denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar. He owned the charges brought against him, but offered to defend himself against all or any that would maintain the contrary doctrine. He behaved, on this occasion, with the greatest propriety towards the bishops; who nevertheless treated him with unmannerly scurrility, and remanded him to prison.

As none had been more active or successful than Hooper in promoting the cause of reformation, he had thereby incurred the personal hatred of the popish and blood-thirsty bishops of London and Winchester; but he braved their malice, and in the face of every danger openly avowed his sentiments, and conducted himself with all the constancy of a primitive martyr. He kept up a correspondence with several of the protestants abroad, particularly with Bullenger, to whom he sent his wife Anne and her children. Bullenger wrote him a long letter from Zurich, dated October 10th, 1554, wherein he requests Hooper to commend him to the most reverend fathers and confessors of Christ, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, exhorting

them all to be strong in the Lord, to fight a good fight, and be faithful to the end, inasmuch as they had Christ for their captain, and all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, for their fellow-soldiers. On the 22d of January he was again brought before the commissioners, where he was required to acknowledge the pope as head of the church. This he refused to do, seeing the pope taught a doctrine in every respect contrary to, and subversive of, that taught by Christ, who was the only foundation, corner, and cope stone of God's building of mercy, the true church of Christ, who heareth the voice of her own husband, and his only, but listeneth not to the voice of strangers. He was ordered back to the Fleet, and brought before them again on the 28th, together with Mr John Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and reader of St. Paul's. They were both examined, and ordered to be brought back next morning, in hopes that the awful sentence, with which they were threatened, might induce them to relent; but they had not so learned Christ. On their way to the Compter, whither they were conducted by the sheriff of London, Hooper said to Rogers, Come, brother Rogers, must we two lead the way in this affair, and be the first to fry these faggots? Yes, sir, said Rogers, I think we must, and by God's grace we will. Fear not, said Hooper, but God will give grace sufficient for the occasion.

Next morning they were brought before the commissioners, who sat in judgment in St. Mary Overy's church, where Hooper, who would by no means yield to their proposal of pardon, was condemned to be degraded, and sent to the Clink, a prison near to Gardiner's house; from whence he was, that same night, removed to Newgate, where he was kept close prisoner for six days.

As he was guarded along the streets, the people prayed for him, and dared to express their approbation of his integrity at the risk of their own safety, in the face of his enemies and persecutors. During the few days that Hooper remained in Newgate, Bonner and his chaplains paid him several visits, using all means to recover him to the faith of their own church. They offered him wealth and preferment; which he rejected with scorn; and finding him inflexible, they meanly endeavoured to ruin his reputation amongst the reformers, by spreading a report that he had given in his recantation. This at last reaching his ears, the good man was exceedingly grieved, and on the 2d of February, wrote a letter, assuring the world that the report was utterly groundless, that the more he had been persecuted, the more he was confirmed in the protestant faith; and that having heretofore taught the truths of God, and defended them both by his tongue and pen, so, in a short time, he would, by the grace of his Saviour, seal them with his blood.

Bonner came to Newgate to perform the ceremony of degradation on Hooper, who was designated a presbyter, as it seems the appellation of bishop was considered, by these bloody monsters, an epithet too honourable for one who despised the holy vicar of Christ. Here Bonner, by his definitive sentence, pronounced him an open, obstinate, and incorrigible heretic, and as such to be degraded from his order, and for these his demerits delivered over to the secular power. Rogers was degraded at the same time; and, as we have already seen, died a martyr at Smithfield; but the sapient bishop of Winchester was determined, since he had failed in his endeavours to convert Hooper to his own religion, he should at least terrify the hearers of his doctrine by the severity of his torments; with this view he was appointed to be burnt in his own diocese. But the bishop was miserably disappointed, for the composure, fortitude, and dignified serenity with which he suffered, served to confirm the faith of the spectators, and convince them, that the cause for which such a learned and wise man could so cheerfully relinquish the honours and affluence of the world, and thus submit to a death of all others the most inconceivably tormenting, must be good.

In the order for his removal and execution at Gloucester, the sheriff is directed to call in people of respectability to assist at the execution; farther adding, that as the prisoner was a vain-glorious person, as all heretics are, that he should not be permitted to speak at large, neither on the road nor at the place of execution. He was highly pleased that his death had been appointed to take place at Gloucester, that those who heard his doctrines while living, might witness his sealing their veracity with his blood, not doubting but the Lord would enable him to finish his service like a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

On the 5th of February, in the morning, while it was yet dark, he was brought to Fleet Street, where a body of the queen's guard received and escorted him to Gloucester. There he found all the citizens assembled to see him, who expressed their sorrow for his situation in tears of bitter lamentation. Next morning some of his friends were permitted to see him, amongst whom was Sir Anthony Kingston, who found the good bishop at his prayers, and burst into tears, while he thus addressed him. I understand you are brought here to die; but, alas! sir, consider that life is sweet, and death bitter; and seeing life can be obtained, accept of it for the present, hereafter it may do much good. I am indeed come here to suffer death, said Hooper, because I will not gainsay the truths I have formerly taught in this diocese and elsewhere. I do not so much regard this death, nor so highly esteem this life, but that I

have finally resolved, through the strength of God's holy Spirit, to pass through the torments of the fire prepared for me, rather than deny the truths of his word. The same night he was committed to the sheriffs of Gloucester, who, together with the mayor and aldermen, attended him with great respect. He thanked them for their civility, and requested the sheriff that there might be a quick fire, that the business might be short. I am not come here, said he, like one constrained to die; it is well known I had the offer, not only of life, but also wealth and preferment; but I am come willingly to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked and papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received, set forth, and supported by the magistrates of England to the dishonour and high displeasure of God; and I trust to-morrow I shall die a faithful servant of Christ, and a loyal subject to the queen. He was not carried to the common jail, but lodged in the house of Mr Robert Ingram, where he spent the night in devotion. About eight next morning, the commissioners appointed to superintend the execution came to the house, and at nine the bishop was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who led him betwixt them to the stake. It was market-day, and about seven thousand people assembled; which observing, alas! said he, Why are all these people here? Perhaps they expect to hear something of what they have heard from me in time past; but, alas! my mouth is now closed for ever, I am prohibited from uttering a word that can be of any service. But they know the cause for which I suffer. While I was their pastor, I preached and taught them the true and sincere doctrines of the word of God; and because I will not now declare the same to be heresy and a lie has this death been prepared for me. He was dressed in a gown of his landlord's, with a hat on his head, and a staff in his hand; as the sciatica, which he had contracted in prison, made him halt. He looked very pleasantly on such persons as he knew; but the multitude mourned for him all the way. When he came to the stake, which was opposite the college of Priests where he used to preach, he beheld the dreadful preparations with the utmost composure. When the iron work was brought, he desired them to take it away, saying, I doubt not that God will give me strength to abide the extremity of the fire without binding. The place was surrounded with spectators, and the priests of the college were in the chamber over the college gate. Thus denied the liberty of addressing the people, the bishop kneeled down to prayer, and beckoned to Mr Bridges, whom he knew, to hear it; which he did with great attention, and afterwards reported, that it was made on the whole creed, wherein he continued about half-an-hour, and declared his faith

in the form of a prayer; in the middle of which a box was laid before him on a stool, containing his pardon from the queen if he would recant. So soon as the bishop understood what lay before him, he cried out, If ye love my soul, away with it, away with it! He was then permitted to proceed in prayer, which he concluded with these words, "Lord, I am hell, but thou art heaven. Thou art a gracious and merciful Redeemer, have mercy therefore upon me a most miserable and wretched offender, according to thy great mercy and inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven, receive me to be a partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. Thou knowest for what I am come hither to suffer, and that the wicked persecute thy poor servant, not for my sins and transgressions against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings to the contaminating of thy blood, and the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, in which it pleased thee, by thy holy Spirit, to instruct me. Being thereunto called, with all the diligence so poor a creature could, thou knowest I have set forth thy glory. Thou seest, O my God, what terrible torments are prepared for thy poor creature, even such, O Lord, as none can patiently endure without thy strength; but what is impossible with man, is possible with thee. Strengthen me therefore in thy goodness, that I break not the rules of patience, or assuage the terror of pain, as shall seem fittest for thy glory."

Having concluded his prayer, the bishop prepared himself for the fire, by undressing to the shirt, which he trussed between his legs. A flood of tears gushed from the eyes of the sorrowing multitude when they beheld him fastening to the stake. He pointed out the place where he wished the executioner to fire the faggots, which were soon kindled, but burnt badly; and the wind blowing away the flame, prevented it from rising so as to suffocate or destroy his vitals; and notwithstanding that additional faggots were brought, still the wind carried aside the flame, which occasioned him a lingering and most excruciating death. He lived in the fire for almost three quarters of an hour; and, according to Mr Fox, without moving forward, backward, or to any side, till his under parts were consumed, and his bowels falling out; and even after one of his hands had dropped off, he continued to beat his breast with the other; nor ceased to pray and exhort the people, till his tongue, swoln with the violence of his agony, became incapable of utterance. During this terrible trial of faith and patience, he frequently cried out, Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me; and the last words he was heard to utter were, Lord Jesus receive my spirit.

Thus perished, in the flames of a relentless popish persecution, John Hooper, the pious and learned bishop of Gloucester, on the 9th of February 1555, and in the sixtieth year of his age. An active promoter of the reformation, a good-natured man, and an exemplary christian, who in his life exposed the corruptions of the Romish church, and by his triumphant death discovered the weakness of her arm, and the impotence of her sanguinary malice.

The following sentiments are part of a letter written by Hooper while in prison.

“Imprisonment is painful, but liberty, on ill conditions, is worse. The prison stinks, yet not so much as the sweet houses where the fear of God is wanting. I must be alone and solitary; it is better so to be, and have God with me, than to be in bad company. The loss of goods is great, but the loss of grace and the favour of God is greater. I cannot tell how to answer before great men, and learned men; yet is it better to do that, than to stand naked before God’s tribunal. I shall die by the hands of cruel men; but he is blessed who loseth his life, and findeth life eternal. There is neither felicity nor adversity in the world that is great, if it be weighed with the joys and pains of the world to come.”

He wrote twenty-four books and treatises while in prison, also, on the Sacrament, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. The rest of his works are chiefly the following: An Answer to Gardiner’s Book, entitled, A Detection of the Devil’s Sophistry.—A Declaration of Christ and his Offices.—Lesson of the Incarnation of Christ.—Sermons on Jonas.—A Godly Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith.—Homily, to be read in the time of the pestilence. All these were wrote from 1549 to 1553; and he afterwards wrote *Epistola ad Episcopos*, and an Exhortation to Patience, sent to his wife.—Sentences, wrote in prison.—Comfortable Expositions of the xxiii. lxii. and lxxiii. Psalms.—Annotations on the xiiiith chapter of the Romans.—Twelve Lectures on the Creed.—Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments of Almighty God.—He also translated Tertullian’s Second Book to his Wife, concerning the choice of a husband.



### ROWLAND TAYLOR, D. D.

HADLEY, in Suffolk, was one of the first towns in England that received the doctrines of the reformation. Mr Thomas Bilney, who suffered in the reign of Henry VIII., had for

some time been engaged in preaching the gospel in this town and neighbourhood, where, by the blessing of God on his indefatigable labours, the truths of Christ took such hold of the consciences of men, that an astonishing alteration was soon effected throughout that parish, both with regard to faith and manners. The people became exceedingly well acquainted with the scriptures, women and men, and had their children and servants brought up with such care, and so diligently instructed in the truths of the gospel, that in a short time the whole town seemed rather an university of learned men, than a town of industrious mechanics.

Rowland Taylor, the subject of the present memoir, a doctor both in civil and canon law, was rector of this parish. He is said to have possessed the piety of Calvin, with the intrepidity of Luther, and all that was orthodox in both these great men. The doctor was no sooner presented to the benefice of Hadley, than he repaired to his post, and resided amongst his parishioners, notwithstanding that he had the happiness of living with archbishop Cranmer at Lambeth. In the exercise of his office as a pastor, he not only laboured abundantly in the preaching of the word, but as becomes a shepherd of the flock of Christ, he was such an example to all, in word and conversation, in spirit, faith, and purity, that in a short time the people resorted to him in their difficulties, as children do to their father. To the poor who were blind, lame, sick, or aged and infirm, he acted the part of a tender father, a careful patron, and a diligent provider. The rich he stirred up to make a general provision for them, to which he made liberal contributions. He was naturally of a modest and unassuming disposition, but bold in reproving sin, without respecting the person of even the greatest and most powerful. In this way the doctor continued to discharge the duties of his office, and conduct his flock through the thorny thickets of this evil world, all the days of good king Edward. But Queen Mary having mounted the throne, and restored the catholic religion, one Foster and John Clark, of Hadley, had concerted between them a plan which they conceived would ingratiate them with the men in power. This was to erect an altar in Dr. Taylor's church, for the purpose of publicly celebrating mass. With this view, they engaged John Averth, minister of Aldam, a dissembling papist, to bring the popish implements and garments, and a band of armed papists, as a protecting guard while he officiated as priest. They proceeded to Hadley church in a body and rang the bell; which Dr. Taylor hearing while sitting in his study, thought it some parish business that required his attendance, and accordingly went to church, where, to his utter astonishment, he saw

Averth dressed off with all his popish habiliments, and a broad newly shaven crown, ready to commence his idolatrous sacrifice; whom the doctor thus addressed: "Thou devil, who made thee so bold to enter into this church to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry? I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid hence, and not presume thus to poison Christ's flock." To which Foster replied, "Thou traitor, what doest thou here to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?" After some farther altercation, the doctor was thrust out of the church, and a letter addressed to the chancellor, lodging in his court many false and grievous charges against this good man.

The chancellor had no sooner read these charges, than he sent letters missive to Dr. Taylor, commanding his appearance before him against a certain day, to answer, on his allegiance, to the complaints laid against him. On learning the critical situation of the doctor, his friends entreated him to fly for his life, as they had no reason to hope either for justice or mercy. To such friendly entreaties he replied, I know my cause to be so good, and the truth so strong on my behalf, that I shall, by the help of God, appear before them, and to their face resist their false doings; for I believe I shall never again have an opportunity of rendering God and his church so essential service, nor so glorious a call, to witness for the truth of the gospel; therefore pray for me, and I trust that God will so strengthen me by his Spirit, that mine enemies shall be ashamed of their evil proceedings. And when they farther urged him, that christians were admonished by Christ, when persecuted in one city, to flee to another; and that, by preserving his life, he might reserve his usefulness for better times; he replied, I am old, and have already lived too long to see the abominations that have come upon us, the perjury, hypocrisy, and cruelty that overspreads the land of my nativity. You may act according to your consciences; for my own part, I am resolved not to fly, God shall hereafter raise up teachers who shall instruct the people with more diligence and greater success than I have done; for God will not forsake his church, though for the present he try and correct her, and not without cause.

Accordingly Dr. Taylor set out for London, attended by John Hull his servant, who, by the way, laboured to persuade his master to save himself from the impending storm, at the same time proffering him his service, though it was at the hazard of his life. Oh, John, said the good old man, shall I give way to thy counsel, and leave my flock in this danger. Remember the good Shepherd, Christ, not only fed his flock, but laid down his life for his sheep. Him I must, and by the

strength of his grace, will follow; therefore, John, pray for me; and if at any time thou seest me weak, comfort me; but discourage me not in this my godly enterprise.

The doctor, on his arrival at London, waited on the chancellor, who, in his brutal manner, saluted him with knave, traitor, heretic, and abundance more of similar epithets. The doctor listened with patience till he had drained his resources of abuse, and then replied, Please your lordship, I am neither a traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and faithful christian man; and I am come, according to your orders, to learn what is your lordship's pleasure. Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame, after what thou hast done? Knowest thou not who I am? Yes, said the doctor, I know you well, you are Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, and but a man for all. If you expect that I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why is it that you are not afraid of God, so infinitely superior to your lordship. How dare you look in the face of any christian for very shame, having denied Christ your Saviour, and his word, and violated your own hand writing and oath, taken first to Henry VIII., and afterward to Edward his son? With what countenance will you appear before the tribunal of him whom thou hast betrayed, when he comes to judge the world, and do justice to his injured servants? Tush! Tush! cried the bishop, that was a Herod's oath, unlawful, and therefore deserving to be broken. I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God I am come home to our mother, the catholic church of Rome, and would that thou shouldst do so likewise. But, said the doctor, Christ will assuredly require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege lord the king, from which the pope, nor any power on earth, cannot absolve you. I see, said the bishop, thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool; besides, thou art a married man, and hast, moreover, resisted the queen's orders, in not suffering the minister of Aldam to say mass in Hadley. It is true, my lord, I am a married man, and have nine children, all born in lawful matrimony, for which I am thankful to God, that has ordained wedlock, that every man may have his own wife, and not live in whoredom and adultery. As respecting the resisting of the queen's proceedings, know, my lord, that I am the minister of Hadley; and it is out of all right or conscience or law that any man should come into my charge without my knowledge or consent, and presume to infect my flock with the venom of this idolatrous mass. The bishop grew angry, and said, Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemes the blessed sacrament (putting off his cap), and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for

the living and the dead. Nay, said the doctor, I reverence the blessed sacrament, as a christian ought to reverence it, yet boldly assert, that Christ ordained the holy communion as a memorial of his death and passion, which, when we keep according to his institution, we by faith are made partakers of his body and blood, giving thanks for our redemption. That sacrifice which Christ offered up once for all, was of itself so full and perfect, that it was sufficient for all that believe on his name; and therefore no priest can offer him again, nor is there room left for any more propitiatory sacrifices, only a thankful remembrance of him whose blood was shed for our salvation. True, said the bishop, it is called a thanksgiving; but it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and dead, and that you shall confess ere you and I have done; and calling to his men, said, have this fellow hence, and carry him to the king's bench, and charge the keeper to have him close confined.

Thus sent to prison, the doctor was held in custody almost two years, during which he was frequently examined respecting his faith, and as often witnessed a good confession before his adversaries. On the last day of January Dr. Taylor was examined, for the last time, before the bishops of London, Winchester, Norwich, Salisbury, and Durham, who charged him with heresy and schism, requiring, at the same time, a determinate answer, whether he would submit himself to the Roman bishop, and recant his errors, otherwise they would proceed against him by their laws, made since his imprisonment. The doctor told them, with a great deal of modest and becoming fortitude, that he would not depart from the truths he had preached in the days of king Edward, nor submit himself to the Roman antichrist; but thanked God, who had counted him worthy to suffer for his truth and name's sake. When the bishops found him so bold, stedfast, and inflexible, they pronounced the sentence of death upon him. To which he only replied, My lord, I doubt not but God will require my blood at your hands, and that the proudest of you all shall yet repent your falling off from Christ to antichrist, the tyranny you now exercise against the harmless flock of Christ, and the blood you have so wantonly shed throughout the land. He was remanded to prison, and the keeper ordered to confine him closer than ever. On his way back, the people crowded to see him; to whom he said, I thank God, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and by the help of my God shall seal the truth of his word and gracious gospel with my blood.

About a week after the condemnation of Dr. Taylor, bishop Bonner came to the prison to perform the ceremony of degradation, when the doctor refused to put on the popish vestments,

but had them put on him by force; which done, putting his hands on his sides, he strutted up and down the room, saying, How say you, my lord, am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters, were I now in Cheapside, should not I have boys in abundance to laugh at these apish toys and childish trumpery? On which the bishop began to scrape his fingers and thumbs, and the crown of his head, and cursed him again and again. You may curse me, said the doctor, but what avails it when God will bless me. I have the witness of my conscience that you have done me wrong and violence; nevertheless, I pray God your sins may be forgiven you. But from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his cruel coadjutors, good God deliver us.

After his degradation he was sent to the king's bench, where he soon experienced the difference between the treatment of the keepers in the bishop's prison and those of the king. The former, like their merciless masters, were wicked and cruel; but the latter exercised towards their prisoners all the civility and humane kindness in their power; and here the doctor, through the courtesy of his new keeper, was indulged with a visit of his wife, his son Thomas, and his servant Jehn Hull, to sup with him the evening before he suffered. Before supper he prayed with them; and when supper was over, walking up and down the room, he gave thanks to God for his goodness and his effectual calling, that he had afforded him strength to abide by his holy word. Then turning to his son, he thus addressed the young man: My dear son, almighty God bless thee, and give thee his holy Spirit, to make thee a true servant of Christ, to teach thee his word, and to thy life's end constantly to stand by his truth; and, my dear son, see that thou fear the Lord always. Flee from all sin and wicked living; be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thyself to learning; and by all means prove obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her; be ruled by her now in thy youth, and in all things follow her good counsel. Beware of the lewd company of young men who fear not God, but follow their lusts and vain desires. Flee from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I, thy father, die in defence of holy marriage: Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people; and to be rich in alms account thy greatest riches; and when thy mother has waxed old, forsake her not, but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing; for so will God bless thee, and prosper the work of thy hands; which I pray God to grant thee. Then turning to his wife, he said, My dear wife, I have been a faithful yoke-fellow to you, and you have been the same to me; and the time is now come when I shall be

taken away from you. Continue stedfast, I beseech you, in the faith of the gospel, and in the fear and love of God. Keep yourself undefiled with popish idolatry and superstition; and doubt not but God will be a merciful father to you, and to my poor children, whom I pray you to bring up in his fear, and in learning, to the utmost of your power; and O keep them from this Romish idolatry.

Having ended his last and parting advice with the utmost tenderness and affection, they prayed together, and wept over each other in the most affecting manner. He gave his wife the prayer-book he had with him in prison; and to his son a book of remarkable sayings of the primitive martyrs, written in Latin, in the end of which he had written his last will and testament: so they took their leave of him, under feelings which the reader may imagine, but which cannot be described.

Next morning, at two o'clock, the sheriff and his officers arrived, and led the doctor to the sign of the wool-pack without Aldgate. His wife suspecting they would take him away while dark, watched all night in the neighbourhood, along with her daughter Mary, and a young maiden called Elizabeth, thirteen years of age, who had been brought up with them from a child. And when the sheriff, with his prisoner, came opposite where they were waiting, Elizabeth cried, O my dear father! my dear father! Mrs Taylor also called her husband by name, for it was very dark, being in the month of February. Dear wife, said the doctor, I am here, and so stood still. The sheriff's men were for pushing him forward; but the sheriff said, no, stop a little, and let him speak with his wife. He then took his little daughter Mary in his arms, and kneeled down, with his wife and Elizabeth, and prayed. The scene here was so moving, that the sheriff and some of his officers melted into tears. When they rose up from prayer, the doctor kissed his wife, shook hands with her, and said, farewell, dear wife, be of good comfort, for I enjoy a quiet and approving conscience, and God will raise up a father for my poor children. He took his little daughter again in his arms, kissed her, and said, God almighty bless thee, and make thee his faithful servant. He kissed Elizabeth, and said, God bless thee; and I pray all of you to stand strong and immoveable in the cause of Christ and his blessed word, and keep clear of the idolatry of Rome. God be with thee, dear husband, said Mrs Taylor, I shall, with his help, meet thee at Hadley. But having followed them to the inn, and being observed by the sheriff, he ordered her to be confined till he returned from the execution, so that she beheld her loving husband no more.

The doctor was put into a chamber, with a guard of four

men, where he gave himself wholly to prayer till eleven o'clock, when he was put on horseback, and led forth; where his servant, with his son Thomas, was waiting. When the doctor saw them, he called for his son, and setting the child before him on his horse, he took off his hat, and said to the numerous spectators, Good people, this is my son, begotten of my body in lawful marriage; and this is one of the charges for which I am about to give myself to the flames; but God be thanked for the blessing of lawful matrimony. And lifting his eyes to heaven, he prayed for his son, and blessed him, and returned him to his servant, whom he shook by the hand, saying, farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant ever man had.

They halted at Burntwood, where they had a close hood prepared for him, with openings for his eyes, and one for breathing. This was done to many of the martyrs, because it was understood that the cheerfulness and serenity of their countenances tended to confirm the protestants in the faith of the word of God, and in their abhorrence of popish cruelty; but notwithstanding their severity, the doctor was exceedingly cheerful on the way. He exhorted the sheriff and his men to repent and leave off their evil courses, in such an earnest and pathetic manner, that they frequently wept. In the evening they were met by the sheriff of Suffolk at Camelsford, where they all supped together. After supper, the sheriff of Essex, supposing it might yet be possible to persuade the doctor to save himself from the cruel death that awaited him, expressed, in very handsome terms, how sorry he and all the company present were for his situation; and urged him, by every possible consideration, yet to consider the ruin he was bringing on himself and family, and the loss the country would suffer in the event of his death, assuring him, that his advice was given with an honest heart, and with the most benevolent intentions; and so, said the sheriff, good doctor, I drink to you; and so we will all of us drink to you, said the company. When it came to the doctor's turn, he took the cup, and after a short pause, said, Mr Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will. I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels; and, to be plain with you, I perceive that I have been deceived myself, and that vast numbers at Hadley will also be deceived. God's blessing on your heart, said the sheriff, these are comfortable words; but pray explain yourself. You see, said the doctor, that I am a man of a large carcase, which I hoped would have been buried in Hadley church-yard, in which there are a vast number of worms, which should have had jolly feeding on this carrion; but now I and they shall both be disappointed, for this carcase shall be burnt to ashes. The fortitude

manifested in this explicit declaration, filled the company with sorrow and astonishment.

The sheriff of Suffolk waited two days at Lanham, where he was joined by the magistrates and principal gentlemen of the county, who laboured to bring over the doctor to the Romish religion. They promised him great promotion, even a bishoprick; but having counted the cost of a faithful testimony for Christ, all their entreaties were vain. When within two miles of Hadley, he expressed a desire to walk the rest of the way, and was permitted to dismount: On which he leaped as it were for joy; which the sheriff observing, said, well, Mr Doctor, how do you do now? Never better, said he, God be praised, I am almost at home, and have only another stile or two to pass, when I shall arrive at my Father's house. Being told he should pass through Hadley, he thanked God that once more before his death he should see his flock, whom he heartily loved, and had truly taught, and prayed the Lord to keep them stedfast to his truth.

The streets of Hadley were lined with men and women, both of town and country, who expressed their feelings in bitter lamentations and prayers, that God would strengthen him, and comfort his soul in the trying hour; to whom he frequently said, as he passed along, I have preached God's word and verity amongst you, and I am now come to testify, before the world, that I believe and adhere to the same, by suffering my body to be burnt to ashes in your presence.

When he was come to Aldam common, the place of his execution, he tore off the hood that covered his face; when it appeared, that the malicious Bonner, when degrading him, had endeavoured to disfigure him, by cutting off parts of his fine hair, and by tying other parts of it into knots. He then attempted to speak to the people, but no sooner had he opened his lips, than some one or other thrust his tip-staff into his mouth. He asked leave of the sheriff; but was denied, and put in mind that he had made a promise of silence. It has been said that he was threatened with having his tongue cut out if he would not promise to keep silence. He then put off his clothes to his shirt, and giving them away, cried, with a loud voice, Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons which I have gathered out of God's blessed book, the holy bible: Upon which Holmes, one of the guard, who had behaved cruelly to the Doctor all the way down, struck him on the head with a bludgeon, saying, Is this thy promise of silence, thou heretic.

On finding that he would not be allowed to speak, the doctor kneeled down and prayed; after which he went to the stake

and kissed it. He was placed in a pitch-barrel, with his back upright against the stake, where, with his hands clasped together, and his eyes lifted up to heaven, he continued praying. One of the men employed in making the fire threw a faggot at him, which wounded his head till the blood ran down his face, and besmeared his long and venerable beard. Friend, said the doctor, I have harm enough beside, what occasion was there for this! Another hearing him say the psalm *miserere* in English, said, Knave, speak Latin, or I will make thee. The fire being kindled, he continued in the same position, without moving at all, praying and ejaculating, Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus my Saviour's sake, receive my soul. At last one with a halbert beat out his brains, and his body fell into the fire. Thus died, for the cause of Christ and the rights of conscience, Rowland Taylor, an eminent preacher of righteousness, who cheerfully rejected proffered wealth, power and preferment, from the usurpers of his Master's prerogatives, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than enjoy the pleasures of sin; accounting the reproach of Christ, and his persecuted prophets, apostles, and martyrs, infinitely greater riches than the pretended vicar of Christ ever had to bestow.

*The last Will and Testament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, Parson of Hadley.*

“I SAY to my wife and children, the Lord hath given you unto me, and the Lord hath taken us away from one another; blessed be the name of the Lord. I believe them blessed who die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows and for the very hair of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable than any father or husband. Trust in him, believe in him, love, honour, and obey him, pray to him; for he hath promised to help in every time of need. I go, but do not consider me dead, for I shall never die. I only go before you. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Helen, Robert, and Zachary, and you shall, all of you, in God's good time, follow after, where we shall meet again with joy unspeakable and full of glory. I have bequeathed you to him whose goodness is infinite, and whose power is equal to his goodness. Fear not.

“I say to my friends in Hadley, and all others who have heard me preach, that I leave this world with a quiet conscience with regard to the doctrines I have taught them; for I have taught them these lessons that I gathered from the unerring word of God; and therefore, if an angel from heaven should preach any other doctrine unto you, God's great curse fall on that preacher. Beware, for God's sake, that ye deny not the Saviour, nor decline from the truth of his gospel. For God's sake beware of popery, for though it has the appearance

of unity, yet this same unity is vanity and antichristianity, diametrically opposed to the faith and verity that is in Christ Jesus.

“The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit to increase their wisdom, to show them the vanities of time, and give them a relish for virtue, holiness, and the enjoyment of God and the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator, Advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope. Amen, amen.”

---

### JOHN BRADFORD.

DIVINE grace, though it does not absolutely change the natural temper of men, most assuredly moderates, corrects, and keeps the unruly passions from prevailing in the lives of the saints. Some men are naturally bold, fearless and firm; others timid, and possessing a softness of temperament, better calculated to conciliate friends, and convince them, by their unassuming and mild arguments, and for building up professors in the faith, than to war against the powers of darkness, or attack the strong holds of error and corruption.

Of this last character was John Bradford, the subject of the present memoir, who, from the kindness and benevolence of his heart, and the purity of his life, obtained the epithet of the holy John Bradford. His worst enemies could lay nothing to his charge, except his protestant opinions and pious manner of life. They were so sadly nonplussed for excuses in putting this harmless and universally beloved individual to death, that, like the Jews, they could only say, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die.

He was born at Manchester in Lancashire. His parents brought him up in learning from his childhood; and when he had acquired the knowledge of the Latin tongue, being an expert penman, steady and industrious in his habits, he was engaged with Sir John Harrington, treasurer to the king's camps and buildings, as clerk. Sir John had such early proofs of his talents and integrity, both at home and abroad, as induced him to entrust Mr Bradford with the management of his most important affairs; and found them better transacted than he could have done them himself. Here Mr Bradford continued for several years, and was in a promising way for making his fortune: But God touched his heart, and turned his attention from the bustling scenes of the present life, to the contemplation of the world to come. No sooner had Mr Bradford tasted that the Lord was gracious, than he resolved to publish the gospel of

salvation to perishing sinners. Accordingly, having settled with his employer, he abandoned his worldly pursuits, and proceeded to the university of Cambridge, to meditate on the word of God, and prosecute his studies in divinity.

Here his progress in learning, and pious demeanour, was so satisfactory, that the university thought proper to confer on him the degree of Master of Arts in less than a year. Immediately after this, the master and fellows of Pembroke-hall chose him to a fellowship in their college; and that great man, Martin Bucer, had such a favourable opinion of his talents and sincerity, that he endeavoured to persuade him to preach; but Mr Bradford declined it, supposing himself still deficient in the learning necessary for an undertaking so responsible. What! said Bucer, if you cannot feed them with the finest of the wheat, yet give the starving people such as you have, were it barley bread. While Mr Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, made him a prebend of St. Paul's; where he continued preaching the word, sharply reprovng sinners, and in defending the truth against the errors and heresies of the time. And even after Queen Mary was seated on the throne, he continued to preach to the people, as he had heretofore done, till those in power unjustly persecuted him, and sent him prisoner to the tower.

On Sunday, the 13th of August, in the first year of Queen Mary's reign, Dr. Bourne, then bishop of Bath and Wells, made a sermon at Paul's Cross, wherein he railed against King Edward, then dead, and so coarsely handled the reformation and the reformers, that the patience of the common people gave way to rage and resentment, and a very great uproar was raised among the congregation then present, insomuch that the lord mayor and all his officers could not silence it. Such was the tumult, that one of the people threw a dagger at the preacher's head, which narrowly missed him; and we are told the people would have torn him to pieces had not Mr Bradford harangued them so long on the propriety of peace and good order, that at last they became quiet, and went away peaceably; yet, notwithstanding that the mob was greatly dispersed, Mr Bourne would not remove for fear of his life, till Mr Bradford and Mr Rogers conducted him to the grammar school, which was hard by, at the peril of their lives; and as a reward for their disinterested kindness, both these generous individuals were brought to the stake. About three days after this, Mr Bradford was sent to the tower of London, where the queen at that time resided, and ordered to appear before the council. He was charged with sedition at the uproar which he had been the means of pacifying, and of saving the life of bishop Bourne. He was re-

moved from the tower, and tossed about from one prison to another for almost two years. After his condemnation, he was taken from the king's bench Southwark to the compter in London. During his confinement in each of these places, he preached twice a day, unless prevented by sickness, where he frequently celebrated the Lord's supper; and the keepers were so kind as permit many people to come to the sermons and the sacrament, so that his chamber was generally filled, on these occasions, with serious christians. His credit with the keeper was such, that he was permitted to go abroad any evening, on his bare promise to return by such an hour; which he at no time overstepped, though no guard attended him.

He was so well respected by all good men, that many who knew him only by report, greatly lamented his death; even the papists, many of them were sorry that he was not spared. In my conscience, said bishop Ridley, on a former occasion, I consider Mr Bradford more worthy to be a bishop than many of us bishops are to be parish priests. About twelve o'clock at night, when it was thought nobody would be on the streets, he was removed to Newgate; but contrary to their expectation, the streets were crowded with people, who waited to see him pass and take farewell; which they did with prayers and many tears, and he took his leave of them in the same affectionate manner, exhorting them to be strong in the Lord, and praying that he would bless them, and keep them stedfast in the truth. A report had gone abroad that he was to be burned at Smithfield at four in the morning, at which time the place was crowded; but Mr Bradford was not brought forward till nine. Passing through Newgate, he spied an old friend, to whom he called, and gave him his velvet cap and handkerchief, &c. A little after, his brother-in-law came up and shook him by the hand; for which Woodrooffe the sheriff struck him on the head, till the blood flew all about; and as they could not change many words, Mr Bradford desired to be remembered to his mother and friends, and advised him forthwith to go to a surgeon. He was escorted by a strong guard of armed men; and when he arrived at the place where he was to suffer, he fell on his face and prayed; after which, he took one of the faggots and kissed it, also the stake; and having put off his clothes, he stood up by the stake, and lifting his eyes and hands toward heaven, said, O England! England! repent of thy sins—Repent! repent! beware of antichrists—take heed they do not deceive thee. Then turning round to John Leaf, a young man of twenty years of age, who suffered with him, he said, Brother, be of good comfort, for to-night we sup with Christ, where all our pains will terminate in pleasure ineffable, our warfare in

songs of joy, triumphant exultation, and never-ending tranquillity. Having kissed the reeds, he exclaimed, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leads to life eternal." After this he was made fast to the stake and burnt, on the 1st of July 1555, and in the prime of his life.

We shall now give some short account of his examination before the queen's council. On January 22d .1555, he was brought before Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the other commissioners appointed by the queen. When he came into the presence of the council, Gardiner told him, he had been a long time prisoner for his sedition at Paul's cross, also for his false preaching and arrogance, in presuming to preach without authority. But the time of mercy is now come, and if you will accept of it on the queen's terms, you will find, as we have found, I warrant you.

*Bradford.* My lord, and lords all, I have indeed been long imprisoned, and with humility and reverence be it spoken, unjustly, inasmuch as I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, either in word or deed, preaching or otherwise; but rather, as an obedient subject ought to do, endeavoured, by declaring the will of God, to restore peace and godly quietness to an enraged multitude, wherein, by the help of God, I was made instrumental in saving the life of Dr. Bourne, now bishop of Bath, and that at the peril of my life; as the bishop, were he present, could sufficiently attest.

At these words the infamous Gardiner gave him the lie. The fact, said he, was seditious, as my lord of London can testify. You say true, said Bonner, I saw him with mine own eyes, when he impudently took upon himself to rule and lead the people, thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition.

*Brad.* My lords, notwithstanding of both my lord bishop's seeing and saying, I have told you nothing but that which almighty God, before whom we must all of us one day appear, will reveal in presence of all the children of men; in the meantime, seeing I cannot be believed, I must, nay, I am ready to suffer whatever God shall permit you to decree concerning me.

*Gardiner.* I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and tells thy story well; but all are lies.

*Brad.* My lord, What I said before I say again. When we appear, as appear we must, all of us, before the tribunal of the great God, truth will then, as it is now, be truth, notwithstanding of all you may say against it. I took nothing upon myself, what I did was at the earnest request of Dr. Bourne, which, as I said before, he can, and I doubt not will, do me the justice to attest.

*Gard.* Well, to drop this matter, what sayest thou? Wilt thou return and do as we have done, and receive the queen's mercy and pardon?

*Brad.* My lord, I thank my God, that my conscience does not accuse me of having said or done any thing that entitles me to punishment: I shall be glad, however, of the queen's favour on terms that correspond with my duty to him whose favour is life, but whose displeasure is worse than any death that mortals can inflict.

*Gard.* Well, if thou make this babbling, rolling thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant, and so vain-glorious, that thou wilt not receive the mercy now proffered thee, know, for truth, that the queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art.

*Brad.* The mercy of God I humbly request and desire, and would also be very thankful to the queen, for being permitted to live as an honest subject with a conscience unclogged; but otherwise I know into whose hand I have committed my life, and that without his permission none can take it away; his good pleasure therefore be done. Life, with his displeasure, is worse than death; and his favour alone is that which enhances the value and felicity of life.

*Durham.* Why, tell me what sayest thou about the present ministration of the communion.

*Brad.* My lords, before I can answer your question, I must first have an answer to another which I am obliged to make. I have been six times sworn not to submit to any authority or jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome within this realm of England; now therefore, I beseech your lordships to tell me, whether you ask this question by his authority? for if so, I dare not return an answer under such authority, unless I would be foresworn; which God forbid.

*Gard.* Tush! Herod's oaths, a man should make no conscience of them.

*Brad.* These were no unlawful oaths, but plain-dealing oaths, corresponding with the word of God, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book *Vera Obedientia*.\*

*Secretary Bourne.* Yea, it has been reported, that he has done more mischief by his letters and counsel to those who came to him on the score of religion, than ever he had done while abroad preaching. In his letters he curseth all those who think otherwise than he preaches, and exhorts them to abide in the

\* This book of Gardiner's was written against the pope's supremacy, and furnished with a recommendatory preface by Bonner, during the quarrel between Henry VIII. and the Roman pontiff; both these ambitious ecclesiastics perceiving that the moment was propitious for procuring royal favour and consequent preferment.

doctrines he and others of the same opinions has taught them. What say you, sir, have you not thus seditiously written and taught the people?

*Brad.* I have not written nor taught any thing seditiously, nor, thank God, have I admitted any seditious thought, nor, I hope, ever will.

*Secretary Bourne.* Yea, but thou hast written letters.

*Gard.* Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?

*Brad.* What I have written I have written.

*Southwell.* Lord God, what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that so stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the queen's council.

*Brad.* My lords and masters: The Lord God, who is, and shall be the judge of us all, knoweth that I desire to behave myself, both before you and towards you, with all due reverence; if you are disposed to take it otherwise, I have no other means of convincing you. In the meantime, however, I shall suffer with patience all your hard sayings, and I hope also whatever you may be permitted to appoint concerning me.

*Gard.* We shall never have done with thee I perceive now. Be short, be short, wilt thou accept of mercy? Say now wilt thou?

*Brad.* I pray God extend me his mercy; and if therewith you also extend yours, I will by no means refuse it, otherwise I crave none.

Here a great noise arose, some said one thing, and some another; while others accused him of arrogance in refusing the queen's mercy, which her majesty, in her great clemency, had held out to his very hand and acceptance.

*Brad.* If I may live as a quiet subject, with a conscience unclogged, I shall heartily thank you for your moderation; and should I afterwards violate the laws, I must stand by their award. In the meantime, I only require the rights of a subject till convicted of transgression. If I cannot obtain this, which hitherto I have not, then God's good pleasure be done.

*Gard.* (to the under marshall)—Ye shall take this man and keep him close, without conference with any but by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write letters. And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerful as any man could. He was again examined on the 9th of January; he was also examined by two Spanish friars, and by Dr. Weston dean of Westminster; but he still held fast the profession of his faith without wavering; and, confident in the power and goodness of him in whom he believed, though naturally rather of a timid, modest, and retiring temperament, he acted on this occasion the part

of a christian hero, and, as we have seen, triumphed over the power and malignity of all his antichristian adversaries.

Mr Fox informs us, that he wrote, particularly while in prison, a number of treatises, of which the following have been published: Two Sermons, the first on Repentance, the second on the Lord's Supper—2. An answer to two Letters upon the Lawfulness of attending Mass—3. The Danger of attending Mass—4. His Examination before the Officers—5. Godly Meditations, made in prison, called his Short Prayers—6. Truth's Complaints—7. A Translation of Melanchthon on Prayer—8. A Dialogue on Predestination and Free-will.

Bradford's letters are numerous, and highly spiritual, well calculated to establish the people of God under the severity of their persecution. They are so truly excellent, that notwithstanding the rude style of these times, they are still read with edification and delight; even many of the papists were captivated with them. We shall here insert one as a specimen of his manner.

*To my Dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer.*

“JESUS EMANUEL! My dear fathers in the Lord, I beseech our sweet Father, through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.

“I had thought that all of your staves had stood next to the door, but find I was mistaken. Our dear brother Rogers has broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the farthest, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and likewise receive their crown. The next am I, who am hourly looking for the porter to open the gates, that I may follow them into the desired rest. God forgive my ingratitude for this exceeding great mercy, that amongst so many thousands it hath pleased him to choose me for one in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true that I suffer justly; for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner; the Lord pardon me; yea, he has done it, he has indeed done it already; yet what evil has Christ done, Christ, whom the prelates persecute; and his verity, which they hate in me, have done no evil, and cannot therefore be deserving of death? Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice in the honour he has conferred on me, and the tender kindness he has thus vouchsafed towards me, in calling me to bear testimony to his truth against the enemies of his grace and glorious gospel; to his glory, to my everlasting consolation, to the edification of his church, and to the overthrow of antichrist, and the destruction of his kingdom of darkness. Oh! what am I, Lord, that thou shouldst thus magnify so vile a man, so unworthy a wretch as

I have always been. Is this thy wont, to send, as thou didst for Elias, a fiery chariot, to fetch home to his Father's house such a prodigal as I have been. Oh! dear fathers, be thankful for me; and for your own parts make ready, for we are only your gentlemen ushers. 'The marriage of the Lamb is come, prepare for the wedding.' I am about to leave my flesh in a world where I received it; but I go to a better world, and shall be conveyed thither as Ignatius was at Rome. God grant it may make my persecutors better men. Amen.

"I write, and send this my farewell to you, trusting shortly to see you, where, having finished our warfare, we shall associate with all those who have faithfully followed the banner of the Captain of our salvation, made perfect through suffering, and never again be called to the field. In the meantime I will not cease to commend you, as I have done, to our Father in heaven; and that you do so for me, I most sincerely beseech every one of you. You know that now I have most need of your prayers; but God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be burdened above what we are able to bear; he never did it heretofore, nor now, and I am assured he never will. Amen. He is on my right hand, therefore shall I not be moved, wherefore my heart shall rejoice. Out of prison in haste, looking for the tormenter, February 8th, 1555.

---

### HUGH LATIMER,

*Bishop of Worcester.*

Of this plain, but pious divine, it may be said he was one of the most zealous and useful reformers of the church of England. His father, an honest farmer at Thurcaston, near mount Sorrel in Leicestershire, though he possessed no land of his own, lived in good repute. His farm was stocked with an hundred sheep and thirty cows. He employed six men, and furnished the king, on necessary occasions, with a man and horse armed for the field. He had six daughters, each of whom had five pounds of marriage portion; and the subject of the present memoir, his only son, who was born in the farm-house about the year 1470, the 11th year of Edward IV. He was early put to school at Thurcaston, and afterward sent to Leicester; and being a very promising scholar, his father determined to bring him up for the church. With this view, so soon as the young man was qualified, he was sent to Cambridge in 1484, where, at the usual time, he took his degrees in arts; and entering into priests orders, became a warm defender of the religion of Rome

against the reformed opinions, which at this time were becoming popular in England. He held the teachers of the new doctrines in abhorrence, and heard them with indignation. In public and in private he cried them down; and so hateful were the principles they taught, that he declared it as his opinion, that the last times were come, that the day of judgment and the end of the world were certainly at hand. "Impiety," says he, "gains ground apace; and to what lengths may not men be expected to run, when they begin to question even the infallibility of the pope!" When the good Mr Stafford, divinity lecturer in Cambridge, read lectures in the schools, Latimer was sure to be there, driving forth the scholars.

When he commenced bachelor of divinity, which was in 1515, in his 45th year, he took occasion to give an open testimony of his dislike to the reformation, in an oration, which he delivered against Philip Melancthon, whom he treated with unmerciful severity for his impious innovations in religion. His zeal was so much taken notice of in the university, that he was, the year after, elected cross-bearer in all public processions; an employment which he accepted with reverence, and discharged with becoming solemnity for seven years.

Among those who favoured the reformation about this time, the most conspicuous was Mr Thomas Bilney, who afterwards suffered at Smithfield. It was Latimer's happiness to be particularly acquainted with this good man, who had conceived a very favourable opinion of Latimer. He had known his life in the university to be strictly moral and devout, and ascribed his failings to the genius of his religion; and notwithstanding the ardour and tenacity with which he held and defended the dogmas of the Roman church, he could perceive in him a candour of temper prejudiced by no sinister views, and an integrity, which gave hopes that he could not fail becoming a reformer. Induced by these favourable appearances, Mr Bilney took all proper occasions to introduce many things about corruption in general, dropping some occasional hints respecting the corruptions of the Romish church. Having in so far prepared the way, he ventured at last to request Mr Latimer for once to divest his mind of all prejudice with respect to the doctrines held by either party, and place both sides of the question in full view before him. In what manner these hints were received, we have no certain account, only we find, that his friend's labours were blessed to the conversion from popery of one of its most zealous members. This was in 1523, when Latimer was in his fifty-third year. Latimer no sooner ceased to be a zealous advocate for the Roman church, than he proceeded on his reforming career with equal, if not with renovated assiduity.

In a short time he made many converts, both in town and country, and not a few in the university. He preached in public, exhorted in private, and everywhere pressed the necessity of true faith and holiness of life, in opposition to the splendour of those outward and mechanical services, which had been long considered the very soul and essence of religion. Cambridge, like the rest of the kingdom, was at this time entirely popish. Latimer's behaviour was much taken notice of, and he soon came to learn that he had made himself peculiarly obnoxious by the method he had pursued. The first serious opposition he met with from the popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons he preached before the university during the christmas holidays, in which he spoke his sentiments upon many opinions and usages maintained and practised in the Romish church; and strongly contended, that the locking up of the scriptures from the people was a flagrant abuse of christian power and authority, tending to perpetuate ignorance, and its natural consequences, vice and all sorts of immorality. Few of the tenets of Rome were at this time questioned in England, unless they tended to relax the manners of the people. Transubstantiation, and other points more speculative, still maintained their ground. Mr Latimer therefore dwelt especially upon such tenets as tended to the dissolution of manners. He pointed out to the people what true religion was, and wherein it consisted: That it was seated in the heart, and always discovered itself by a life of holiness and sound morality: That it was the strait gate, and the narrow way to life everlasting, a precious peril of such inestimable value, that, compared with it, external appointments were of no value whatever. But so great was the outcry against these discourses, that the cardinal erected a court, consisting of bishops, divines, and canonists, to put the laws in execution against heretics. Tunstal was president of this court, and Bilney, Latimer, and two or three more were called before him. Bilney was considered the archheretic, of course the rigour of the court was principally levelled against him: They succeeded, however, in persuading him to recant; accordingly he carried the faggot, a token of recantation and penance, and was dismissed. As for Latimer and the rest, they had easier terms. Tunstal omitted no opportunity of shewing mercy, and was dexterous at finding them; and the heretics returned to Cambridge, and were received by their friends with open arms. Amid this mutual gratulation, Bilney alone was unhappy; he shunned the sight of his acquaintances, and received their congratulations with confusion and blushes. Struck with remorse for what he had done, he became melancholy; and after leading a life for two years in all the austerity of a hermit, he resolved

to take the field once more, and acknowledge the truth even unto death. Bilney's sufferings, instead of shocking and discouraging the reformers at Cambridge, inspired the leaders with renovated vigour. Latimer now began to exert himself more than he had yet done; and succeeded to that credit and reputation which Bilney had long supported. He constantly preached in Dr. Barnes's church, and assisted him in his pastoral duties. Among other instances of his resolution and warm zeal, he gave one, which, considering the circumstances of the case, was truly remarkable. He had the courage to address his majesty, Henry VIII., against his proclamation just published, prohibiting the use of the bible in the mother-tongue, together with other religious books. He had preached before his majesty two or three times at Windsor, and had been taken notice of in a more affable manner than that monarch was generally accustomed to do towards his subjects; but whatever hopes his sovereign's favour had inspired him with, he chose to put all to hazard when it came in competition with what he conceived to be his duty. He was generally considered as one of the most eminent of the reformers, and thought it therefore became him to be one of the most forward in opposing popery. His letter bespeaks an honest and sincere heart; it was intended thereby to apprise the king of the danger of listening to all the intriguing insinuations of the bishops, and particularly their intentions in the proclamation in question, and concluded in these terms: "Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written. I thought it my duty to mention these things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man; I wanted merely to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they give counsel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends in view. God grant your majesty may see through the evil designs of wicked men, and be in all things equal to the high office with which you are invested: Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your own soul, and consider that the day is at hand when you must render an account of your office, and the blood which has been shed by your sword. On which important day, that your grace may stand stedfast and unshamed, clear and ready in your reckoning, having your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which alone can avail you on that decisive occasion, is my daily prayers to him who suffered death for our transgressions. May the Spirit of God preserve you."

The influence of the popish party was so powerful at this time, that Latimer's letter produced little or no effect; never-

theless the king received it, not only with temper, but also with uncommon condescension, and graciously thanked him for his well-intended advice. The king loved sincerity, and Latimer's plain and simple manner had formerly made a favourable impression upon him, which this letter contributed not a little to strengthen and improve; while his active and successful endeavours, in establishing the king's supremacy in 1535, had rivetted him in the royal favour. Dr. Butts, the king's physician, having been sent to Cambridge on that business, as well as on the affair of the divorce, began to court the protestant party, from whom the king expected the greatest and most stedfast support; and Mr Latimer was one of the first to whom he addressed himself, as a person most likely to afford him essential service in that delicate affair. He begged him to collect the opinion of his friends, and use his utmost endeavours to bring over the most eminent of those on the opposite side. Being a warm friend to the cause in which he had embarked, Latimer undertook the business with his usual zeal, and managed matters so much to the satisfaction of the doctor, that when that gentleman returned to court, he took Mr Latimer along with him, with the intention no doubt of procuring him a proper consideration.

About this time lord Cromwell was rising into power, and being himself a friend to the reformation, encouraged such churchmen as were most inclined that way, and accordingly became the friend and patron of Mr Latimer, and very soon procured for him the benefice of Westkingston in Wiltshire. Thither Latimer resolved to repair, and watch over the welfare of his flock. Surprised at this resolution, his friend Dr. Butts did what he could to dissuade him from residing constantly amongst his people. "You are deserting," said the doctor, "the fairest opportunity of making your fortune. The prime minister only intends this as an earnest of his future favours, and will certainly in time do much greater things for you; but you must know, that it is the manner of courts to consider them provided for who seem satisfied with what they have got; and, trust me, an absent claimant stands but a poor chance with a present rival." This the old courtier advised; but these considerations had no weight with Latimer, who was heartily tired of the court, where he saw so much irreligion and debauchery, without being able to oppose them, having neither authority, nor, as he thought, talents to reclaim the great.

The principal design of Cromwell and Dr. Butts in procuring Latimer this provision, was to encourage him in assisting them to render the king's supremacy acceptable to the people; for Mr Latimer was accounted the most diligent and popular

preacher in the kingdom. They were anxious therefore to persuade him to exercise his talents in and about the metropolis; but Latimer had a very different view of the matter; his principal anxiety was to reclaim wandering sinners to Christ's fold; and, next to that consideration, he longed to retire from the bustle of a court, where, with the greatest concern, he daily beheld every vice triumphant, and malice, envy, detraction, and vanity, sweeping every thing before them.

Having thus resolved, Mr Latimer bade adieu to the splendour of the palace and the vanity of the court, and entered immediately on the duties of his parish; and wherever he observed the pastoral duties neglected, thither he extended his labours on all sides, having for that particular purpose procured a general licence from the university of Cambridge. Mr Latimer's mode of preaching being extremely popular, he was gladly received wherever he went. At Bristol, where he preached often, he was countenanced and much encouraged by the magistrates. But his reputation was too high for the popish party long to endure; and their malice was soon manifested. The mayor of Bristol had appointed him to preach in that city on easterday: Public intimation had been given, and the people were highly pleased, when, all of a sudden, an order was emitted, prohibiting any one to preach there without the bishop's licence. The clergy of the town waited upon Latimer, informed him of the bishop's order, and expressed their sorrow at being thereby prevented from hearing an excellent discourse. Mr Latimer received their compliments with a smile, having been apprized of the whole affair; and knowing that the reverend gentlemen, who thus pretended to lament the effects of the bishop's order, were the self-same individuals who had called it forth, by letters addressed to him for that precise purpose.

The opposition manifested against this singular man, and the truths he so boldly asserted, increased with his growing reputation. The pulpits began to circulate their malevolent invectives against him, and such liberties were taken with his character, that he considered it necessary to vindicate himself from the injurious reflections with which his enemies had conspired to blast his honest fame. Accordingly, his calumniators were called before the mayor of Bristol, where his accusers were put to the proof; but could produce nothing but some loose and incredible hearsay information. His enemies, however, were too inveterate to be thus silenced. They consisted chiefly of the country clergymen, headed by some divines of more eminence, who, after long and mature deliberation, drew up various articles of accusation against him, extracted principally from his sermons; in which he was charged with speaking lightly of the

worship of saints, with asserting that there was no material fire in hell, and that he would rather be in purgatory than in Lollard's tower. These charges being laid before the bishop of London, Mr Latimer was charged to appear before him, where, having appealed to his own ordinary, the bishop of London and some others were commissioned to examine him. His friends, aware of the danger to which he was exposed, advised and earnestly pressed him to save himself by retiring from the kingdom. But determined to face his adversaries, he took leave of his friends, and set out for London in the depth of winter, under a severe fit of the stone, and in the sixty-sixth year of his age. But the thought of leaving his parish exposed to the popish clergy hang heavy on his mind. On his arrival at London, a court of bishops and canonists were ready to receive him. Mr Latimer had reason to believe, from the accusations that had formerly been charged upon him, that his sermons would constitute the principal ground of their investigation. He was therefore not a little surprised to find a paper put into his hands, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses for the souls in purgatory; of prayers to dead saints; of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics: In the power of the pope to forgive sins; in the doctrine of merit; the seven sacraments; and the worship of images. This paper Latimer refused to subscribe; and the archbishop, with a frown on his countenance, begged he would consider what he did. "We have no intention," Mr Latimer, "continued he, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you for the present; take a copy of the articles, examine them carefully; and God grant, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper." At the next, and several subsequent meetings, the same farce was acted afresh. He continued inflexible, and they to distress him. Thrice a-week he was regularly called before them, with the design of either ensnaring him by captious questions, or teasing him into compliance. Tired out at last with such vexatious usage, instead of answering their next summons, he sent a letter to the archbishop, in which, with great freedom, he informs him, that their former treatment had fretted him into such disorder, that he was unfit to attend them. That, in the meantime, he took the liberty of expostulating with his grace for so long detaining him from discharging the duties of his office: That to him it appeared the most unaccountable and preposterous thing in the world, that they, who never preached themselves, should prevent others, especially now that some abuses in religion were supposed to exist, whereas preaching was the best, and perhaps the only practical method for discountenancing them: That, with regard to their examination, he was at a loss to conceive what they were aiming at;

they pretended one thing at the beginning, and another in the progress: That if his sermons were offensive, which, however, he believed were neither contrary to truth or to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be considered exceptionable: That he wished they would pay a little more respect to the judgment of the people; and particularly, that they would make some reasonable distinction between the ordinances of God and those of man: That he was desirous all pastors might be obliged to do their duty; but, at any rate, that those who were willing to do theirs, should be rather encouraged than unnecessarily prevented: That respecting the articles proposed, he begged to be excused from subscribing them. He was determined, during life, he should at no time, and under no circumstances, become an abetter of superstition: That he hoped the archbishop would excuse the freedom with which he had written. He knew his duty to superiors; and in practice should not be wanting; but, in the present case, he was satisfied he lay under a much more important obligation.

The bishops, nevertheless, continued their persecutions, till Latimer was relieved from their oppression by a very unexpected hand. Informed, probably by lord Cromwell, of Latimer's ill usage, the king interposed, and rescued him from the hands of his enemies. Latimer was the very figure of simplicity, and exhibiting such a reverend and apostolic appearance at court, attracted the particular notice of Anne Boleyn, the favourite wife of Henry, and a warm friend to the reformed religion. This amiable but unfortunate queen mentioned him to her reforming friends, as, in her opinion, equally, if not better qualified for forwarding the reformation than any she had seen. Lord Cromwell raised him still higher in her estimation; and both joined in recommending him to the king for a bishoprick, who, perhaps recollecting the sincerity and simplicity of his admonitory letter, and former services done him, wanted little solicitation. The see of Worcester was accordingly offered him; and Latimer, as he had been at no pains to procure this promotion, considered it the work of providence, and accepted the same. Indeed, considering the rough path he had already trode in the faithful performance of his duty, and observing the hazardous prospect before him in his old station, he found it necessary, both for his own safety, and the good of the church, to avail himself of this proffered acquisition of refuge and of power.

In discharging the duties of his new office, all the historians of these times inform us, that Latimer was remarkably zealous. That in overlooking the clergy of his diocese, he was active, warm, and determined; and that, in presiding in his ecclesias-

tical courts, he evinced the same spirit. In ordaining, he was wary; in preaching, indefatigable; in reproving or exhorting, severe and persuasive. Thus far he could act with authority; but, with regard to the popish ceremonies, in times so unsettled and dangerous, he neither durst lay them wholly aside, nor was he willing to retain them. In this critical dilemma, his address was admirable. He inquired into their origin, and when he found any of them, as several had been introduced with a good meaning and intent, he was careful to inculcate their original, though a corruption, in place of a still more corrupt practice. Thus, for example, he would put the people in mind, that holy bread and holy water, which had been for ages considered as possessing a sort of magical influence, were nothing but simple bread and water. The one to put us in remembrance of the death of Christ, and that the other was merely a simple representation of the washing away our sins. Thus, by reducing popery to its first principles, he did what he could to improve a bad stock, by lopping off some of its hurtful excrescences.

While thus exerting himself to reform his diocese, he was summoned to parliament and convocation in 1536. This session was considered by the protestant party as a crisis. At the head of the reformers stood lord Cromwell, whose favour with the king was now at its meridian; next to him, in power and influence, was Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; and next to these, in consideration, stood our bishop of Worcester, to whom were added, on the side of reform, the bishops of Ely, Rochester, Hereford, Salisbury, and St. David's. The popish party were headed by Lee, archbishop of York; Gardiner, Stokesly, and Tunstal, bishops of Winchester, London, and Durham.

The convocation was opened, on the 9th of June, by an oration spoken by Latimer, whose eloquence was at this time famed throughout the kingdom. Many warm debates took place in this assembly; the result of which was, that four sacraments out of the seven were concluded to be insignificant. Latimer had no talents for state affairs; and he was satisfied he had none; he therefore returned to his charge at Worcester, highly pleased with the prospect of the times relative to the reformation.

Perhaps no man ever made so little use of a good judgment as Henry VIII. His reign consisted in one unceasing rotation of violent passions, which rendered him such a mere machine in the hands of his ministers, that whoever amongst them could most artfully address the passion of the day, was certain to carry his point. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had just returned from Germany, where he had successfully negotiated some orders that the king had greatly at heart. That subtle minister,

in 1539, when the parliament was called to confirm the seizure of the monasteries, prevailed on his majesty to do something towards the restoration of the popish religion. In consequence of this, Latimer was summoned to parliament, and accused, before the king, of preaching a seditious sermon. This sermon had been preached before the king; and, to speak truth, Latimer had lashed the vices of the court with conscientious and fearless severity. The king had called together several bishops to consult them on some points of religion; and having all given their opinions, and about to break up, one of them, thought to have been Gardiner, kneeled down before the king, and accused Latimer. The king, with a stern countenance, called him to vindicate himself; when Latimer, so far from denying, or even palliating what he had advanced, boldly justified himself; and, turning to the king, with all that noble confidence that a good cause inspires, said, "I never considered myself worthy, nor did I ever request the honour of preaching before your grace; but being called to the performance of that duty, I endeavoured to perform it. If, however, my manner or matter be in any way displeasing, I cheerfully give place to my betters; for I grant there are many more worthy of that honour than I; and if it be your grace's pleasure to appoint them for preachers, I shall be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I beseech you give me leave to discharge my conscience, and accommodate my doctrine to my audience: I had been a very dolt indeed to have preached at the borders of your realm as I have done before your grace." The greatness of the answer baffled the malice of his accuser; the severity of the king's countenance was relaxed into a gracious smile, and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which was only the privilege of those he esteemed.

Latimer was a true bishop, for he not only laboured for the salvation of his flock, watching over their faith and morals, but also over their temporal welfare and happiness; particularly he watched over the rights of the poor, that they might not be wronged by their rich and overbearing neighbours. An instance of this generous guardianship of the poor we have from Mr Fox, who says: It seems there lived a certain gentleman in that part of Warwickshire that is included in the diocese of Worcester, who had considerably wronged a poor neighbour, notwithstanding that he had kept within the letter of the law. This gentleman had a large estate in the county. His brother was also in the commission of the peace; and they two together had long overawed the country for many miles round. The poor man, quite at a loss what to do, applied to his own diocesan. Latimer heard his story, pitied his case, and promised

to endeavour to see him redressed. Accordingly he wrote a long letter to the parties, wherein he reproved them sharply for the injury they had done, requiring them to do the poor man justice, and that speedily. They replied to the bishop, and vindicated their procedure as legal and right, and declared themselves ready to stand by what they had done. That with regard to the complainer, the law was open; and as for his lordship, they could not but think he had interfered very impertinently in a matter in which he had not the least concern. Latimer, finding they were determined to substitute *might* in the place of *right*, wrote them again, stating, in few words, that if they did not forthwith do justice to the injured man, he himself would lay the whole affair before the king. This brought them to reason, and the affair was settled to the satisfaction of the complainer.

So soon as parliament had passed the famous act of the six articles, to which Latimer could not give his vote; and conceiving it wrong to hold an office in a church where such terms of communion were required, he resigned his bishoprick, and retired into the country. Here he remained during the heat of the persecution that followed upon this act, and thought of nothing, for the remainder of his days, but a sequestrate life; but an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempestuous ocean. He had received a bruise, by the falling of a tree, that seemed so dangerous, that he was obliged to look out for better assistance than the surgeons of that place in the country could afford. With this view he repaired to London, where he had the sorrow to see the fall of his generous patron, the lord Cromwell; nor was it long before he learned the extent of the loss he had thereby sustained: For Gardiner's emissaries soon discovered his retreat; and *something* that *somebody* had *somewhere* heard him say against the six articles being alleged against him, he was committed to the tower. Here, without any judicial examination, he suffered imprisonment during the six last years of Henry's reign.

He was confined along with the bishop of Chichester, but not so strictly that his friends might not see and converse with him; for neither Henry nor Gardiner had any design on his life. But the king had already received all the advantages of his faithful services that he expected; and a different adviser had put him on a train of operations, in forwarding which, he was sensible Latimer would not assist him. He was therefore no longer necessary to his happiness, and ungratefully forgotten. But Latimer is not the only instance of this prince's royal ingratitude to those who had afforded him the most essential services; witness the capitation of Sir Thomas More; his cruel

usage of Wolsey; and his barbarous, illegal, and unjust severity exercised against lord Cromwell.

Considering the capricious disposition of Henry, Latimer suffered, upon the whole, a mild sort of imprisonment; and, on the accession of Edward VI., all who were prisoners for the same cause were set at liberty. Latimer's old friends being now in power, he was received by them with every mark of affectionate regard; and had it in his power to dispossess his successor from his diocese; but he had very different sentiments, and neither would apply himself, nor suffer his friends to apply for his restoration. This, however, was soon after done by the parliament; but Latimer pled his great age as a reason why he should be suffered to end his days in private.

Having thus rid himself of all importunities on this head, he accepted an invitation from Cranmer, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he was chiefly employed in hearing the complaints, and redressing the wrongs of poor people; and his character, for this kind of service, was so generally known, that he had as crowded a levee as any minister of state.

Latimer's sermons, some of which are still extant, are indeed far from correct or regular pieces of composition; yet his simplicity and familiarity, his humour and jibing drollery, were well adapted to the taste of these times. His oratory, according to the mode of eloquence then in vogue, was exceedingly popular. His action, and manner of preaching, were likewise both agreeable and very affecting. His abilities, as an orator, however, constituted only the inferior part of his character as a preacher. His commanding manner, his noble zeal for the truth, and the pressing sincerity with which he urged it home to the consciences of his auditory, rendered his discourses more exceedingly interesting.

Latimer has been slandered by the opposite party for vindicating, in a sermon preached before the king, the justice of the sentence and execution of the lord high admiral. The charges are, that he publicly defended his death; that he aspersed his character; and did so that he might pay a servile compliment to the protector. The first part of the charge was true, he did defend his death; but the admiral's character was so very bad, that there was no room left for aspersion. His treasonable practices were notorious; and though he was proceeded against by a bill in parliament, according to the custom of those times, which may be now accounted inequitable, still he had forfeited his life, to all intents and purposes, according to the laws of his country. His death, nevertheless, occasioned much clamour; which was chiefly raised and encouraged by the lords of the opposition, to cast a popular odium on the protector, for whom

Latimer had a high respect, and was mortified to see an invidious opposition thwarting the schemes of such a public spirited individual. On purpose therefore to lessen or remove this unmerited reproach, he exhibited the admiral's character in its true light, from circumstances with which the public were unacquainted.

On the death of the duke of Somerset, and the consequent revolution that took place at court, Latimer retired to the country, and, authorized by the king's general licence, he preached wherever he thought his labours were most necessary; and continued to prosecute the same apostolic manner of itinerant preaching during the remainder of Edward's reign, and also for some short time after Mary had mounted the throne. But no sooner had Mary's ministers secured their places, and completed their political arrangements, than the introduction of popery was finally resolved on, and the preliminary steps toward effecting their purpose were, First, The prohibition of all preaching through the kingdom. Secondly, The licensing of those clergymen only who were known to lean towards the church of Rome. Accordingly, an inquisitorial search was made for the more forward and popular preachers amongst the protestants, and many of them were committed to prison. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was made prime minister; and having proscribed Mr Latimer from the first, sent a messenger to cite him before the council. Latimer, who had previous notice of his design, made no use of the friendly information. The messenger, on his arrival, finding him equipped for his journey, expressed his surprise; but Latimer told him he would attend him with as little trepidation as ever he had mounted the pulpit, and answer for his faith with as much pleasure, not doubting but God, who had enabled him to stand before two princes, would also enable him to stand before a third, either to her unspeakable joy or everlasting anguish. The messenger informed him that he had no orders to seize his person, and putting a letter into his hand, departed. Hence some have imagined, not without considerable probability, that the real design of this citation was to drive him out of the kingdom, and in this way get rid of a dangerous antagonist, who, by his unshaken firmness, might out-brave their power and cruelty, and thereby confirm the faithful in their protestant opinions. However this may be, Latimer found, on opening the letter, that it contained a summons from the council; and resolving to obey, he set out immediately. Passing through Smithfield, where the heretics were usually burnt, he said, pleasantly, Smithfield has long groaned for my old carcase. Next morning he waited on the council, who, after loading him with many bitter reproaches,

and otherwise evil entreating him, sent him to the tower. Here Latimer had a larger field wherein to exercise his patience and resignation than any heretofore; and few men seemed to possess a larger allowance of these distinguishing virtues. The uncommon cheerfulness of his disposition never forsook him even in the most trying occasions; one instance of which is still on record. A servant leaving his apartment in the tower, Latimer called him back, and requested that he would tell his master, that unless he took better care of him, he would most assuredly escape him. On hearing which, the lieutenant, with a countenance rather discomposed, came to Latimer, requesting an explanation. I suppose, sir, replied Mr Latimer, you expect I shall be burnt; but I can assure you, that unless you allow me a little fire in this severe frost, I shall starve to death with cold.

Cranmer and Ridley were also prisoners in the same cause with Latimer; and when the council came to the ensnaring resolution of appointing a public disputation between the most eminent of the popish and protestant divines, these three were appointed to manage the dispute on the part of the protestants. Accordingly, in the spring of 1554, they were removed from the tower, where they had been imprisoned during the winter, forwarded to Oxford, and there put under close confinement in the common prison, where they had a fair specimen of the *impartiality* with which the *public* disputation was likely to be conducted, in their being denied even the use of paper, pen, and ink, books, and whatever else might aid their preparation for the important controversy, in which they were obliged to act so conspicuous a part. Under these distressing circumstances, while sitting in their prison-house, and ruminating on the mock solemnity of the preparations then making for their trial, of which it is probable they were newly informed, a conversation took place between Ridley and his suffering associate. The time, said Ridley, is now come when we must either sin or suffer, deny the truths we believe, and have so long and so warmly recommended to the faith of others, or give our bodies to the flames in defence of our faith and hope. You are an old soldier of Christ's, Mr Latimer, and have frequently withstood the fear of death, whereas I am raw in the service, and destitute of experience. With this introduction, he proceeded to request Mr Latimer to hear him propose such arguments, as, in his opinion, his adversaries were most likely to urge against him, and that he would assist him in furnishing himself with appropriate answers.

To this Mr Latimer, with his usual good humour, replied: That he fancied the good bishop was treating him as he re-

membered Mr Bilney was wont to do, who, when he wanted to teach him, always did so under the colour of being taught himself; but, in the present case, said he, I am determined to give them very little trouble. I shall just offer them a plain account of my faith, and shall say very little more on the subject, well knowing it would answer no good purpose. They talk of a free disputation, which they have already belied by the treatment we have received at their hands; they also talk about an impartial decision regarding the merit of the arguments brought forward; but, be assured, my lord, their most energetic argument will be that used by their fathers, when driven from every equitable position: We have a law, and by our law you ought to die. As for myself, had I the wisdom of Solomon, and all the learning of St. Paul, I should consider them ill applied in making an elaborate defence; yet our case is neither singular nor desperate: No, my lord, it admits of this peculiar consolation, that our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful, who will not suffer them to load us with sufferings above what we are able to bear. Bring them to a point, and there hold them fast, let them say or do what they please; many words will be of no avail. It is requisite, nevertheless, that you give them some reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you. For other things, in a wicked judgment-hall, a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ himself. But, above all things, guard yourself against the fear of death; this is the great argument you must prepare yourself to oppose. Poor *Shaxton*! we have reason to fear this argument had the greatest weight in his recantation. The fear of death makes men slaves. He who has conquered this fear, can triumph over the malice of earth and hell. Let us be stedfast and immoveable, in the full confidence that nothing can add to our honour and felicity, if we, like the Philippians, not only believe in Christ, but dare to suffer for his sake.

Corresponding with these sentiments, Latimer conducted himself through the whole of this dispute, wherein much artifice was used to draw him into a formal mode of reasoning, without effect. He answered their questions, however, as far as civility required; and, in these answers, managed his argument much better than either Ridley or Cranmer, who, when they were pressed with passages from the fathers in support of transubstantiation, in place of rejecting their insufficient authority, weakly defended a good cause by scholastic distinctions and evasions. Whereas, when the same proofs were crowded upon Latimer, he boldly rejected their authority, for the obvious reason, that, like other men, the fathers were liable to err;

that he never depended upon them, unless when they depended upon scripture. Then, said his antagonist, you are not of St. Austin or Chrysostom's faith. I have told you already, said Latimer, I am not, unless they bring scripture for what they say. Mr Addison admires his behaviour on this occasion. "This remarkable old man (says he), conscious that age had impaired his abilities, and that it was impossible for him to recollect the reasons that had directed him in the choice of his religion, left his companions, who were in the full possession of their learning and faculties, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason. As for himself, he did little more than repeat to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he had determined to die."

The dispute being ended, sentence was passed upon him in the beginning of October; and upon the sixteenth of the same month, he and Ridley were burnt on a spot of ground on the north side of Baliol college. When they came to the stake, Latimer lifted up his eyes, with a meek and serene countenance, saying, *Fidelis est Deus*, God is faithful. When they were brought to the fire, after a most abusive sermon, an officer informed them that they might now prepare themselves for the stake. Mr Latimer having thrown off his prison attire, appeared in a shrowd prepared for the purpose. Some gunpowder had been attached to their bodies to hasten their death; and Latimer, after recommending his soul to God, turning to the bishop of London, his companion in tribulation, he said, brother, be of good comfort, to-day we light such a torch in England as I trust shall never be extinguished. When the fire was kindled, he cried, O Father of heaven receive my soul; and seeming to embrace the flame, he stroked his face with his hands, after having, as it were, bathed them for a short space in the fire, when the powder exploded, and he expired.

Such was the death of Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, one of the leaders of that noble army of martyrs who introduced the reformation into England.

Cheerfulness and fortitude were so happily blended in his constitution, his principles were so just, and his resolutions so determined, that neither prosperity nor adversity had the power to disturb the serenity of his soul. No trials could unman him, neither could the splendour of the world allure him. Amid the most alarming circumstances of life he stood firm and collected, at no time destitute of resources, but could, on every emergency, retire within himself, and there luxuriate on those consolations that spring from the faith of the gospel, and the well-grounded hope of eternal glory. Conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he still preserved his original plain-

ness and moderation. Of his indefatigable labours, and the conscientious manner in which he discharged the duties of the pastoral office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly, or exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked he rebuked without respect of persons; and, with the dignity that became his high office, overawed them more than did the terrors of the penal law.

He was not considered a man of extensive learning, having only cultivated useful knowledge, which, he thought, lay in a narrow circle; neither could he ever be persuaded to take any part in secular affairs, under an apprehension that a clergyman ought to employ himself entirely in matters connected with his profession. Thus he lived rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had never cultivated those talents which give superiority in transacting business; but for honest sincerity and true simplicity of manners, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion, and for every virtue that ought to adorn the life of a christian, he was eminent and exemplary, beyond most men of his own or any other time or place; and of him it may, with much propriety, be said, that with the testimony of a good conscience, in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, had he his conversation in the world.

---

### NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

*Bishop of London.*

OF all our English martyrs, bishop Ridley has been esteemed by far the most learned. He was born at Willymondswyke in Northumberland, of an ancient and very worthy family. He took his grammatical education at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, from which, about the year 1518, he was removed to Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, at the expence of his uncle Dr. Robert Ridley. Here he soon acquired a great proficiency in the Latin and Greek tongues, and the other learning of that period. His reputation for learning procured him the friendship and esteem of both universities; and in the beginning of 1524, the masters and fellows of university college in Oxford invited him to accept of an exhibition, founded by Walter Skyrley, bishop of Durham; which he declined. The next year he took his degrees of master, and was appointed by the college as their general agent.

His uncle, observing the rapid progress he was making, was now willing to afford him the advantage of travel, and the im-

provement of foreign universities; and his studies being now directed to divinity, he sent him for some time among the doctors of the Sarbonne at Paris, which was then the most celebrated university in Europe. After this he also remained a short time among the professors of Lovain. Having remained abroad during the years 1527, 1528, 1529, he returned to Cambridge, where he pursued his theological studies, and applied himself to the reading of the scriptures as his surest guide. There is a walk in the orchard at Pembroke-hall which has still the name of Ridley's walk. Here he learned to repeat, without book, almost all the epistles in Greek. His behaviour was truly obliging and pious, without hypocrisy or monkish austerity; he would sometimes shoot with the bow, play at tennis, and mix familiarly in the harmless amusements of the place. He was senior proctor of the university when the important question of the pope's supremacy came before them, to be examined upon the authority of scripture; and their resolution—That the bishop of Rome had no more authority or jurisdiction derived from God, in this kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop—was signed, in name of the university, by Simon Heynes, vice-chancellor; Nicholas Ridley, Richard Wilks, proctors. He lost his uncle in 1536; but the education he had received, and the proficiency he had acquired, recommended him to another and greater patron, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed him his domestic chaplain, and collated him to the vicarage of Herne in east Kent. Here he gave his testimony from the pulpit against the act of the six articles, and instructed his charge in the pure doctrines of the gospel, so far as he yet understood them. Transubstantiation was, however, still an article of his belief. During his retirement at this place, he read a little treatise, written seven hundred years before, by Bertram, a monk of Cerbey. The perusal of this treatise first opened Ridley's eyes, and determined him to search the scriptures, and examine the doctrine of the primitive fathers respecting this article. The result of his researches he communicated to Cranmer, and both were convinced that the doctrine was novel and heretical.

After remaining two years at Herne, he was chosen master of Pembroke-hall, and appointed chaplain to the king. And the cathedral church of Canterbury being made collegiate, he obtained the fifth prebendal stall. The courage and zeal he manifested in promoting the reformation was such, that he was considered, next to Cranmer, its greatest supporter amongst the clergy. In the succeeding reign of Edward VI., when a royal visitation was resolved on throughout the kingdom, he attended the visitors of the northern circuit, as their preacher, to instruct

that part of the kingdom in the doctrines of the reformation. "His character, at this time (says Dr. Ridley, his biographer), was that of a celebrated disputant, a favourite preacher, undoubting in the article of transubstantiation; a zealous scripturalist, and particularly well acquainted with the fathers. He was made chaplain to Edward VI., and consecrated bishop of Rochester during the year 1547. He was translated to London on the deprivation of Bonner in 1550, and expired in the flames at Oxford in 1555."

The church of Rome had taught the people to believe, that the mere action of receiving the sacrament was of itself sufficient for the justification of the receiver, unless he himself prevented it; and this seems to have occasioned the homilies relative to the ground of justification before God. Concerning the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, public disputations were held, in both universities, between the reformers and the papists; and Ridley, with some other delegates, were sent to Cambridge, where a disputation was held for three successive days. The propositions to be established by the protestants, and opposed by their antagonists, were: That transubstantiation cannot be found in the plain and manifest words of scripture: That neither can it be collected therefrom by rational inference and deduction; and that, as the scriptures are silent on this point, so neither is it confirmed by the consent of the primitive fathers; and that therefore there is no other sacrifice and oblation in the Lord's supper, than a remembrance of Christ's death and thanksgiving. The debate was summed up with much candour and learning by bishop Ridley; but decidedly against the corporeal presence. Ridley is allowed to have been master of that subject more than any man of the age; for having studied Bertram's book of the ninth century, as formerly noticed, he came to the conclusion: That transubstantiation was not an original doctrine of the church, but had been introduced with other errors in the latter ages. This discovery he communicated to his friend Cranmer, and both set themselves to examine the matter with more than common care. In order to this, they made large collections from the ancient fathers, to prove the novelty as well as the absurdity of the opinion. They discovered, that all the lofty and swelling expressions to be found in Chrysostom, and other ancient writers on this subject, were merely strains and figures of eloquence to raise the devotion of the people, though following ages had built their opinion on these expressions, and the more readily believed them, as they appeared above all belief. But this opinion of the real presence having been so generally received in England for three hundred years, these eminent reformers went to work

with great caution, and by gradually proceeding in their public discussions, afforded time for the people to consider the subject more leisurely, and of course more effectually.

Ridley, with the archbishop, the bishops of Ely, Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, and Lincoln; Sir William Petrie, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Cox, Dr. May, and others, were put into commission to search after all anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the common prayer. This measure was adopted in consequence of information, that, together with the many protestant strangers that were come into England from Germany, several anabaptists had arrived, who were disseminating their errors, and making proselytes. These men, as bishop Burnet informs us, building upon the principle held forth by Luther, that scripture is the only rule of faith, rejected all deductions therefrom, however obvious and unavoidable the inference might be; and the baptism of infants not being mentioned in scripture, they therefore rejected. The anabaptists were not all of the same opinion, but differed both in doctrine and practice; some were moderate, others extravagant and fierce. The opinions of the latter may be partly gathered from some tradesmen in London, who abjured before the commission; such as, That a regenerate man could not sin; for if the outward man commit sin, the inward man sinneth not: That there was no trinity of persons in the godhead: That Christ was only a prophet, and not God: That all we had from Christ was his wise teaching and holy example; and that the baptism of infants was of no utility, as it was performed before the subject thereof could possibly believe in the doctrines of the religion into which he was thereby intended to be initiated. Among the people who held these, and similar tenets, was Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. This woman appeared before the commission, and behaved with unparalleled obstinacy, vindicating her opinion with a mixture of ill-nature and contempt, treating all the means used to reclaim her with scorn. She was accordingly pronounced an heretic, and delivered over to the secular arm. Ridley was still at Rochester; for the archbishop, John Smith, William Cook dean of the arches, Hugh Latimer, and Richard Lyel, were only named in the sentence. The king could scarcely be prevailed upon to sign the warrant for her burning; but Cranmer, among many things, represented that it would bespeak a strange indifference toward religion, to overlook the honour of God, by neglecting to put the laws in execution, framed for that particular purpose; while those laws that related to the honour of the king were executed with so much zeal and severity. However, the archbishop was not so intent on her punishment, as he had been for passing the

sentence. He and Ridley laboured a whole year to persuade her of her errors, but to no purpose; at last she was burnt in May 1550. A similar sentence was executed against George Van Parre, a Dutchman, for denying the divinity of our Saviour. It is mentioned here for the sake of connection, though it did not happen till April 1551, on the 6th of which month, Ridley, being one of the commissioners, signed his sentence of excommunication. Mild and gentle as he certainly was to every modest inquirer, however much in error, he would not relax or break through the existing laws to indulge an obstinate blasphemer.

The protestants were charged by the papists with a disregard to all religion, and that they could endure heresies, in every sectary, with the greatest indifference; while the most canonical truths held forth by the Romish church they treated with derision and ridicule. During the preceding winter, it was in agitation to unite the reformers, both at home and abroad, into one great body. Bullenger and Calvin, with others, in a letter to king Edward, proposed making him their defender, tendering, at the same time, their services and assistance in all cases of danger. The Roman fathers, on learning what was going forward, became alarmed, and sent two emissaries from Amsterdam into England, with orders to pass themselves for anabaptists, and inculcate the belief of a fifth monarchy. A letter, dated 1549, was also despatched by the same fathers, from Delf in Holland, to two English bishops; Gardiner of Winchester was one of them, and probably Bonner might be the other. In this letter they apprize the bishops of the approach of these incendiaries, and request them to countenance and protect them in case they should meet with any opposition; adding, that it was left for them, and some others, known to be well-affected to the mother-church, to assist in the present crisis. This letter was found, by Sir H. Sidney, in queen Elizabeth's closet, among some letters of queen Mary's; and the knowledge, or even the suspicion of these intrigues, might perhaps occasion the severity thus exercised against these anabaptists. It was owing, however, as much to the ignorance as to the vice of the age, that the reformers, who had suffered so much from the persecuting spirit of Rome, had retained, along with much of her superstition, part also of her persecuting policy; opposed, as it evidently was, not only to the mild economy of grace, but also to the justice necessary for promoting the peace and happiness of society.

Some time during the summer Ridley was called to preside at a disputation, appointed to be publicly held at Cambridge, relative to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Two positions

were agreed upon as the subjects of disputation: 1st, That transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of scripture, nor fairly deduced therefrom, nor yet by the consent of the ancient fathers for the last thousand years. 2d, That in the sacrament of the supper there is nowe other oblation or sacrifice than one only remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving.

The first disputation took place on Thursday the 21st of June—Dr. Madew of Clare-hall, respondent, maintaining the above positions: Dr. Glyn, Messrs Langdale, Sedgwick, and Young, opponents. The second disputation was held on Monday the 24th—Dr. Glyn, respondent, maintaining the contrary positions: Messrs Perne, Grindal, Gest, and Pilkington, opponents. The third was on Thursday the 27th—Mr Perne, respondent, maintaining the positions: Messrs Parker, Pollard, Vavator, and Young, opponents. Between the disputations at Oxford and those at Cambridge there was one difference observed: Peter Martyr admitted a change in the elements; and Langdale, one of the opponents, asked wherein this change was effected, supposing it to be admitted, Whether was it wrought in the substances or in the accidents, or in both, or in neither? Ridley interposed, by saying, There is no change either of the substances or of the accidents, notwithstanding that the sanctifying and setting apart of the bread and wine adds to the original accidents others which they did not formerly possess.

After the disputation was closed, the bishop determined against transubstantiation on these five principal grounds: 1st, The authority, majesty, and verity of holy scripture: "I will not henceforth drink of the fruit of the vine." St. Paul and St. Luke calls it bread after consecration. They speak of breaking, which corresponds with bread, but literally cannot with the body of Christ. It was to be done in remembrance of him. "This is the bread that came down from heaven;" but the body of Christ came not from heaven. "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." 2d, The most certain testimony of the ancient catholic fathers, of whom he produced Dionysius, Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Theodoret, Gelasius, Austin, Cyril, Isychius, and Bertram, who call it bread after consecration, sacramental bread, a figure of the body of Christ; and expressly declare, that it still continues to be bread, and that both elements continue to be as much as ever very bread and wine. 3d, The nature of the sacrament, in which the symbols represent the like spiritual effects; which, in the sacrament of the supper, are unity, nutrition, and conversion: The unity of the grains make one bread, as the unity of the members make the one mystical body of

Christ. The substance of these grains nourish our bodies, and with great propriety represent the nourishment of our souls. Those therefore that take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ, destroy the very nature of a sacrament, as there can remain nothing to represent our being turned into Christ's mystical body, if the bread be not converted into the substance of our bodies. 4th, That transubstantiation destroys one of the natures of Christ, because they who hold to the corporeal presence in the sacrament, destroy the reality of his human nature. Eutychas allowed the divine nature, but denied the human nature of Christ; and they who defend the ubiquity of Christ's human nature, ascribe to it the attributes that alone belong to the divine. The fifth ground is, That Christ is ascended into heaven; and although, by his essential deity and invisible grace, he is with his people always, and his church, to the end of the world; yet, with respect to his manhood, he says, You shall not have me always with you.

Against the oblation of Christ in the sacrament, he produced from scripture an overwhelming mass of evidence, together with that of a number of the fathers of the catholic church, all which, said he, are sufficient at this time for a scholastic determination of these matters.

Ridley assisted Cranmer in the first edition of the common prayer. He was ranked with Cranmer, Hooper, Ferrar, and others, denominated the zealous protestants, in opposition to Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstal, who were called zealous papists. Ridley had his injunctions for the visitation of his diocese printed, which show the progress then made in the reformation in England. They enjoin, that none should be admitted to the communion but such as were ready to confess the articles of the creed at the request of the curate: That the homilies should be read orderly, without omitting any part of them: That the common prayer should be read in every church on Wednesday's and Friday's: That none should maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bead rolls, pilgrimages, relics, rubrics, primers, the justification of man by his own works, holy bread, psalms, ashes, candles, creeping to the cross, hallowing of fire or altars, or such like abuses.

The king was under a visible decay, and Ridley preached before him toward the end of his sickness; and having in one of his sermons enlarged on the duty of charity, and its happy consequences, the king was so moved with what he had heard, that after sermon he sent for the bishop, and desiring him to sit down and be covered. His majesty ran over the heads of the discourse, and said, his lordship must give him some directions how to acquit himself of his duty. The bishop, astonished at

so much tender sensibility in so young a prince, burst into tears; but requested time to consider the channel in which the royal charity could be most advantageously directed, and that he might be permitted to consult with the lord mayor and aldermen on that subject. His majesty accordingly wrote them by the bishop, who returned with a scheme of three foundations: One for the sick and wounded; another for those that were unwillingly idle, or who were mad; and a third for orphans. His majesty therefore endowed St. Bartholomew's hospital for the first, bridewell for the second, and Greyfriar's church for the third.

King Edward died in 1553, and was succeeded by his sister Mary, whose reign was one continued course of tyranny, bigotry, and persecution, by which the land was polluted with blood. She was a rigid papist, and caused lady Jean Gray, who openly professed the protestant religion, to be beheaded, though only about seventeen years of age, and one of the most accomplished ladies in her time, notwithstanding that Edward had bequeathed her the crown by his last will.

The duke of Northumberland and his son, the duke of Norfolk and his brother, were also beheaded for attempting to put this excellent lady on the throne. The infamous Gardiner, and the execrable Bonner, she released from prison, and appointed them to pull down the reformation, which her brother had brought to a considerable state of improvement. She introduced the mass, persecuted the protestants to the death, and re-established the idolatrous worship of Rome, contrary to the will or inclination of three-fourths of the population of England. Gardiner was the despicable tool in the hand of this ignorant, superstitious, and peevish lady, to extirpate from the land the religion which she called heresy; and his orders to purge the church of married clergymen were so pressing, and their execution so prompt, that of sixteen thousand inferior clergymen, twelve thousand were expelled their livings for the crime of legitimate marriage.

In order to force the protestants within the pale of the Roman church, Gardiner thought it best to begin with the most popular bishops and divines, judging, by his own shifting principles, that they would become an easy conquest, and that their example would influence the people; but he was much mistaken in his calculation, for bishops Latimer, Hooper, Ridley, and Ferrar, who were imprisoned, tried, and condemned, yet offered mercy, and even preferment in the church, providing they would recant and join the Romanists, boldly held the confession of their faith without wavering, and ultimately sealed their faith and obedience to the laws of Christ with their blood; which brought the Romish bishops to shame and popular disgrace.

The convocation was adjourned and removed to Oxford, where a public disputation was appointed between the popish and protestant adherents, to be held before the whole university. To give a colour of justice to this conference, archbishop Cranmer, bishops Ridley and Latimer, were sent from the tower to the prison of Oxford to support the doctrines of the reformation, where they were ill-accommodated, denied the use of their books and papers, or the conversation of one another, and their mutual assistance in managing the controversy, as it was so arranged that each had his separate day. To each of these three prelates, a committee from the convocation and the university were opposed, against whom they had to defend their opinions single-handed. This disputation, says Fuller, was intended for a prologue to the tragical death of these distinguished individuals, as it were to dry their bodies for the fire, that the flames might be the brighter.

Mary's government and clergy have been charged with the most infernal cruelty, injustice, and public malversation. The queen was married to Philip of Spain; and imagining herself pregnant, declared she could not possibly be delivered till all the heretics, with which the goals in and about London were filled, should be delivered to the flames. While thus the council and clergy of England were become the willing executioners of the vengeance meditated by this infernal fury, the nation seemed in one general blaze of persecution. Commissions for the mock trial of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, were directed to three bishops and several others; but the imprisoned prelates, at their different appearances, refused to acknowledge the papal authority. Cranmer was brought forward the first; the next was Ridley, who began with a solemn declaration, that although his present opinions were different from what they had once been, yet he had not changed them from any worldly consideration, but purely from the conviction of his mind, that he had discovered the truth; and seeing he was now called upon to maintain the cause of God, and the verity of his word, he protested that he should be permitted to add to, or alter, any argument as he should find it necessary; and hoped, as he had to contend against a whole committee, that he would not be interrupted or assailed by more than one at a time. All this was promised, but not complied with; for he was not only assailed by the whole committee, one after another, but sometimes by four or five of them at once. Still he maintained his ground, till his adversaries, having shot off their last arrows, the prolocutor put an end to the dispute, by saying, You see the obstinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconstant mind of this man; but you also see the force of truth cannot be shaken, therefore cry out with me, Truth has the victory!

The three bishops were adjudged to be obstinate heretics, and declared no longer members of the church; to which they all objected. Ridley told the commissioners, that though he was not of their company, yet he doubted not but his name was written in a better place, whether their sentence would afford him a more early admission than the course of nature seemed to indicate. The prisoners were conducted to their separate prisons, where Ridley wrote a letter to the prolocutor, complaining of the noisy and irregular manner in which the dispute was carried on, whereby he was prevented from making a full defence, or of urging his arguments at length, being overpowered with clamour, and the cowardly abuse of four or five opponents at a time. He desired, however, to have a copy of what the notaries had set down; but the request was not granted.

Ridley and Latimer refused to recant, or to renounce their reason on the unintelligible jargon of a popish eucharist, the common watchword in those days for murder; so they were delivered over to the secular arm. The bishops of Gloucester, Lincoln, and Bristol, were sent to Oxford to proceed against them. When their commission was read, and it appeared that they were to proceed in the name of the pope, Ridley put on his cap, and refused to pay any reverence to those who acted under that authority; Latimer also protested against the papal authority; and being both accused of the opinions they maintained in the public schools a year and a half before, they were allowed till next morning to consider whether they would retract. Next morning both adhered to the answers they had already made, and accordingly were pronounced obstinate heretics, degraded from their orders, and consigned over to the secular power to be punished.

Every possible method was tried upon Ridley to persuade him to receive the queen's mercy; which he rejected, and a warrant was sent down for the execution of him and Latimer. Accordingly, on the 16th of October 1555, they suffered in the ditch opposite to Baliol college. When they came up to the stake, they embraced one another very affectionately; and Ridley, with an air of peculiar satisfaction, said to Latimer, cheer up your heart brother, God will either assuage the fury of the flames, or afford strength to endure it. He then returned to the stake, and falling on his knees, kissed it, and prayed fervently for a short space; after which, preparing to speak to the multitude, some persons ran up to him and stopped his mouth. After being stript, he stood on a stone by the stake, and offered up the following prayer: "O heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks that thou hast called me to confess the truths of thy holy word, and maintain the doctrines of grace and salva-

tion even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, to have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver it from all its enemies." A Mr Smith had delivered a long and very abusive sermon, to which they were not permitted to make any answer, unless they would recant. Ridley replied to this proposal, that he never would deny his Lord, nor the truths of which he was fully persuaded: so let the will of God be done. He said he had received fines, when bishop of London, for leases which were now voided, and requested that the queen might give orders, either that the leases might be made good, or the fines restored to the tenants out of the effects he had left behind him, which were more than sufficient for that purpose. After this they were ordered to fit themselves for the stake. As the smith was knocking in the staple that held the chain, he said, knock it hard, goodman, for the flesh will have its course. Some gunpowder was hanged to their bodies to hasten their death, and the fire put to the wood. The powder took fire with the first flame, which put Latimer instantly out of pain; but there was so much wood thrown where Ridley was, that the flame could not break through, so that his legs were almost consumed before it was observed, when a passage for the flame was opened, which soon put an end to his life, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The station which both these martyrs had held in the church, their exemplary lives, their benevolent disposition, their age, and the patience, meekness, and fortitude of their behaviour in passing through this fiery ordeal, raised the commiseration of the spectators, and sent them home in silent indignation at the actors and abettors of such inhuman cruelty. Ridley's fine parts and acquirements in all the branches of literature, necessary for a divine, gave him the first rank in the clerical profession; and the purity of his life corresponded with his knowledge. He was of an easy and obliging temper; and though he had spirit to support his character, and do himself justice with the great and powerful, he was always ready to forgive injuries or offences. His zeal for religion was never manifested by promoting severities against those who held opinions different from his own, but in diligently explaining the matters that appeared to be misunderstood, and shewing their foundation in scripture and antiquity. The grace of his Master was not only shewn in the candour and charity of his sentiments, but also in kind and beneficent offices to those who differed from him in their opinions. He was a benefactor to the poor and the oppressed; he maintained Heath, the deprived bishop of Worcester, for a year and a half, in the same splendour as though Fulham-house had been his own; and Bonner's mother, who merited nothing

on her own account, dined always at his table so long as her son was held prisoner in the tower. The reformation was greatly promoted by his learning, zeal, and active exertions while he lived, and perhaps more so by his death in its defence. In England, as everywhere else, the ancient observation has been verified, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. And the magnanimity evinced by these good men, during this period of persecuting barbarity, led to consequences the very reverse of those anticipated by their adversaries. The cruelties exercised towards these innocent and unresisting victims, set all the powers of commiserating sensibility in motion, which, like a stream of electricity, rushed from bosom to bosom. The terrors of power were lost in the triumph of the martyrs, and every attempt to put the sufferers to shame recoiled on their disappointed persecutors. So much was this the case, that Gardiner, the insolent and brow-beating bishop of Winchester, began to take shame to himself for wallowing in blood to so little purpose; and that he might screen himself from the general execration, left that staunch blood-hound Bonner, bishop of London, to play off the most abhorrent parts of this infernal tragedy. But even Bonner himself turned cool; and that he might not bear alone the infamy poured upon him, not only from every corner of England, but from most of the nations of Europe, he brought Philip and Mary on the theatre, that as they were the original instigators, so they might come in for their share of merited *renown*; and in all probability the early death of Mary saved her from the mortification of becoming a queen without subjects, as she exhibited no symptoms whatever of returning moderation.

We shall conclude the life of this eminent divine, and inflexible martyr, with a quotation from Dr. Ridley, his friend and learned biographer. "Bishop Ridley (says he) was gentle to tender consciences; but wherever he found that the will was in fault from vanity, malice, or obstinacy, he set himself with great stedfastness to reduce them to reasonable obedience. With respect to himself, he was a man of humility, much given to prayer and contemplation. Ever careful of the best interests of his family, he was assiduous in their instruction; he provided every one of them who could read with a New Testament, and even hired them to learn select passages by heart. So soon as he arose and had dressed himself, he retired for about half-an-hour to his private devotion; after which, unless interrupted by other business, he continued at his studies till ten, when he came to family worship, and there read a lecture, beginning with the Acts of the Apostles, and so went regularly through Paul's epistles. In person, he was small of stature, but great

in learning, and profoundly read in divinity. Among several things that he wrote were these: A Treatise concerning Images not to be set up nor worshipped in churches.—A brief declaration of the Lord's Supper.—A Treatise of the blessed Sacrament.—A piteous Lamentation over the miserable state of the Church of England on the introduction of Popery.—A Comparison between the comfortable Doctrines of the Gospel and the Traditions of the Popish Religion.—He had a hand in compiling the Common Prayer-book, as also in several disputations and conferences about matters of religion.



### THOMAS CRANMER, D. D.

*Archbishop of Canterbury.*

THE celebrated subject of this memoir was the son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq. whose family came into England with William the conqueror. He was born at Arselacton in Nottinghamshire, on the 2d June 1489; was rather unfortunate in his schoolmaster and primary education; and his father dying while he was very young, his mother, when he had arrived at the age of fourteen, had him placed at Cambridge, where he spent his time, for eight years, to very little purpose, entangled amongst the dark riddles of Dun Scotus, and other celebrated question-ests. He then commenced the reading of Faber, Erasmus, and other good Latin authors, for four or five years, till, urged by the controversies of the times, he applied himself to the study of the scriptures for three years together. Having thus acquired a considerable acquaintance with the holy scriptures, he turned his attention to general reading, which embraced good writers, both ancient and modern. He was but a slow reader, but careful to mark whatever he read, seldom perusing a book without the pen in his hand. He married before he had taken orders, by which means he lost his fellowship in Jesus' college; but his wife dying in child-bed about a year thereafter, such was the favourable opinion entertained by his fellow-collegians for his talents and deportment, that they unanimously re-admitted him to his fellowship. On this occasion his gratitude was such, that he rejected a fellowship in cardinal Wolsey's new college, notwithstanding that the salary was much more considerable, and the path to preferment more open through the influence of the cardinal, choosing rather to remain with his old associates, who had given him so singular a mark of their friendship and affection. In 1523 he commenced doctor of divinity. Being in his thirty-fourth year, and in great esteem for theological

learning, he was chosen divinity lecturer in his own college, and appointed by the university for one of the examiners of such as took their degrees in divinity. These candidates he examined principally from the scriptures; and finding many of them grossly ignorant of divine revelation, he rejected them, as unqualified to teach others what themselves did not understand, advising them to a close and careful study of the sacred oracles before they applied for their degrees, that they might not disgrace the profession of divinity, by their ignorance of that book wherein the knowledge of God and the ground of true theology were alone to be found. Some hated him for his strictness on this point, considering it as a novel invention, while the more ingenious afterwards thanked him, in a public manner, for having been the means of giving them the true method of improvement in the knowledge of religion.

During his residence at Cambridge, the question of the king's divorce was agitated in the schools; but the plague breaking out in the university, Cranmer retired to Waltham Abbey, where accidentally meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the one the king's secretary, and the other his almoner, Cranmer strongly recommended the method that had been suggested by Wolsey, namely, to refer the question of divorce to the decision of our own and foreign universities, which he considered the shortest and safest method, and that which would afford the best-grounded satisfaction to the conscience of the king. On hearing Cranmer's remarks on this subject, the king said that Cranmer had got the sow by the right ear, and immediately sent for him to court, where observing his gravity, modesty, and learning, he resolved to cherish and promote him. Accordingly the king made him his chaplain, gave him a good benefice, and had him nominated for archdeacon of Taunton. By his majesty's orders he drew up a paper, wherein his own judgment on this delicate point was stated at large, with the reasons on which it was founded; which opinion he defended in the public school at Cambridge by such solid arguments, that many of the opposite party came over to his opinion, particularly he converted five of six doctors who had previously given in a contrary opinion to the king.

In the year 1530, Cranmer was sent to Paris to dispute on this subject, also to Rome and other foreign parts. At Rome he gave in his book, containing his opinion on the merits of the case, to the pope, and offered to defend the same in a public disputation; but after several appointments for that purpose, none appeared publicly to oppose him, while, in private, he forced them to confess that the marriage was evidently contrary to the law of God. To get clear of his arguments with a good

grace, the pope constituted him penitentiary general of England, and so dismissed him. In Germany his reasoning was admitted as conclusive by many learned men, who, before they heard Cranmer, were of a different opinion, particularly he so effectually convinced the famous Osiander, that he declared the king's marriage unlawful in his treatise of incestuous marriage, and drew up a form, which was sent over to England, setting forth the manner in which the king's process ought to be managed. Before he left Germany, Cranmer was married to Osiander's niece, whom, when he returned, he left with her friends till 1534, when he sent for her privately.

In August 1532 archbishop Warham departed this life; and the king conceiving Dr. Cranmer to be the most proper person to succeed him in the see of Canterbury, wrote to hasten him home, without mentioning the cause. But Cranmer, guessing at his intention, and desirous to decline the station, moved slowly, in hopes the place might be filled before his arrival. To decline preferment was a crime with which the clergy of that age were so seldom chargeable, that his majesty considered Cranmer a man of very different principles from the generality of his order. This tended to raise his merit still higher in his opinion; and finding at last that the king would not admit of the excuses his modesty induced him to make, he found himself under a kind of necessity to undertake the weighty charge.

Few men could be less acceptable at Rome than Cranmer; yet the pope, unwilling to come to a rupture with Henry, sent no less than eleven bulls to complete the character of his favourite archbishop. The first, which was addressed to the king, promotes him to the see of Canterbury on the king's nomination; by the second, addressed to himself, notice is given of his promotion; the third absolves him from all censures; the fourth was sent to the suffragans; the fifth to the dean and chapter; the sixth to the clergy of Canterbury; the seventh to all the laity; the eighth to all who held lands of the see, requiring them to acknowledge him as archbishop; by the ninth, his consecration is ordered by taking the oath in the pontifical; by the tenth, the pall was sent him; and by the eleventh, the archbishop of York, and bishop of London, were ordered to put it on. These bulls Cranmer received, according to custom, but immediately surrendered them to the king, because he would not acknowledge the pope's power to confer ecclesiastical dignities in England, which he considered the sole right of the king. He was consecrated March 30th, 1533; and seeing there were some things in the oath of fidelity to the pope which were seemingly inconsistent with his allegiance to the king, he made

a public protestation, that he took the oath in no other sense than that in which it was reconcileable to the laws of God, the just prerogative of the king, and the statutes of this kingdom. The same protestation was made before he took another oath to the pope at his receiving the pall; and the protonotary was ordered to make a public instrument of both, and have it signed by the persons there present.

The first service Cranmer did for the king, was the pronouncing of his sentence of divorce from Queen Catherine, on the 23d May. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, being joined with him in the commission for that purpose. The queen, neither appearing in person or by proxy, after three citations, was declared contumax. The depositions relative to the consummation of the marriage with prince Arthur, together with the conclusions of the provinces of York and Canterbury, and the opinions of the most noted canonists and divines in favour of the divorce, were then read; and the archbishop, with the unanimous consent of the rest of the commissioners, pronounced the marriage between the king and queen Catherine null, and of no force from the beginning, and declared them separated and divorced from each other, and at liberty to engage with whom they pleased. On the 28th of May he held another court at Lambeth, in which he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn.

Alarmed at these proceedings, the pope, by a public instrument, declared the divorce null and void, and threatened Cranmer with excommunication, unless he would revoke all that he had done therein; upon which the archbishop appealed from the pope to the first general council lawfully called; and sending the appeal to Bonner, under his seal, desired him and Gardiner to acquaint the pope with it in any way they considered the most expedient.

On the 7th September the new queen was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized on the Wednesday following, and named Elizabeth, for whom the archbishop had the honour to stand god-father.

When the supremacy came under debate, the archbishop answered all the arguments, urged in defence of the papal authority, with such force and perspicuity, and rebutted the claims of Rome so satisfactorily from the word of God, and the universal consent of the primitive church, that the Roman jurisdiction was abolished by full consent of parliament and convocation. The king, whose supremacy was now almost as generally admitted in England as the pope's had formerly been, began to look on the monasteries with a jealous eye. These establishments he considered, by their privileges of exemption, were na-

turally engaged to the see of Rome, and would serve the pope as a body of reserve, to support his claim in all future quarrels on the right of supremacy. This was, no doubt, a reason for their dissolution consistent with the soundest policy, though it is doubtful whether it was not strengthened by other motives not altogether so patriotic: Be that as it may, Cranmer was consulted on the occasion, and approved of the resolution; but proposed that part of the revenues of the monasteries should be applied to augment the number of bishopricks, that the bishops might have it more in their power to perform their several duties, according to the word of God and the primitive practice. He hoped also, that from these ruins schools might be erected in every diocese, under the inspection of the bishops, for the use and advantage of the whole diocese. But these noble suggestions were all defeated by the unchristian avarice and hypocritical management of some courtiers, who, neither fearing God, nor regarding the good of the community, sacrilegiously raised their own fortunes from the spoils of the church.

When queen Anne Boleyn was sent to the tower, in consequence of a fit of jealousy on the part of the king, Cranmer, who was greatly concerned for her misfortune, did every thing in his power to assist her in her great distress. He wrote a consolatory letter to Henry, in which, after recommending an equality of temper, he puts him in mind of the many and great obligations he lay under to the queen, and endeavoured to restore him to good humour and feelings of compassion; but neither this, nor a letter written by the queen herself in the most moving terms, made the least impression on his relentless heart. Her ruin was predetermined; and after Cranmer had declared her marriage with the king null and void, in consequence of her confession, that a pre-engagement existed between her and the earl of Northumberland, she was tried in the tower, and executed on the 19th of May 1536.

In 1537, Cranmer, with the joint authority of the other bishops, set forth the famous book, called *The Erudition of a Christian Man*. It was drawn up for a direction to the bishops and clergy, and formed an important step towards the after reformation. There the universal power and pastorship of the bishop of Rome is declared to have no foundation whatever in the word of God. The church of England is declared to be as truly apostolic and catholic as that of Rome or any other church; and all churches are therein declared to be equal in dignity, power and privilege, all built on the same foundation, governed, guided, and conducted by the same spirit, and equally entitled to the hope of a glorious immortality. The superstitious notions of the people respecting the ceremonies of the church

are censured; the invocation of saints is restrained, and the remission of sins, grace and future happiness, are announced to be beyond their power to procure, and must therefore be applied for to God only. Justification is there set forth to be by the merit of Christ only; and the pope's pardon, and masses for the dead, are declared of no use in relieving souls from purgatory, concerning which we have no certainty from revelation. This was doing much toward a more perfect reformation, whenever providence should afford an opportunity.

Cranmer had long meditated a new translation of the scriptures; he had often solicited his majesty on this subject, and at last obtained a grant to have them translated and printed. And so soon as the copies came to the archbishop's hand, he sent one to the lord Cromwell, desiring him to intercede with his majesty, that his subjects might have the privilege of using the scriptures without constraint; which Cromwell did, and the king readily acquiesced. Accordingly, injunctions were forthwith published, requiring that an English bible of the largest size should be procured for the use of every parish church, at the expense of the minister and church-wardens, and prohibiting all discouragement of the people in the reading of these scriptures, or of hearing them read. The book was received with universal joy. Those who possessed the means, purchased copies; the poor attended in crowds to hear it read, and many aged persons learned to read, that they might be enabled to peruse it themselves.

In 1539, Cranmer, and the other bishops who favoured the reformation, fell under the displeasure of the king, because they could not be persuaded to give their consent, in parliament, that the revenues of all the monasteries should be bestowed on the king. They had been prevailed upon to consent, that all the lands, which his predecessors had bestowed on these foundations, should return to the crown, but the residue they insisted should be applied to the erection of hospitals, schools, and other charitable foundations. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the rest of the popish faction, availed themselves of this promising opportunity to insinuate themselves into the king's favour, by their hypocritical flattery, and to incense him against the opposing party; and their conduct, on this occasion, has been considered, by many, as the cause of introducing the six bloody articles, whereby it was death to speak against transubstantiation, or defend the communion in both kinds, the marriage of the clergy, private masses, or auricular confession. The archbishop argued boldly in the house for three days together, and that so strenuously, that though the king was obstinate in passing the bill, yet he desired a copy of his reasons

against it, and showed no resentment to his opposition. The king endeavoured to persuade him, since he could not consent to the terms of the act, that it would be better to withdraw from the house; but after decently excusing himself, he told his majesty, that he considered himself obliged, for the exonerating of his own conscience, to remain and show his dissent. When the bill passed, he entered his solemn protest against it, and soon after sent his wife privately off to her friends in Germany. The king, who loved him for his probity and courage, sent the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, together with the lord Cromwell, to acquaint him with the esteem he had for him, notwithstanding his opposition to the act in question.

In 1540 the king issued a commission to the archbishop, and a select number of bishops, to explain some of the principal doctrines of religion. The bishops drew up a set of articles favourable to the old popish superstitions, and meeting at Lambeth, vehemently urged the archbishop to publish them, it being the will and pleasure of the king; but neither by fear or flattery could he be induced to give his consent, notwithstanding that his friend, the lord Cromwell, was in the tower, and his own favour with the king supposed to be daily on the decline; but went in person and expostulated with his majesty, insomuch that he joined with Cranmer against the other bishops, and the book of articles was drawn up and passed according to his own mind.

In this year a large folio copy of the English bible was published, with an excellent preface, written by the archbishop, and every parish commanded to provide one by the ensuing all-hallow-tide, under the penalty of forty shillings a month till they had so provided. The people were charged not to dispute about it, nor disturb divine service by reading during the mass, but to read it with reverence and humility for their instruction. Six of these great bibles were set up in different places in St. Paul's; but Bonner, ever inimical to the instruction of the people, posted up an hypocritical admonition beside them, that none should read them with vain-glory or corrupt affections, or draw multitudes about them when they read: But such was the public anxiety, that crowds gathered about those who read; and such as had strong voices used to read them aloud, in succession, from morning till night. Parents now began to send their children to school; the people began to open their eyes and perceive the absurdity of the Romish doctrines and superstitions, which they could nowhere find in the bible. Bonner finding that the people were likely soon to become wiser than their teachers, and that if some measures were not adopted to prevent the circulation of these heretical notions, the church

would be in imminent danger. So deeply was he impressed with this idea, that he posted a fresh advertisement, threatening to remove the bibles if the people continued to make so scandalous an use of this privilege; and owing to the grievous complaints that he and his coadjutors made on this head, the use of the scriptures was much restrained.

After the fall of Cromwell, Cranmer could easily perceive how the malignant spirit of his adversaries watched for an opportunity to work his ruin, and therefore prudently retired, with a design of living with all the privacy that the duties of his station would permit. But Gardiner, his implacable enemy, having procured Sir John Gostwick to accuse him in parliament, as one who encouraged novel opinions, and whose family was a nursery of heresy and sedition; in consequence of which accusation, several lords of the privy council moved to commit him to the tower till the matter should be examined. The king, perceiving that there was more malice than truth in the charge laid against the archbishop, under the pretence of diverting himself on the water one evening, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth side; and Cranmer, being informed of the royal approach, went out to pay his respects, and invite the king to his palace. The king called him into the barge, and ordered him to sit beside him, where his majesty apprised him of his danger from the malevolence and craft of his enemies; but assuring him of the confidence he had in his talents and integrity, he dismissed him with an approving smile. In the meantime, his adversaries pressed the king to send him to prison, and oblige him to answer to the charge of heresy. To their solicitations the king at last gave way, with the intention, however, of learning who were chiefly concerned in this conspiracy, and to what lengths they intended to push their animosity against him. Having so far succeeded in his design, he sent a gentleman of his bed-chamber, at midnight, to fetch Cranmer to the palace, where he informed him how he had been importuned, and that he had so far complied. The archbishop expressed his willingness to have the matter sifted to the bottom, as he was conscious of nothing that he had done contrary to the laws; but the king convinced him that he was wrong, and that against a conspiracy so powerful, innocence would be an unavailing ground of defence; but suggested a plan of more hopeful dependence. To-morrow, said the king, you will be sent for to the privy council, and ordered to prison; upon this you must request, that seeing you have the honour to be one of the board, you may be admitted into the council, and the informers against you brought face to face; and if then you cannot clear yourself of the charges brought against you, you

are willing to go to prison. If this reasonable request be denied you, appeal to me, and give them this sign that you have my authority for so doing. Here the king took a ring of great value from his finger, and giving it to the archbishop, dismissed him.

Next morning the archbishop was summoned to the council, and when he arrived, was refused admittance into the council-chamber. Dr. Butts, one of the king's physicians, having heard how he had been treated, came to countenance him, and found him in the lobby amongst the footmen. The doctor soon acquainted the king how hardly Cranmer had been used; and his majesty, incensed that the primate of all England should be so unhandsomely treated, sent an order to admit him; which was no sooner done, than he was saluted with the weighty charge of having infected the whole nation with heresy, and accordingly commanded to the tower till the charge was thoroughly investigated. Cranmer requested them to produce their informers, and allow him to defend himself; but finding that to these terms they would on no account submit, he appealed to the king, and produced the ring; which put a stop to their unreasonable proceedings. When they came before the king, after reprimanding them, with cutting severity, he expatiated on the fidelity and integrity of Cranmer, and dwelt on the many obligations he lay under to him for his faithful and upright services, and charged them, if they had any affection for himself, to express it by their love and kindness to his particular friend the archbishop. Cranmer, having thus escaped the snares laid for his life, never showed the least resentment to his enemies, and henceforward had such a share of the royal favour, that none of them would hazard a second attempt against him during the life of Henry. Cranmer has been blamed by many for his lenity towards the restless abettors of the Romish superstition, whereby it was thought the faction were encouraged to engage in fresh attempts against him.

But now the archbishop, finding the juncture somewhat more auspicious, began to reason down the cruelty and the absurdity of the act of the six articles in the parliament-house, pressing for at least a mitigation of its severity; by which he made such an impression on the king and the temporal lords, that they agreed to an amendment, by which the act was considerably moderated.

Soon after this, the king, preparing for an expedition against France, ordered a litany to be said for a blessing on his arms; the archbishop prevailed upon him to have it said in English, seeing the service performed in an unknown tongue made the people careless about attending the church. This, with the prohibition of some superstitious customs, touching vigils and

the worship of the cross, was all that the reformation had gained during the reign of Henry, the intended reformation of the canon law having been suppressed by the craft of bishop Gardiner, under the pretence of important reasons of state; besides, the king, towards the latter end of his reign, had taken a strong predilection for the Roman superstition, and used to frown to silence all who proposed measures in any way pointing towards a reformation.

On the 28th January 1546, Henry VIII. departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Edward, who was god-son to Cranmer, and had been educated by men favourable to the reformation. Cranmer was one of those whom the late king had nominated for his executors, and who were to manage the government till Edward should arrive at eighteen years of age. The late king, whose manifold vices and irregularities was charged to the protestants by the popish party, died in the Roman faith; and, in his will, had left six hundred pounds per annum to defray the expense of masses for his soul, with provision for four solemn obits every year; but Cranmer had influence enough to lay the order aside, notwithstanding his solemn charge for its execution.

On the 20th of February the coronation of king Edward was solemnized at Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was performed by Cranmer, who addressed the young king in an excellent speech; in which, after censuring, with singular severity, the papal encroachments on the power and prerogatives of princes, with a declaration, that the solemn ceremonies of a coronation add nothing to the authority of a prince, whose power is derived immediately from God, he went on to instruct the king of his duty, and exhorted him to follow the example of good Josiah, by regulating the worship of God, suppressing idolatry, executing justice, repressing violence, rewarding virtue, relieving the necessities of the poor, and punishing the violators of the laws. The whole of this speech, which is too long for insertion, had such influence on the young monarch, that he resolved on a royal visitation, for the purpose of reforming religion, and rectifying the disorders of the church. The visitors were divided into six circuits, and every division had a preacher, whose business it was to preach down superstition, and predispose the people for receiving the meditated alterations. To make the impressions of their doctrine more lasting, and the doctrines themselves more uniform, the archbishop was anxious to have some homilies composed, that might, in a plain perspicuous manner, instruct the people in the grounds of true religion, and at the same time correct the errors and superstitions that so universally abounded. On this point he consulted

the bishop of Winchester, and requested his countenance and assistance; but the bishop had very different ends in view, and in place of assisting Cranmer, wrote to the protector to crush the reformation in its infancy. Cranmer, perceiving that Gardiner was obstinate and untractable, proceeded in his design without his concurrence, and published the first book of Homilies, principally composed by himself, and soon after had a translation of Erasmus' Paraphrase on the New Testament placed in every church, for the instruction of the people.

On the 5th of Nov. 1547, a convocation was held at St. Paul's, which the archbishop opened with a speech, wherein he put the clergy in mind of the necessity and importance of studying the scriptures, and conducting themselves by that unerring rule, in throwing off the corruptions and encroachments of the Roman church. But the terror of the act of the six articles, which still remained in force, alarmed the majority; which Cranmer reporting to the council, prevailed with them to have it repealed. In this convocation the communion was ordered to be administered in both kinds to the people, and the lawfulness of the marriage of clergymen affirmed by a great majority.

In the latter end of January Cranmer wrote to Bonner, charging him to forbid, throughout his diocese, the ridiculous processions, which, in the days of popery, were usually kept on candlesmas-day, ash-wednesday, and on palm-sunday, and to forward the notice of said prohibition to the neighbouring bishops, that these foolish processions might be everywhere abandoned. During this year the archbishop's catechism was published, entitled, *A short instruction in Christian Religion*, for the singular profit of children and young people; and also a Latin treatise of his on *Unwritten Verities*. From the catechism, it is plain he had now recovered himself from the extravagant notions which he formerly indulged for the regal supremacy; for there he asserts the divine commission of bishops and priests, enlarges on the efficacy of their spiritual censures, and longs for the restoration of the primitive penitentiary discipline.

In 1550, Cranmer published his *Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ*. He had, by the aid and advice of bishop Ridley, overcome the strong prejudices he so long laboured under in favour of transubstantiation; and in this treatise refuted the absurdity of the notion, both by reason, scripture, and common sense. The popish party were much alarmed at the publication of this treatise, and soon after produced two answers, the one by Dr. Smith, and the other by bishop Gardiner: The archbishop triumphantly defended his book against both his

antagonists in the opinion of all impartial readers. It was afterwards translated into Latin by Sir John Cheke, and highly esteemed by many learned foreigners, for the great knowledge therein exhibited, both of scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity.

Another important step, in the progress of the reformation, was the publishing of the forty-two articles of religion, which, with the assistance of bishop Ridley, Cranmer drew up, with a view to preserve and maintain the unity and purity of the church. These articles were revised by several other bishops and learned divines, and after their corrections, enlarged and farther improved by Cranmer, and agreed to in convocation 1552, and published both in Latin and English 1553.

Some time in the late reign, Cranmer had formed the design of reviewing and purging the old canon law from its popish corruptions, and had made some progress in the work; but the king was prevailed upon to discountenance the whole design by the artifice of Gardiner, and others of the old school. In this reign, however, he resumed his design, and procured a commission from the king, for himself and other learned divines and lawyers, diligently to examine the old church laws, and to compile such a code as they considered most useful and expedient for the ecclesiastical courts, and most conducive to good order and discipline. The archbishop pressed forward this subject with vigour and alacrity; and, with the aid of his brother commissioners, had a fair copy ready for presenting to the king, when the death of this beloved monarch blasted this great undertaking, and prevented its confirmation. The book, however, was afterwards published, in 1571, by archbishop Parker, under the title *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

Edward was now far gone in a consumption, not without suspicion of having been so reduced by the operation of slow poison; and finding himself approaching his end, he began to consider the propriety of settling the succession. He had been persuaded, by the artifice of the duke of Northumberland, to exclude both his sisters, and bequeath the crown to lady Jane Gray, who was married to the duke's son. Northumberland, knowing the strong attachment of Edward to the principles of the reformation, dwelt on the imminent danger to which the protestant cause would be exposed under the government of the princess Mary, and that there remained no alternative but a protestant succession, or a restoration of popery, with all its accumulating evils; but it appeared afterwards that the duke was a rank papist even at the time he thus misled the unsuspecting monarch. It was in vain that Cranmer opposed this change of the succession by every argument. The duke had deceived the king; he and his agents kept up the deception, and the will

being made, it was subscribed by the council and the judges; and Cranmer, at last giving up his own opinion to that of the heads of the law, reluctantly subscribed the instrument.

On the 6th July 1553, Edward the VI. departed this life; and the archbishop having subscribed the king's will relative to the succession, considered himself, in conscience, bound to support the lady Jane; but her short-lived power was soon over, the people deserted her claim, and that of the princess Mary was universally acknowledged. Soon after her succession, a report went abroad that Cranmer, on purpose to ingratiate himself with the new queen, had offered to restore the Latin service, and that, as a proof of his sincerity, he had already said mass in his cathedral church of Canterbury. To clear himself of this scandalous aspersion, the archbishop published a notice, in which he declares the whole to be a false and malicious imputation, and offers to defend the liturgy of the church of England against all or any who chose to take up the cause of the popish hierarchy, in a public disputation. This challenge fell into the hands of his enemies, who sent a copy of the same to the queen's commissioner, and Cranmer was immediately sent for, and examined concerning it. Cranmer acknowledged it to be his, but complained that it had stolen abroad without his knowledge in a very imperfect condition: That his intention was to have it reviewed and corrected, and after having affixed his seal, to have it posted on all the church doors of London, particularly St. Paul's. This bold and extraordinary answer so enraged his enemies, that in a few days he was committed to the tower, there to remain till the queen's pleasure was known concerning him. Some of his friends, who foresaw the peril to which he should be exposed, advised him to consult his safety by retiring to the continent; but, considering the dishonour it would reflect on the cause he had espoused, and so strenuously defended, should he desert his post at a crisis so replete with danger, he chose rather to hazard his life than give such obvious cause of scandal and offence.

The parliaments of those days were composed of men of easy principles, who could yield to any thing that seemed agreeable to the royal will; accordingly Cranmer was attainted, about the middle of November, and adjudged guilty of high treason, and his see declared vacant. Cranmer wrote a very submissive letter to the queen, humbly acknowledging his fault in signing the king's will, acquainting her majesty, at the same time, how strenuously he had laboured to prevent it; and that he had only yielded in consequence of the unanimous voice of the lawyers, which he conceived were better judges of the constitution than himself. The queen had already pardoned many who had been

much more deeply engaged in lady Jane's usurpation, so that Cranmer could not, with any appearance of justice, be denied; of course the treason was forgiven him; but, to gratify the malice of Gardiner, and the queen's implacable resentment for her mother's divorce, orders were issued to proceed against him on the score of heresy.

The tower, at this time, was so crowded with prisoners, that Bradford, Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, were all confined in the same apartment, for which they thankfully acknowledged the goodness of God, in thus affording them an opportunity of conversing together, reading and comparing the scriptures, confirming themselves in the truth, and in mutually exhorting one another to stedfastness in professing, and patience in suffering, for the same. In April 1554, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were removed from the tower to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. At his first appearance in the public schools, Cranmer had three articles offered him to subscribe, in which the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament was asserted, and the mass declared to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. These tenets he rejected as utterly false, and promised to give them his answer in writing; accordingly he drew it up, and when he was brought again to the disputation, he delivered the writing to the prolocutor, Dr. Weston. The disputation commenced at eight in the morning, and continued till two in the afternoon, during which time the archbishop maintained his cause, with great learning and fortitude, against a multitude of insolent and clamorous antagonists. Three days after this he was again brought forth to oppose Dr. Harpsfield, who was to respond for his degree in divinity. Here Cranmer so clearly demonstrated the gross absurdities, and inextricable difficulties attending the doctrine of transubstantiation, that Weston himself, though a remarkable bigot, could not help dismissing him with commendations.

On the 20th April Cranmer was brought before the queen's commissioners, and refusing to subscribe, was pronounced an heretic, and had the sentence of condemnation read out against him. Cranmer told them that their sentence was unjust, and from their partial decision he appealed to the judgment of the only wise God, by whom, he trusted, he would be received into his heavenly kingdom and glory. After this his servants were dismissed, and himself put under close confinement. In the latter end of this year a popish convocation did him the honour to cause his book on the sacrament to be burnt, in company with the English bible and the book of common prayer. In the meantime, Cranmer passed his solitary hours in vindicating his book on the sacrament from the objections of bishop Gardiner.

In 1555 a new commission from Rome arrived at Oxford to try the archbishop for heresy, the former sentence being void in law, inasmuch as the pope's authority had not then been re-established in England. On the 12th September they met at St. Mary's church; and being seated at the high altar, commanded the archbishop to be brought before them. Cranmer paid all due respect to the queen's commissioners, as they represented the supreme authority of the nation, but absolutely refused to pay any regard to the pope's legate, lest he should appear to acknowledge the authority of the pope. Brooks, in a long oration, exhorted him to consider from whence he had fallen, and return to his holy mother, the catholic church, and by his example of repentance, reclaim those his past errors had misled.

Dr. Martin opened the trial in a short speech, in which he stated the charges laid against him, namely, perjury in respect to his oath to the pope, incontinence in regard to his marriage, and heresy on account of the exertions he had made in promoting the reformation. The archbishop defended himself against these charges, by proving that the pope's jurisdiction in England was an usurpation, contrary to the natural allegiance of the subject, the fundamental laws of the country, and the original constitution of the christian church; and, in the conclusion of his defence, he boldly charged Brooks with perjury, in sitting there by the pope's authority, which he had sworn to renounce. Brooks endeavoured to retort the charge on the archbishop, by stating that he had seduced him to take the oath in question. This, however, Cranmer told him was notoriously false, as the pope's supremacy had been renounced by archbishop Warham, his predecessor, who sent the question to the universities for their opinion; which opinion was, that the supremacy was vested by God in the king and not in the pope: That this document had the university seal affixed to it; and that Brooks himself had subscribed the same, and therefore wronged him by asserting that he had in any way seduced him. This repulse had the effect of covering Brooks with shame and confusion, insomuch, that having no better answer at hand, he cried out, "We came here to examine *you*, and now you begin to examine *us*." In the meantime, that Brooks might have leisure to recover himself, Dr. Story began to rail at the archbishop, in a very indecent manner, for rejecting the authority of his judge, and moved Brooks to demand a direct answer to the crimes of which he had been accused; with certification, that if he still continued to deny the authority of the pope, and decline answering to the charges brought against him, they would, without a moment's farther delay, proceed to sentence

him. And after a short conversation between Dr. Martin and the archbishop, relative to the supremacy and the eucharist, his answer was peremptorily demanded. Cranmer replied to each charge distinctly, in answers so copious, so clear, and confounding to his adversaries, that Brooks was under the necessity of making another harangue, to remove, if possible, the impression his defence had made on the minds of the people. This oration of Brooks was utterly unbecoming the gravity of a bishop. It consisted in scurrility and unchristian railings, together with shameful and sophistical misapplications both of the scriptures and the writings of the fathers. Brooks having done his best to turn the minds of the spectators against the archbishop, he was then cited to appear at Rome, to answer before the pontiff, within fourscore days. Cranmer said he should be very willing to go to Rome and vindicate the reformation, even before the pope, providing the queen would suffer him to travel so far.

When Dr. Martin asked him who was head of the church of England, Cranmer replied, "Christ, who is the head of the whole body of the catholic church, is also the head of the church of England, which constitutes one of the members of that universal body." Martin again demanded, "Whether he had not declared king Henry head of the church?" "Yes (said Cranmer), head of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal." "What! (says Martin), and not the head of the church?" "No (replied the archbishop), for Christ alone is head of his church, and of her faith and religion."

In February 1556 Bonner and Thirlby were appointed to degrade the archbishop; and having arrived at Oxford for that purpose, he was brought before them; and after having read their commission from the pope, Bonner insulted him in a bitter, malevolent, and most unchristian like oration, for which he was often rebuked by bishop Thirlby, who had been Cranmer's particular friend, and could not avoid shedding many tears on the occasion. In the commission from the pope, it was declared that Cranmer's cause had got an impartial hearing at Rome: That the evidence on both sides had been candidly examined, and that Cranmer's advocate was allowed to make the best defence for him that he could. On the reading of this part of the paper, Cranmer could not forbear crying out, "Good God, what a tissue of lies: That I, who have been confined in close prison, and not permitted to bring forward any evidence, or allowed counsel to defend my innocence here at home, could procure witnesses, and appoint my counsel at Rome! This lying process is so ignorantly and insultingly wicked, that God will,

no doubt, punish such audacity even in this life." When Bonner had finished his invective, they proceeded to degrade him; and to make him appear the more ridiculous, the episcopal habit they then put upon him was made up of sackcloth and party-coloured rags. The archbishop drew from his sleeve a written appeal, which he delivered to the bishops, telling them, at the same time, that he was not sorry, and thought it no disgrace to be thrust out of their church, even with all their superstitious pageantry: that the pope had no authority over him, and that he appealed to the next general council. Having thus degraded him, they dressed him in a thread-bare beadle's gown, and put a townsman's cap on his head, and so consigned him over to the civil magistrate.

While Cranmer continued in prison, no expedient was left untried that seemed calculated for winning him over to the Romish religion. Many of the most eminent divines in the university resorted to the prison daily, if by any means they might restore him to the mother-church: The more conspicuous he had been as a leader in the reformation, the more exceedingly anxious were they to bring him off; or failing, to ruin his reputation for ever with his friends and adherents: But their best endeavours were in vain, he was not to be shaken by all the terrors they could conjure up, even the inhuman cruelty exercised towards his dear and affectionate associates, Ridley and Latimer, only seemed to strengthen his resolution of resistance even unto blood.

But the papists, finding the more they evil entreated him, the bolder and more inflexible he became; this suggested the propriety of attempting his fidelity by flattery, and a hypocritical profession of friendship. Accordingly, they removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ church, where they treated him with the greatest civility and respect; made him large promises of the queen's particular favour; that he would be restored to his former dignity, with an accumulation of honours and preferment if he would only recant. And here we have an astonishing demonstration, both of the inflexible firmness and imbecility of the human character; we have here also an evidence, that insult, and every species of unnecessary severity, tends to fortify the human mind in its resolution of resistance. We have no reason to believe, that had Cranmer been subjected to continued insult, scurrility, and abuse, similar to that with which Bonner and Brooks had formerly abused him, he would ever have made such a dishonourable sacrifice and shipwreck of his profession. But a soft answer breaketh the bone; men are sometimes easily led, whom no man, or body of men, could drive. But to do the archbishop justice, he was

most ingeniously led into this grand error; which the progress of the plot, laid for his disgrace, will sufficiently manifest. The copy of his recantation ran thus: "Forasmuch as the king's and queen's majesties, by consent of their parliament, have received the pope's authority in this realm, I am content to submit myself to their laws herein, and to take the pope for the chief head of this church of England, so far as God's laws, and the laws and customs of this realm, will permit.

THOMAS CRANMER."

In this paper, which was presented to Cranmer for his subscription, his enemies had left a door of escape for the conscience of the archbishop, whom they seemed to leave at liberty to examine the pope's authority by the laws of God, and also by the laws and customs of the realm, and acquiesce or reject according as he found the pope's authority corresponding, or otherwise, with these rules; and there is a strong probability, that Cranmer believed that this was all that was required of him; but his hypocritical flatterers only wanted to break in upon his fidelity, and conquer his opposition by degrees. The queen and her council were not satisfied, it was not sufficiently explicit, and another paper, in fewer words, but more comprehensive, was sent down; which was again considered ambiguous; and a third succeeded the second, and so on to the sixth, which was drawn up in terms so strong and comprehensive, that nothing remained to be added. In this sixth recantation, the worshipping of angels, saints, relics, pilgrimages, purgatory, and, in short, all the errors and absurdities of the Romish religion, are acknowledged. This paper Cranmer subscribed on the 18th of March, under the apprehension, that he should not only save his life, but also reap the benefit of the many liberal promises which these deceivers had given him, quite unconscionable that the writ was already signed that doomed him to the stake in three days thereafter, namely, the twenty-first of the same month, and that Dr. Cole was sent to Oxford to prepare a sermon for the occasion. The day before his execution, Cole visited him in prison, whither, when they had obtained their purpose, they had again removed him, and asked him if he still stood firm in the faith he had subscribed; to which he returned a satisfactory answer. The next morning Cole visited him again, exhorted him to constancy, and gave him money to distribute amongst the poor as he saw occasion. Soon after he was brought to St. Mary's church, and placed on a low scaffold opposite to the pulpit, and Dr. Cole began his sermon. Here the doctor laboured to find reasons to justify the execution of Cranmer, notwithstanding that he had recanted under a promise of forgiveness. In the close of his discourse, Cole ad-

dressed himself particularly to the archbishop, exhorting him to bear up, with courage, against the terrors of death; and having the example of the thief on the cross before him, not to despair, since, like him, though late, he was now restored to the bosom of the catholic church, and to the profession of the true apostolic faith. Cranmer, who had the first notice of his intended execution from Cole's sermon, was horror-struck at the thought of the mean duplicity, and unparalleled cruelty of his enemies. Transactions, in every respect so base, unworthy, and disgraceful, that devils themselves would be ashamed to acknowledge. The agony, the bitter anguish and perplexity of his soul, were past description. During the sermon he wept incessantly, sometimes lifting his eyes towards heaven, sometimes casting them down to the ground in the most pitiable dejection. When it was ended, he was called upon to make a confession of his faith, and give the world the satisfaction of his dying a good catholic. Accordingly, he kneeled down, and prayed to the following effect: "O Father of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Spirit proceeding from both, have mercy on me, a most wretched and miserable sinner. I, who have inexpressibly offended both against heaven and earth, whither shall I go, or where shall I fly for help. To heaven I am ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and on earth I find no refuge—What then shall I do? Must I therefore despair? God forbid. O thou good and merciful God, who rejects none who fly to thee for succour, to thee I fly, to thee I resign myself, in thee I confide. O Lord my God, my sins are many and great; yet, according to the abundance of thy goodness, have mercy on me. O God the Son, thou wast not made man for few or small offences only, neither, O God the Father, didst thou give thy Son for our smaller transgressions, but also for the greatest sins of the whole world, so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart, as I do in this hour of extremity. Therefore, O Lord, take pity upon me, for though my sins are great, yet thy mercy is still greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy great name's sake, and for the sake of thy dear Son, in whose words I conclude. Our Father, &c.

Prayer being ended, he rose from his knees, and made a confession of his faith, beginning with the creed, and concluding, he said, "I also believe every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, both in the Old and New Testament. I am well aware of the duty I owe to my sovereign, and the laws of my country; which duty I sincerely recommend to all present; but I am also aware, that this duty extends no farther than to submit to their commands, and suffer, with unresisting patience, whatever hardships they

choose to impose upon me, while a higher authority commands, and a superior duty obliges me to speak truth on all occasions, and not basely relinquish the holy doctrines which the Almighty has revealed to mankind, to direct their way through the maze of *this* life, and animate their hopes of a future and more glorious existence. And now, continued the archbishop, I come to the most important concern of my whole life, and that which troubles my conscience inexpressibly more than any thing I have ever said or done; that is, the insincere declaration of faith to which I had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone extorted from me; which declarations, I take this opportunity, with the most unequivocal sincerity, in presence of this assembly, *publicly to renounce*, as articles signed by my hand contrary to the conviction and fixed belief of my heart, and written under the terrors of death, in the hopes of saving my life; which miscarriage of mine I most sincerely repent; and reckoning that the terrors of death, and all the excruciating tortures of the fire, are nothing compared with the conscious feelings of my ingratitude and baze infidelity towards my God and Saviour, that now rankle in this disconsolate and agonized bosom, I am ready to seal with my blood, these doctrines, which I firmly believe, were communicated from heaven; and this unworthy right hand, that has betrayed my heart, may I come to the fire, shall first suffer the forfeit of its offence." Having thus surprised the audience, who had no suspicion of a contrary declaration, he was admonished not to dissemble. "Ah! (said he), from a child I have hated falsehood, and been a lover of simplicity; nor, till beset with the terrors of death, and seduced by the promises of hypocritical men, who conspired against my honour and my life, have I ever dissembled." Thus disappointed, the popish crowd were enraged to madness, and Cranmer was torn from the stage, and, with marks of enthusiastic fury, hurried to the place of his execution over against Baliol college. Here he put off his clothes in haste; and standing in his shirt, without shoes, was chained to the stake, amid the insults of his enemies. But summoning up all the powers of his mind, he endured the scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with matchless fortitude. He stretched out his hand into the flame, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least appearance of weakness, or even of feeling, and held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied on his former fault; he called aloud several times, *this hand has offended*; and satisfied at last with the atonement it had made, his countenance became serene, insomuch, that when the fire attacked his body, he seemed quite insensible of his outward

sufferings; whilst the energies of his soul, compressed together within itself, seemed to repel the fury of the flames.

Thus perished, at Oxford, by means of a most artful and hypocritical deception, a flagrant and jesuitical breach of promise, and the rage of disappointed bigotry and blinded zeal, to the everlasting disgrace both of the doctrines and dignitaries of the Romish church, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and though by no means exempted from the faults and frailties incident to our nature, yet was he a very remarkable and highly-deserving man. His inquiries after truth were made with singular candour, while the changes he contemplated were conducted with caution, and prosecuted with unrelinquishing perseverance. He considered the Romish church a very corrupt and superstitious community, from the tyranny, the errors, and abominable superstitions of which, it was the duty of every christian to withdraw, and to do this, whatever might be the consequence. But conceiving that conviction was an indispensable pre-requisite to conversion, he chose to convince the people by arguments drawn from scripture, reason, and even from common sense, rather than force them, by the severity of sanguinary laws, to adopt a religion they did not understand, and in this way to open the eyes of the people to the truths of primitive christianity, and lead them, as willing converts, to the faith of the reformation.

With this view, Cranmer laboured himself, and encouraged others to write, preach, and hold public disputations on the controverted points of faith, that he might establish the truth in the understanding and affections of the people; and, considering the powerful opposition that withstood his best endeavours, his success was certainly great. Even under the boisterous reign of Henry VIII., though always retarded, and often arrested in his reforming career, he never relinquished his purpose in despair, but continued to do whatever still remained in his power, patiently waiting for more propitious opportunities; as we have seen in the affair of the act of the six articles, which, for three successive days, he strenuously opposed in parliament, and failing, lodged his solemn protest against it; and on the first opportunity, finding it impossible to obtain a repeal of that tyrannical enactment, he seriously set about mitigating its severity, which he happily effected. The whole tenor of his conduct, from his first embracing the reforming doctrines, gives evidence of his hearty zeal in that cause, which renders his melancholy misgivings the more surprising. Owing to the irresistible force of prejudice, and carried away with the current of public opinion, which few men, even of the greatest character,

have ever been able wholly to forego, Cranmer is also chargeable with consenting to some acts of blood, even under the mild reign of Edward the VI.; and by his counsel constraining that young prince to a very reluctant acquiescence. This was equally lamentable and surprising, as his whole conduct points him out as a person naturally mild and humane, and by no means cruel and vindictive. The goodness of his nature, and the generosity of his sentiments, appear conspicuous in his endeavours to save the life of Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher, who, whatever might be their other virtues, were implacable enemies, and cruel persecutors of the protestants, of whom he was considered the principal leader. He also protested in parliament against the attainting of the duke of Norfolk, his most inveterate enemy.

Upon the whole, he was a man of distinguished learning and capacity; his life was adorned with candour and sincerity, benevolence, and all those virtues that serve to make a man amiable and useful in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and his inflexible fortitude, manifested at the stake, has so wiped off his reproach, that after every deduction that reason and justice requires, he will be acknowledged as one of the most illustrious characters in the ecclesiastical history of England.

Of Cranmer's printed works we consider it unnecessary to give a formal list. His mind is essentially interwoven with the articles, homilies, liturgy, and general spirit of the church of England, which furnish him with an eulogy, to which no addition is requisite. We shall shortly mention such of his works as still remain in manuscript.—1st, Two large volumes collected from the scriptures, the primitive fathers, the later doctors and schoolmen, the first containing 545, and the second 559 pages; they refer principally to the controversies with Rome, viz. The seven sacraments, invocation of saints, images, relics, of true religion and superstition, the mass, prayer, the Virgin Mary, &c.; these are in the King's library.—2d, The lord Burleigh had six or seven volumes more.—3d, Dr. Burnet mentions two other volumes which he had seen, supposed now to be lost, And, 4th, several letters in the Cotton library.

---

## ROBERT FERRAR,

*Bishop of St. David's.*

AMONGST the illustrious champions for the reformation, we cannot avoid giving some account of this venerable prelate,

notwithstanding that history affords little more concerning him than the circumstances that occasioned or immediately preceded and attended his martyrdom.

Mr Ferrar was educated at Oxford, and became a canon regular of St. Mary's in that university, where he also proceeded to the degree of bachelor of divinity. It appears that the duke of Somerset, lord protector of England, during the minority of Edward the VI., and a warm friend to the reformation, was Mr Ferrar's patron, who, judging him a proper instrument for promoting that important work, procured for him the vacant bishoprick of St. David's in Wales, to which he was consecrated on the 9th of September 1547. In performing the duties of this new office, bishop Ferrar's zeal, for the cause of reformation, soon procured him a host of enemies amongst the papists and their credulous adherents. At the fall of the protector, his patron, whose death was effected soon after this by the intrigues of his enemies, these malicious people became extremely troublesome to this excellent man, and through the agency and villainous artifice of two ungrateful officers of his own see, procured an attachment against him, by which, some short time before the king's death, he was committed to prison, under a debt pretended to be due from his bishoprick to the crown. Nor can it be supposed that such an active promoter of the reformation, as bishop Ferrar, was at all likely to obtain his liberty during the following reign of bigotry and Romish superstition. Instead of a *præmunere*, with which those, who wished him turned out of his bishoprick, had formerly charged him, he was now attacked on the score of heresy by others, in whose eyes nothing less than his blood could atone for his protestant opinions. Accordingly, on the 4th of February 1555, he was brought, in company with bishop Hooper, Messrs Rogers, Bradford, Saunders, and others, before that persecuting bully of the Roman church, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, according to his usual practice on similar occasions, treated both him and his associates with the greatest asperity and vulgar abuse, and particularly threatened to make a short work of it with Mr Ferrar, in which, for once, he was as good as his word, so that the harmless bishop was hurried away to his death, without even the formalities of law or justice.

Judging by the liberty, civil and religious, at present enjoyed by all ranks of the people, it may seem astonishing that men were suffered to be condemned with so little ceremony, and regard even to the forms of justice, as we find they were, particularly under the short and bloody reign of queen Mary. But ecclesiastical tyranny now restored, the church was so earnestly engaged in extinguishing the latent sparks of religious liberty,

that bigotry swallowed up every other consideration. But the abuse of power, on this occasion, led, as it always must, to the examination of the foundation on which it rested: for men never suffer extremities without setting their ingenuity to work, if by any means they may discover some mode of relief. Hence this merciless persecution tended more to the destruction of popery, in the kingdom of England, than the most unqualified toleration could have effected: for wherever force is admitted as a necessary argument in defending any set of opinions, the most ignorant are at no loss to determine who have the truth on their side of the controversy.

With regard, however, to bishop Ferrar, the queen's council, that they might trample down every thing like justice, order, or common decency, sent him away to his own diocese in order to be condemned, not by a court of ecclesiastics commissioned for that particular purpose, where, as Solomon says, *in the multitude of counsellors there is safety*, but by an *individual*, and that highly-honoured personage, Morgan, the identical successor of the maltreated bishop of St. David's. Deeply interested in the disgraceful transaction he had undertaken to accomplish, and, in all probability, happy to embrace such a rare opportunity of putting his rival out of the way; in order also to find something like a plausible pretence for such an unheard-of atrocity, he examined Ferrar on a few articles; which the bishop not being disposed to answer to his satisfaction, this new bishop of St. David's, this solitary judge of orthodox and heretical sentiments, denounced the opinions of his fallen predecessor as damnable heresies; and having degraded him from his ecclesiastical functions, delivered him over to the secular powers, the knuckling tools of prelatice malice, persecution, and murder. The secular power, nothing deficient in loyalty to the queen, or servility to the clergy, soon brought this innocent victim forth as a lamb to the slaughter, and had him burnt on the south side of the market-cross of Carmarthen, on Saturday, the 13th of March 1555. Of this faithful martyr Mr Fox says, that he stood the fire so patiently, that he never moved, but in the same posture as he stood, holding up his flaming stumps, so he continued to stand, till one Richard Gravell, with a staff, dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down into the fire.

## SHORT INTRODUCTION

TO

## THE LIVES OF THE PURITANS.



THE English nation, under Henry VIII., having renounced the jurisdiction of Rome: The loss of such an important department of his spiritual kingdom exasperated the Roman pontiff almost to madness; but finding his power and influence unequal to the task of recovering his supremacy, he carefully watched every movement of the English government, in hopes that more auspicious circumstances might enable him to reclaim his scattered flock, and once more gather them together under the maternal wings of the Romish church. During the life of Henry he was not altogether without hope; but the piety and protestant principles of Edward his successor, together with the rapid progress of the reformation, almost drove him to despair. The short reign of this amiable prince, however, opened the way for his sister Mary to the throne, a bigoted papist, naturally peevish, and so much soured to resentment for the injustice done to her mother and herself by the reformers, that the pope found her a tool, in every respect fitting for the work he intended to put into her hands. The circumstances were promising, the moment was precious, and the holy father was determined not to let it slip. Accordingly, his paternal admonitions, together with those of her ghostly directors, were so congenial to the narrow and intolerant soul of Mary, that they were, on all occasions, implicitly and cordially embraced, and executed with such a rigour of vengeance, that every consideration of sound policy and humane feeling were swallowed up in the raging propensity to extirpate heresy from her dominions, and restore the glory of holy mother-church. Hence, in the short space of three years, two hundred and seventy-seven individuals were brought to the stake, and consumed in the flames, independent of vast numbers who suffered by cruel imprisonments, and a variety of tortures, or were ruined by fines, or the confiscation of their property. Of those who perished in the fire, there were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children.

Aware of the impossibility of burning, or otherwise destroying all the reformers, they endeavoured to flatter and cajole them into their measures; and those who continued refractory were hurried to prison, where a string of articles were offered them to subscribe, and whoever had the hardihood to reject the queen's *mercy*, thus brought to their very hand, were denounced as obstinate heretics, and sent to the flames. This merciless mode of procedure, they presumed, would soon silence all opposition; but they were too sanguine in their expectations, for notwithstanding of all the victims, thus cruelly sacrificed, the heretics were rapidly increasing in number, resolution, and implacable animosity against the perpetrators of these disgusting atrocities, which were already become odious to the whole nation; as appeared in the opposition of the new parliament.

During this period of intolerant and persecuting severity, those protestant clergymen, who escaped the fangs of this royal tigress and her blood-hounds, were dispersed, and fled for safety to the protestant countries on the continent, where they were received, particularly at Geneva, with the most fraternal hospitality. On the death of Mary, her sister Elizabeth was placed upon the throne, and the persecuted exiles returned with joyful hearts to their native country, and were restored to their flocks, and the exercise of their ministry in the churches from which they had been expelled: But most of them, during their absence, had become strongly attached to the simple ceremonial of Geneva, and other reformed churches on the continent; and finding so much of the Romish superstition still retained in the liturgy of the church of England, had their doubts how far it was lawful for them to conform; anxious, at the same time, to purge the ritual of the church of England down to something like the simplicity of the foreign churches. Here, however, they were opposed by the whole body of the dignified clergy, many of whom had been papists, and conformed to save their livings, and, in hopes of another change, were desirous to keep as near as possible to the establishment they had left. But, above all, the imperious queen, who, together with her crown, inherited also, from her father, a superabundant portion of his tyrannical spirit, held to the very letter of her supremacy with unreasonable tenacity, prohibiting all innovations. Though her interest and inclination seemed to concur with her education in making her a determined protestant, yet she evinced a feminine fondness for the external pomp and gaudy splendour of worship, and inclined rather to extend than diminish the established ceremonial; nor were the rigid manners of these pious exiles at all congenial to her spirit, which greatly betrayed the hypocrisy of her outward profession of the protestant religion.

Her imperious temper, her vanity and duplicity, her profane swearing, and a multitude of other acts, utterly inconsistent with the purity and gentleness of the religion of the Son of God, might perhaps be consistent with the character of a female despot, but altogether incompatible with that of a good christian. These excellent men were anxious to restore the church of England, as near as possible, to the primitive and apostolic simplicity, and were joined by numbers of others, holding similar opinions; but they were accounted, by their adversaries, as too rigidly righteous, and, in consequence of their non-conformity, their becoming gravity, and christian-like conversation, they were stigmatized with the name of *puritans*; an appellation by which men of similar principles continue still to be distinguished in the church of England.

But in place of conceding any thing to the wishes and conscientious scruples of the puritans, the queen published the act of uniformity, and enforced its intolerant enactments with all the rigour of her sovereign power. The puritans, exasperated by a treatment they so little expected, and conscious that, after their long and arduous sufferings, they so little deserved, could no longer abstain from bitter invectives against their oppressors. The puritans were charged with obstinacy and unnecessary scrupulosity; while they, on the other hand, charged their opponents with insolence and intolerance. The peace-makers, on both sides, could not be heard amid the heated passions and noisy clamours of the contending parties, neither of whom were disposed to yield or compromise the points in dispute, so that the breach widened apace. With regard to the doctrines maintained in the church, both parties were cordially agreed, and equally tenacious; and if any difference, perhaps the puritans were more so than even their adversaries; and though some of them were for a thorough reformation of the church from every remnant of the Roman superstition, yet the more moderate of the party, which perhaps constituted the majority, would have thankfully received a few concessions to remove the most obnoxious grounds of their objections to the established forms; of which, the article of vestments, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, kneeling when receiving the sacrament, and some similar rites, formed the most conspicuous part. But the refusal to grant a liberal toleration, with a determination, at the same time, to silence the murmurs of the people by the strong arm of power, in place of answering the purposes intended, only served to render them more inimical to the government, and more united amongst themselves.

The dignified clergy, who were the principal abettors of these coercive measures under queen Elizabeth, seem to have been

little acquainted with the human character, and to have made still less use of the experience of former ages, when they adopted a plan of policy, which had always proved abortive in the hands of their persecuting predecessors, and which, so long as the mental and corporeal conformation of mankind remains unchanged, must be equally unsuccessful in the hands of their successors. These intolerant ecclesiastics must have known, that the cruelties and insatiable encroachments of the Roman pontiffs had lately lost them the supremacy of nearly one half of the European population; and that the recent persecution under queen Mary, had so disgusted the good people of England at the very name of popery, that his holiness had been thereby bereaved of the consolation, even of hope, that he should ever regain his pretended supremacy in that kingdom. The inflexible fortitude of the martyrs, who embraced the flames at Smithfield, Oxford, and elsewhere, might also have taught them, that unless they could convince men, they would not believe them; that unless they do them justice, they will neither love nor honour them; and that, without their own good pleasure, no power on earth can make them obey. But an overweening conceit of their own wisdom and superior policy, together with the bewitching anticipations of power, honour, and emolument, urged them to acts of oppression and uncharitable severity, and introduced into the church animosity and disorder, of which the following generations experienced the terrible consequences; while each predominating party, in their turn, abused the power they had acquired; and, instead of a liberal toleration, smote, with the sword of the civil magistrate, all who refused to conform to their exclusive establishments.

Having already introduced the lives of a number of the most conspicuous martyrs, who suffered under the bloody reign of queen Mary, we now proceed with the lives of the most distinguished of the persecuted puritans.

---

#### MILES COVERDALE, D. D.

THIS highly distinguished puritan divine was born in Yorkshire, 1486, and had his education at the university of Cambridge, where he became an augustine monk. At Tubingen in Germany, he took his doctor's degree, and was incorporated in the same at Cambridge. He renounced his popish principles at an early period of the reign of Henry VIII., and became an avowed and zealous reformer. He was one of the first who publicly preached the gospel in its purity, after the

king had renounced the authority of Rome, and entirely devoted himself to the promotion of the protestant cause. In 1528 he preached at Brunsted in Essex, and publicly declared against the mass, the worship of images, and auricular confession, declaring that contrition for sin, between God and a man's own conscience, rendered confession to a priest altogether useless. His labours, in this place, were blessed with much success; and amongst many whose hearts were touched with the doctrines he taught, he was honoured with being instrumental in turning one Thomas Toplady from the errors of popery, who afterwards sealed the truth with his blood. Coverdale, soon after this, finding himself in danger of the fire, fled beyond seas, and lived for some time in Holland, where he chiefly applied himself to the translation of the scriptures. In the year 1529, Mr William Tyndale having finished his translation of the pentateuch, intended to put it to the press at Hamburgh, but was wrecked on his passage, where he lost all his papers and money, and had therefore to begin the work afresh; but found, at Hamburgh, his friend Coverdale, who waited for his arrival, and assisted him in writing a new translation. Tyndale and Coverdale finished and published a translation of the whole bible in 1535, the first ever printed in the English language.

This first publication of the bible roused the indignation of the prelates, who complained to the king; and his majesty, in compliance with their suggestions, ordered the copies to be called in, and promised them a new translation; and when the translation, in 1537, called Coverdale's, came forth, the bishops complained to Henry that it contained a great many faults. His majesty asked whether it contained any heresies; they replied that they found none. Then, in the name of God, said the king, let it go forth amongst the people.

Conscious of the mischief that Coverdale had already done to the cause of Rome, and from his great activity and industry was still capable of effecting, he was most severely persecuted by the prelates, who hunted him from place to place, so that he was forced, for many years, to remain an exile from his native land; nor could the Netherlands afford him complete security from their implacable resentment. To escape their powerful influence, he retired to Germany, where, upon his first settlement, he was obliged to teach children for a subsistence. After he had acquired the Dutch language, the prince Elector Palatine conferred upon him the benefice of Burghsaber; and his faithful ministry, and exemplary conversation, were made a blessing to the people. During his residence in this place, he was subsisted partly by his benefice, and partly by lord Cromwell, his kind and liberal patron and benefactor.

Upon the accession of Edward VI., the prison doors were thrown open to the reformers; and those who had been driven into exile returned home; amongst the last of whom was Dr. Coverdale. Some short time after his return, he became chaplain to lord Russell, in his expedition to suppress an insurrection in Devonshire; and the lamentable state of the diocese of Exeter, owing to the late insurrection, and the prevalence of popery, required some wise, courageous, and excellent preacher to restore order and tranquillity, and Coverdale was considered a proper person to fill that distracted see. Cranmer, who was intimately acquainted with him, had the highest opinion of his talents and integrity, and was always ready to do him acts of kindness; and, on this occasion, performed the ceremony of his consecration at Lambeth, he having received the king's letter patent for that purpose. Though Coverdale had submitted, under the late reign, to wear the habits, he had now, with many other celebrated divines, laid them aside.

This excellent divine, while bishop of Exeter, conducted himself with all that gravity and primitive simplicity which became his high office. He was a constant preacher, given to hospitality, sober, and temperate, hating covetousness, and every species of vice. His house was a little church, wherein were exercised all virtue and godliness. He was not, however, without his enemies, who endeavoured to have him disgraced, sometimes by backbiting, and sometimes by false accusation; at last they endeavoured to poison him; but, by the watchful providence of God, the snare was broken, and he escaped. Coverdale had been only between two and three years in his episcopal office, when the death of king Edward made room for his sister, princess Mary, which soon changed the whole face of religion; and vast numbers of the most worthy preachers in the kingdom were silenced, and this good bishop, with many others, cast into prison\*.

During the confinement of Coverdale, and the other protestant bishops and clergymen, they drew up and subscribed a short confession of their faith; a copy of which has been preserved, but too long for inserting in this work. The malice of the papists had marked out Coverdale for the flames; but he was delivered from their rage by a wonderful interposition of divine providence. During his imprisonment, the king of Denmark, with whom he became acquainted when in Germany, acted the part of a faithful friend in this interesting crisis of his fate; and after several pressing solicitations to the

\* The archbishops of Canterbury and York, Cranmer and Holgate, with the bishops Ridley, Poinet, Scory, Coverdale, Taylor, Hervey, Bird, Bush, Hooper, Ferrar, and Barlow, with twelve thousand clergymen, were all silenced at this time, and many of them committed to prison.—*Burnet's History of the Reformation.*

queen, his release was granted as a very particular favour. He was, accordingly, permitted to go again into exile. He retired first to his friend, the king of Denmark, then to Westphalia, and afterwards to his worthy patron, the elector of the Rhine, who received him with hearty hospitality, and restored him to his former benefice of Burghsaber, where he exercised the pastoral office with laborious zeal, and watchful attention to his flock, all the remaining days of queen Mary.

Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Samson, Cole, Knox, Badleigh, and Pullam, all celebrated puritans, during their exile at this time, made a new translation of the bible, which went under the appellation of the Geneva bible. They first published the New Testament in 1557, the first that had ever been published with numerical verses; and the whole bible, with marginal notes, was printed in 1560, and dedicated to queen Elizabeth. The translators aver that they were employed in the work, with fear and trembling, night and day, and call God to witness, that in every point and word they have faithfully rendered the text to the best of their knowledge: But the marginal notes having given some offence, the work was not permitted to be printed in England during the life of archbishop Parker. It was afterwards printed in 1576, and went through twenty or thirty editions in a short time. It was long after printed under the name of the reformer's bible.

With a view to the total suppression of the reformation, queen Mary, amid the rage of her persecution, and to cover the frauds, superstitions, and impositions of the popish religion, which shrunk from the light and truth of the scriptures, the English bible was burnt by public authority, and a royal proclamation issued, prohibiting the people to read the books of the reformers; and amongst the various works enumerated in this proclamation, were those of Luther, Calvin, Latimer, Hooper, Cranmer, and Coverdale.

Soon after the accession of queen Elizabeth, Coverdale returned to his native country. His bishoprick was reserved for him, and he repeatedly urged to accept of it; but, owing to the popish habits, and other ceremonies retained in the church, he modestly refused, and was, on account of his scrupulosity, for some time neglected, till bishop Grindal suggested the impropriety of leaving bishop Coverdale in poverty and destitution in his old age, and gave him the benefice of St. Magnus at Bridgefoot. But Coverdale, old, long persecuted, and consequently poor, was unable to pay the first-fruits, amounting to more than sixty pounds, petitioned secretary Cecil to excuse him, adding, "If poor old Miles can thus be provided for, he will think it enough, and as good as a feast." The request was

granted, and Coverdale continued in the undisturbed exercise of his ministry something more than two years; but not coming up to the standard of conformity, he was driven from his charge, and obliged to relinquish his benefice. Laden with age and infirmities as he was, he did not, with his benefice, relinquish his beloved work, but still continued preaching, without the habits, when and wherever he could find an opportunity, and great multitudes attended his sermons. The people used to send to his house on a Saturday to learn where he was to preach on the Sabbath following, and were sure to follow him whatever might be the distance. This, however, was too much to be overlooked by the ruling ecclesiastics. This good old veteran in the cause of Christ, was at last obliged to tell his friends that he durst no longer inform them where or when he should preach, lest he should put it out of his power to be of any farther usefulness in the church of Christ. He continued, however, to preach wherever he could find an opportunity, till his great age, and the infirmities incident to that state, rendered him utterly unfit for the task, and soon after departed this theatre of sin, sorrow, and suffering; and having fought a good fight in defence of the faith once delivered to the saints, he finished his course in a most comfortable and happy death, January 20th, 1568, aged eighty-one years.

He was a man of the most exemplary life and conversation, pious towards God, and benevolent towards men, even his oppressors and persecutors. A student of indefatigable industry; a scholar who had a place in the first rank of literature; a preacher equal to, if not exceeding, any of his time; a modest, peaceable, and forbearing non-conformist, and much admired and followed by the puritans. But queen Elizabeth's cruel act of uniformity brought his grey hairs, with sorrow, to the grave. His funeral procession was attended with immense crowds of the people; and his mortal remains were honourably interred in the chancel of Bartholomew's church, behind the exchange, London, where a monumental inscription was afterwards erected to his memory.

His works are, 1st, *The Christian Rule*.—2d, *The Christian State of Matrimony*.—3d, *A Christian Exhortation to Common or Profane Swearers*.—4th, *The Manner of Saving Grace according to the Scriptures*.—5th, *The Old Faith, or an evident proof from Scripture, that the right, true, old, and undoubted faith of Christians, has been a persecuted and suffering faith ever since the beginning of the world*.—6th, *A Faithful and True Prognostication for the year 1449, and for ever after to the end of the world, gathered from the prophecies and scriptures of God, and his operations in governing the world, very*

comfortable to all christian hearts.—7th, A Spiritual Almanack, wherein every christian man and woman may see what they ought daily to do, and leave undone.—8th, A Confutation of John Slandish.—9th, A Discourse on the Holy Sacraments.—10th, A Concordance to the New Testament.—11th, A Christian Catechism.—12th, Translations from Bullenger, Luther, and others.—The version of the psalms, in the book of Common Prayer, is taken from Coverdale's bible.

---

### DAVID WHITEHEAD, B. D.

THIS very learned divine was greatly celebrated for piety and moderation; he was educated at Oxford, and afterwards became chaplain to queen Anne Boleyn. Archbishop Cranmer says concerning him, that he was endowed with great knowledge, special honesty, fervent zeal, and political wisdom; in consideration whereof he recommended him as the fittest person for the office of archbishop of Armagh. This nomination, however, did not succeed. In the beginning of the bloody persecution of queen Mary, Whitehead fled from the storm which began to rage around him; and retiring to Frankfort, became pastor to the English congregation, where he was had in high estimation by his expatriated companions. Here he answered the objections of Mr Horne relative to church discipline, and gave evidence of singular prudence and moderation in his endeavours to compose the difference amongst his brethren.

When Elizabeth mounted the throne, Mr Whitehead came home. The same year, he was appointed, along with doctors Parker, Bell, May, Cox, Grindal, Pilkington, and Sir Thomas Smith, to review king Edward's liturgy. In 1559 he was appointed one of the public disputants against the popish bishops, with Dr. Story, bishop of Chichester, Dr. Cox, Mr Grindal, Mr Horne, Mr Sandys, Mr Gest, Mr Aylmer, and Mr Jewel, most or all of whom afterwards became bishops. On this occasion Mr Whitehead had a fine opportunity of displaying his theological talents, and he discovered such a depth of erudition, and so much moderation, that the queen offered him the archbishoprick of Canterbury. The mastership of the Savoy he might have had, at the same time, without any subscription; but he declined both, excusing himself to the queen, by telling her, that he could live plentifully by preaching the gospel without any preferment whatever. Thus, while many were scrambling for ecclesiastical dignities, Whitehead was well content with deserving them. Accordingly, he went up and down like an

apostle, preaching the gospel where he considered it was most wanted, and spent his life in celebacy; which gained him much favour with the queen, who was ever averse to the marriage of clergymen. Mr Whitehead waiting one day on the queen, her majesty said to him, "I like thee the better, Whitehead, because thou livest unmarried." "In troth, madam (he replied), I like thee the worse for the same cause."

In 1564 Mr Whitehead suffered the fate of other puritan divines, in being cited before the ecclesiastic commissioners, and suffered deprivation for his non-conformity; but how long does not appear; for though he was much esteemed by the queen, he was no favourite of the ruling ecclesiastics, being inimical to their mode of government. During the time of his deprivation it is thought he had joined himself to those other non-conforming divines, who presented a paper to archbishop Parker, containing their reasons for rejecting the church apparel. He died in 1571, and left behind him the reputation of being a man of excellent learning, a deep divine, and a rare example of moderation and self-denial. It has been observed of Coverdale, Turner, and Whitehead, that from their mouths and pens most of Elizabeth's divines had first received the light of the gospel.

---

### RICHARD TRAVENER.

THIS highly distinguished individual was born at Brisley in Norfolk, 1505, and educated first at Bennet college, Cambridge, and afterwards in the university of Oxford. Here the famous cardinal Wolsey having founded a new college, he furnished it with the best scholars in the country; among whom were Mr Travener, Tyndale, Frith, and Goodman, with many others of similar sentiments. They were men of excellent learning, gravity, and profound judgment; and Travener was, besides, renowned for his knowledge in the science of music. These men, frequently conversing together about the state of the church, with occasional remarks on her abounding superstitions and deplorable corruptions, were accused to the cardinal, and shut up in a deep cell under the college, where salt fish were wont to be deposited, and where the filthiness and infection of the place cost several of them their lives. Mr Travener, however, escaped the fatal distemper; and though he was accused of having hid Mr Clark's books under the boards of his school, the cardinal released him in consideration of his musical genius. He was an excellent Greek scholar, and much

admired for his knowledge both in philosophy and divinity. About this time, he either removed or was expelled from the university, and became a student at the inns of court; and when reading any thing in the law, he always made his quotations in Greek.

In 1534 he was taken under the patronage of Cromwell, principal secretary to Henry VIII., by whose recommendation he was made one of the clerks to the signet; which place he held till the accession of Mary, having been held in much esteem by Henry, Edward, Somerset the protector, and his patron the lord Cromwell. In 1539 he published a correction of the translation of the bible, after the best examples, which was dedicated to the king, printed in folio, and allowed to be read in the churches; but after the fall of Cromwell, in 1540, the printers of the English bible were committed to prison, and punished at the instigation of the bishops; and Travener, as a reward for his labours, was sent to the tower. Here, however, he continued but a short time; for having satisfactorily acquitted himself before his judges, he was released, and restored to his place, and continued in the favour of the king to the end of his life. About this time he was a member of parliament, and much esteemed by all men of piety and worth. In 1545 king Henry made a speech in parliament, wherein he exhorted the members to charity, unity, and concord, and Travener embraced the occasion to publish a translation of Erasmus', intitled, *An Introduction to Christian Concord and Unity in matters of religion*. In 1552 Mr Travener obtained a special or general licence, subscribed by king Edward, to preach in any part of his dominions, notwithstanding that he had never been ordained; and, availing himself of this particular privilege, he preached from place to place throughout the kingdom, sometimes before the king, and at other public places, wearing a velvet bonnet, a damask gown, and a chain of gold about his neck. When queen Mary came to the throne, Travener retired to his country house, called Norbiton-hall in Surry, where he remained till the accession of Elizabeth, to whom he presented a congratulatory epistle in Latin; for which she exceedingly respected him, placed great confidence in his fidelity, and put him into the commission of the peace for the county of Oxford, where important concerns were entrusted to his management, till 1549, when he was made sheriff of the county. His elevation, and the authority with which he was now invested, did not induce him to relinquish his ministerial labours whenever he found an opportunity. Even while high sheriff of Oxford county, he appeared in the pulpit of St. Mary's church, with his gold chain about his neck, and the sword by his side, and

preached to the scholars. On this occasion he introduced his sermon in terms, which, however popular at that period, savours too much of rant for modern ears. "Having arrived (says Travener), at the mount of Saint Mary's, in the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits baked in the oven of charity, and carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation." A similar mode of preaching seems to have been fashionable in that age. This celebrated reformer, and zealous puritan, died at his manor-house, at Wood-eaton, in Oxfordshire, July 14th, 1575, aged seventy years. His remains were interred, with great funeral solemnity, in the chancel of the church at that place. He left several works behind him, particularly the Psalms of David, reduced to a form of prayers and meditations, with certain other godly orisons, &c. &c.



### WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM.

THIS resolute non-conformist was born in Chester, 1524, and had his education in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. In 1545 he became fellow of All-souls; and afterwards, being considered one of the best scholars in the university, he was translated to Christ-church, then founded by Henry VIII. In 1550 he went on his travels, and made the tour of Germany, France, and Italy, returning to England about the close of Edward's reign; but being soon after forced, by the bloody persecution of the following reign, to flee for his life, he retired to Frankfort, and settled among the English exiles in that place. He was the first who took charge of the English congregation; but afterward resigned it to Mr John Knox. Whittingham and his associates having comfortably settled their church at Frankfort, invited their brother exiles, who had taken refuge in other places, to join them, and share their comforts; but the arrival of Dr. Cox and his friends utterly marred their harmony, and introduced such discord, wrangling, and bitter contention, that many of them were obliged, soon after, to look out a more eligible asylum. Cox and his party were strenuous adherents to the English establishment under Edward VI.; and, on their arrival at Frankfort, began to break through the simple order that had been so harmoniously agreed upon by the English congregation. Some of this imperious party having, without the consent or knowledge of the congregation, taken possession of the pulpit, read the English litany, and Cox and the rest of his friends answered aloud, by which the original determination of the

congregation was broken through. Mr Whittingham, under these circumstances, publicly expressed his opinion, that Dr. Cox and his friends, having usurped a power incompatible with the rules originally laid down for the governing of the congregation, he held it lawful for himself, and all who adhered to the original constitution of the congregation, to withdraw, and join some other church more congenial to their views. But Cox was anxious to prevent them, declaring that they ought not to be allowed. Whittingham considered it both cruel and tyrannical to force men, against their consciences, to acquiesce with all their disorderly proceedings, and challenged the whole party to dispute the matter before the magistrates; and when this could not be obtained, as a last effort towards a reconciliation, he proposed to refer the whole concern to four arbitrators, two on each side, to determine with whom the fault lay, that they might vindicate themselves from the charge of schism: but this offer was also rejected, and Whittingham removed to Geneva, where he was invited to become pastor to the English church in that place. After some hesitation, by the persuasion of John Calvin he accepted the offer, and was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. During his abode at Geneva, he was employed, together with several other learned divines, in translating the bible, which was afterward called the Geneva translation; a particular account of which is given in another place. On the accession of Elizabeth, Whittingham returned to England, and was appointed to accompany the earl of Bedford on his diplomatic mission to the French court. After his return, he accompanied the earl of Warwick while charged with the defence of Newhaven. There he was, for some time, a preacher; and though attentive to his ministerial function, he dissuaded his hearers from conforming to the ceremonies of the English church. Warwick had such a respect for him, both as a man and a minister of the gospel, that he persuaded the queen to prefer him to the deanery of Durham.

As a preacher he was highly popular, and preached before the queen in September 1563. During this year the dignitaries of the church began to urge a conformity to the clerical habits with more intolerant vigour than they had yet done; on which occasion Mr Whittingham wrote a most pressing letter to the earl of Leicester, entreating him to use his best endeavours to prevent such an unnecessary and grievous calamity. In this letter he expresses himself with considerable freedom. "I understand (says he), it is at last resolved upon that we shall be compelled, contrary to our consciences, either to wear the popish apparel, or be deprived of our ministry and our livings: and considering the importance of the charge which almighty

God has given us, with respect to the faithful dispensation of his sacred ordinances, and the strict account of our stewardship which we must one day render to him, I cannot, for a moment, doubt which alternative to choose. He that would prove these fragments of popery to be matters of mere indifference, and consequently such as may be imposed upon the church by the *ipse dixit* of the supreme magistrate, ought first to prove that such things tend to the glory of God, that they are agreeable to his word of truth, that they promote the edification of his church, and that they correspond with that liberty of conscience wherewith Christ hath made his people free. For if the wearing of these remnants of antichrist be calculated to produce the very opposite effects, then, in place of being matters of indifference, they become objects of awful importance, and fraught with the most alarming consequences to the church. For how can the glory of God, the edification of the church, or christian liberty, be promoted by the use of those garments that the enemies of Christ have invented to ornament a system of idolatry, which God has everywhere denounced in his unerring revelation? What agreement can exist between the superstitious inventions of men, and the pure word of the holy Lord God? What edification can proceed from a system, by which the spirit of God is grieved, the children of God discouraged and discountenanced, papists confirmed in their absurdities, and the flood gates of every Romish abomination thrown open, once more, to deluge the country with ignorance, immorality, and bondage, which neither we nor our fathers were, or ever will be, able to bear?

“Your lordship will easily perceive, that to use the ornaments and manners of the wicked, is to approve their doctrines, and patronize their impiety. The ancient fathers, with one consent, acknowledge, that all agreement with idolatry, in place of being indifferent, is absolutely and exceedingly pernicious. We are told, however, that the use of the garments is not intended to countenance popery, but for good policy; but who can imagine that policy good which decks the spouse of Christ in the meretricious robes of the Babylonish strumpet. God would not permit his people of old to retain any part of the manners of the idolatrous nations for the sake of policy, but commanded that all the appurtenances of idolatry and superstition should be destroyed. Likewise our Saviour, in the time of the gospel, was so far from thinking it good policy, either to wear the pharisaical robes himself, or recommend them to his disciples, that he condemned them as hypocritically superstitious. We find that Jeroboam maintained his idolatrous calves at Dan and Bethel under the pretence of policy; and the true worshippers

of God, at this day, have much cause of fear and trembling, when they see these relics of antichrist set forth under the self-same pretence. For if policy be once admitted as a cloak to screen these limbs of antichrist, why may not policy also serve to cover the enormous bulk of that mass of abominable corruption? and then farewell the simplicity of truth, farewell its purity, power, and spirituality. And what remains to be substituted in their room? Assuredly nothing but crowns and croziers, oil and cream, images and candles, palms and beads, with an endless catalogue of such trumpery as decorates the harlot drunk with the blood of the saints!

“Your lordship will perceive how deplorable our case must be, and how unequally we have been dealt with, if such severities be exercised against us, while so many papists enjoy their liberty and livings, who have neither sworn obedience to the queen’s majesty, nor discharged their duty to their miserable flocks. These men triumph over us, and laugh to see us so unworthily treated; nay, they even boast, that the portion of popery still retained in the church, is an earnest that the full harvest shall be forth-coming in due time. My noble lord, pity the oppressed, the persecuted, and disconsolate church of Christ; hear the groanings of the children of God, thirsting for the water, and starving for want of the bread of life.

“I need not appeal to the word of God, or the history of the primitive church, your lordship can judge between us and our enemies; and if we only seek the glory of God, the edification of his people, and that liberty which appertains to us both as peaceable and loyal subjects to her majesty, and worshippers of the only true God, pity our case, I beseech you, and use your utmost endeavours to secure to us so reasonable a request.”

What effect this generous letter produced, we have no means of ascertaining. Mr Whittingham was well known at court for a man of excellent character and admirable abilities, and secretary Cecil being made lord treasurer, he was nominated for the secretary’s place, and might have obtained it if he had made interest with his noble friend the earl of Leicester; but having no anxiety for court preferment, he put himself to no trouble about the matter. It is said that Whittingham withstood the order of conformity for some time, but afterwards subscribed; but so long as Grindal lived, who, towards the close of his life, connived at the puritans, Whittingham and his brethren, in the province of York, were not much molested on the score of non-conformity. But Dr. Sandys was no sooner made archbishop than he was brought into troubles, from which the stroke of death alone could deliver him. In 1577 the new archbishop resolved to visit the whole of his province, and began with

Durham, where Whittingham had obtained a distinguished reputation. He had been ordained at Geneva according to the rules and ceremonies of that church. The charges brought against him contained thirty-five articles; but the principal charge was his not being ordained in conformity to the English service-book. Whittingham refused to answer to the charge, and stood by the rites of the church of Durham, denying his authority to visit that church; upon which he was excommunicated. Whittingham appealed to the queen, who appointed a commission to investigate the matter, hear and determine the validity of his ordination, and inquire into the other misdemeanours. Henry, earl of Huntington, lord president of the north, and Dr. Hutton, dean of York, were appointed for this service. The earl was friendly to the puritans, and Dr. Hutton was somewhat allied to the principles of Whittingham, and boldly declared that he was ordained in a better manner than even the archbishop himself; so the matter rested as it was before. The archbishop, enraged to be thus defeated, obtained another commission, directed to himself, the bishop of Durham, the lord president, the chancellor of the diocese, and some others on whom he could rely, to visit the church of Durham, and the design was to deprive him, as a mere layman, in consequence of his foreign ordination: But Whittingham produced, before the commission, a certificate, under the hands of eight persons, setting forth the manner of his ordination, in these words: "It pleased God, by the sufferages of the whole congregation at Geneva, orderly to choose Mr W. Whittingham unto the office of preaching the word of God, and ministering the sacraments; and he was admitted minister, and so published with such other ceremonies as are there used and accustomed." It was then objected, that the certificate made no mention of bishops or superintendents, nor of any external solemnities, nor even of the imposition of hands. But Whittingham offered to prove his vocation to be the same as that of all other ministers at Geneva; and the president said, I cannot, in conscience, agree to deprive him for that cause alone, which, added he, would be ill taken by all the godly and learned, both abroad and at home, that we suffer popish massing priests in our ministry, while we disallow of ministers ordained in a reformed church. The commission was therefore adjourned, and never again renewed.

The archbishop's procedure was obviously invidious, and sunk his reputation both in town and country; and the Oxford historian says, that Whittingham did essential service to his country, not only in opposing the popish rebels in the north, but also in repelling the archbishop of York from visiting the

church of Durham; yet he denominates him a luke-warm conformist, an enemy to the habits and ceremonies of his own church, while an active promoter of the Geneva doctrine and discipline, and brings many serious charges against him for works of impiety. Some of which are the following: 1st, That he caused several stone coffins, belonging to the priors, and laid aside in the cathedral of Durham, to be taken up and used for troughs for horses and swine, and applied their covers to the paving of his own floors. 2d, That he defaced all the brazen pictures and imagery work, and used the stones in building a washing-house for himself. 3d, That he took away the two *holy water* stones, of fine marble, very artificially engraven, with hollow bosses, curiously wrought, and employed them in steeping beef and salt fish. 4th, That he caused the image of St. Cuthbert, and other ancient monuments, to be defaced. The truth is, Mr Whittingham could never endure any thing belonging to a monastic life. How far this *weighty* charge is correct we know not; and supposing it literally true, how far he was censurable for these *enormous impieties* the reader will determine for himself. His enemies have endeavoured to reproach his memory. With this obvious intent Dr. Boncraft says, that Whittingham, and the rest of his Geneva accomplices, urged all states to take up arms and reform themselves, rather than suffer such idolatry and superstition. He has, nevertheless, obtained, from all impartial men, the noble character of a truly pious man, opposed to all superstition, an excellent preacher, and an ornament to religion and learning. He died while the validity of his Geneva ordination was still depending before the queen's commission, June 10th, 1579, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Mr Whittingham wrote prefaces to several learned works, as Godman's book on the Obedience due to the civil Magistrate, &c. He also published several translations, and turned part of the Psalms of David into metre, which are still used in the church of England. His part of the work is marked W. W. amongst which we find psalm 119, as may be seen in the Common Prayer Book. Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and Thomas Norton, were engaged in the rest of this service.

---

### BERNARD GILPIN, B. D.

THIS extraordinary individual was born of an ancient and honourable family at Kentmire in Westmoreland, in the year

1517, and educated in queen's college, Oxford. Here he studied with persevering ardour; and the proficiency he acquired corresponded with his great exertions. Having set his heart on the study of divinity, he made the scriptures his principal rule and director; and that he might the better acquaint himself with their sacred import, he was anxious to improve himself in the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. His industry soon procured him the character of a young man of excellent parts and considerable learning; while the mildness of his disposition, and the elegance of his manners, procured him the love and esteem of all his acquaintances and associates. He took his degrees in arts at the usual time, and was elected fellow of the college. His reputation was even such, that he was selected by cardinal Wolsey to supply his new founded college. Gilpin, brought up in the popish religion, still continued an adherent to that superstition, in defence of which he held a disputation with John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester. But after the accession of king Edward, Peter Martyr having been sent to Oxford, delivered public lectures on divinity in a strain to which that university had been little accustomed. He attacked the Romish superstition with such energy, that the popish party became alarmed, and consequently united in the defence of their tottering edifice. The celebrity of Mr Gilpin's character in the university, induced the popish party to solicit, with the most pressing anxiety, his assistance in defending the church from the audacious attempts of her reforming antagonists; but found his zeal in this particular less fervent than their own. He had never been a bigotted papist, nor had he ever an opportunity of informing himself thoroughly concerning the doctrines of the reformers; only, in his dispute with Hooper, he had discovered that many of the tenets, held by the Romish church, were not so well supported by scripture as he had imagined. Under these circumstances, he hung in a sort of doubtful suspense, and considered himself but ill-qualified to defend either side in a public disputation. His inclination was rather to stand by, as an unprejudiced, but attentive observer, ready to embrace the truth wherever it made its appearance. To the pressing importunities of his friends, however, at last he gave way, and on the following day made his public appearance against Peter Martyr.

Thus drawn into the controversy, rather against his inclination, Mr Gilpin was resolved to bring his old opinions to the test, and see how far they could be supported by the sacred oracles, that he might learn whether they were grounded on truth, or that he had hitherto been involved in error. For this purpose, he had resolved to forego all shifting and cavilling, and fol-

low the truth, from which he was determined no consideration on earth should make him swerve. The disputation having commenced, he soon found that the arguments of his adversary, enforced by the sacred authority of scripture, were too strong for him; nor could he help acknowledging that they were of a very different nature and complexion from the fine spun arguments, and forced interpretations, in which he had hitherto acquiesced. The disputation of consequence was soon over; Mr Gilpin had too much honesty to defend suspected opinions, and publicly acknowledged that he could not maintain what he had undertaken to defend, and that he would enter no more into disputation till he had gained a full information of the merits of the controversy; which it was his greatest anxiety to obtain.

His mind, thus shaken by the arguments of his antagonist, his first step was to commit their substance to paper, and examine the points in dispute, particularly those on which he had been the hardest pressed. At the same time, he began, and proceeded, with singular assiduity, in examining the scriptures and the writings of the fathers wherever they bore on these controverted opinions. The consequence was, a thorough conviction, that many grievous abuses, and scandalous corruptions, existed in the Roman church, which it was desirable to have reformed.

Mr Gilpin was urged, by his friends, to leave the university; but he had too just an opinion of the ministerial work to rush into it without proper qualifications. He considered more learning than he had then attained indispensably necessary, particularly in an age of controversy; and that protestanism could not suffer more from its open enemies, than it was sure to do from the rawness and inexperience of its teachers. These considerations detained him at Oxford till the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he was presented to the vicarage of Norton, in the diocese of Durham, 1552; but, in the meantime, he was appointed to preach before king Edward at Greenwich. Mr Gilpin had resolved to improve so fair an opportunity of publicly reproving the avarice and scandalous corruptions of the times, and had accordingly arranged his discourse for that purpose. He introduced his sermon with a sharp attack on the clergy. "He was sorry (he said) to observe amongst them such shameful negligence, and manifest indifference, in discharging the duties of their office—Duties of the first importance to the people, whether they were considered as individuals, or as branches of the community; whether these duties regarded their soul or their bodies, their happiness here or hereafter: Duties, the conscientious discharge of which would one day be rewarded with the approving smile, and the honourable declara-

tion of, 'Well done, good and faithful servants, from him in whose favour is life.' Duties, moreover, the neglect of which must unavoidably subject unfaithful delinquents to the most awful responsibility. Their bustling anxiety, care and ambition, is to get possession of as many livings as can be obtained, and at the same time to perform none, or almost none, of the duties required. One-half of them are pluralists and non-residents; in either case, how is it possible that these most important, these most responsible duties can be performed; and what a lamentable consideration must it be, to see the inhabitants of whole districts thus perishing for lack of knowledge, while their instructors are far off, or lolling in indolence and luxurious ease? Should not the shepherd feed the flock? But what, if possible, is still more insufferably disgusting, is to see these same pluralists, these pleasure-hunting non-residents, defending their criminality, by quoting the laws of men in direct opposition to the laws of God: For if any such laws exist, they must be remnants of popery, and ought therefore to be repealed, that these negligent and woolfish shepherds may no longer have it in their power to plead so miserable and unworthy excuses; for so long as men's consciences will permit them to hold as many livings as they can possibly attain, and perform none of the duties thence arising, it is vain to look for the peaceable fruits of righteousness amongst their wandering and neglected flocks."

From the clergy he turned to the court, and observing that the king was not present, he was under the necessity of introducing that part of his sermon, by expressing his sorrow, that those, who, for example's sake, ought to have been present, had absented themselves. "Business (he said) might perhaps be pled as an excuse, though, for his own part, he could not conceive how the service of God could hinder any part of the ordinary business of life; and if his voice could reach their ears, he should willingly make them hear, even in their chambers; but that being impossible, he was determined they should hear him by proxy; and having no doubt but what he said would be told them, he would take the liberty of addressing their seats." "Great prince (said he), you are appointed by God to rule and govern this land, permit me then to call upon you in behalf of your injured and much-neglected people: You have it in your power to redress their grievances, and these are many. All dispensations for pluralities and non-residence ought to be withdrawn, and every pastor permitted to hold one benefice, and one only; and, as far as possible, every clergyman ought to be obliged to do his duty, or give place to others who will do so with conscientious alacrity. A glance of your grace's eye over

the realm would be of more service than a thousand of these luke-warm and idle preachers that disgrace the pastoral roll of the country, and must continue that disgrace so long as the nobility and patrons of the church are permitted to make merchandise of the gospel, by disposing of their livings, without regard to character or qualification, providing they can obtain the highest remunerating terms. These evils ought to be removed; and were your grace to send out surveyors to see the shameful manner in which benefices are bestowed, their report could not fail to convince you of the necessity of correcting them without loss of time. And I must tell your grace, that all these evils will be laid to your charge, unless you exert the authority with which you are invested, to remove or amend them. For my part, I have resolved to do my duty, in apprising your grace of the corruptions and abuses that everywhere prevail in the church; and I pray God to direct your heart to regulate and amend them."

In addressing the nobility and magistrates, he told them: "That having received all their powers, their honours, and authority from God, he expected they would exercise them for the purposes for which they had been bestowed: That they would demean themselves as patrons of virtue and discouragers of vice, a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well: That from the ambitious strivings for these carnal things, which he had observed at court, he was afraid that they were not considered in their true light: That the most careless observer might perceive, that a spirit of avarice, as well as of ambition, had crept in amongst them: That the country cried out against their extortions:—And that, when the poor came to London to seek for justice and redress, the great men would not see them till their servants had first been bribed for that purpose. Oh! said he, with what cheerful hearts, with what tranquil consciences, might noblemen retire to rest after a day spent in listening to the complaints, and redressing the wrongs of the poor; while their negligence, in performing this honourable part of their duty, obliges injured poverty to search after justice amongst the lawyers, who quickly devour every thing they have. Then let me call upon you, who are magistrates, and put you in remembrance of a truth that merits your serious consideration, namely, that if you have a legitimate claim upon the people for obedience, they are equally entitled to your care and protection. The obligation is reciprocal; and though it be true that they cannot so easily enforce their claim, yet, know ye, that if you deny them that protection, God will assuredly espouse their cause against you. And now, if it be inquired from what fountain springs up all these bitter waters, what baneful root shoots forth all

these poisonous branches, I answer, *avarice*. It is this that makes the unworthy nobleman the tyrannical magistrate, the time-serving pastor, and the all-devouring lawyer."

Having thus freely addressed his audience, he concluded his discourse, by exhorting all to consider these things; and that those who found themselves culpable, would seriously set about amending their lives. In this way Mr Gilpin commenced his ministerial labours. He considered himself, in some degree, chargeable with those vices, which, knowing their existence, he failed to rebuke. His plain-dealing, on this occasion, therefore tended rather to recommend him to the notice of men of rank; and Sir William Cecil presented him with a general licence for preaching. Soon after this he took up his residence amongst his parishioners, and, with becoming seriousness, commenced the duties of the pastoral office; and though he availed himself of his licence to preach occasionally in different parts of the country, he still considered that his own parish required the principal part of his labours. Though fully resolved against popery, as yet he had not discovered the doctrines of the reformation in their clearest light; and not being thoroughly settled in some of his religious opinions, he became diffident and uneasy in his mind. He thought he had engaged in the ministry before he was sufficiently qualified; and having, for a long time, been anxious to travel, that he might have an opportunity of conversing with learned men; and being advised by bishop Tostal, his kinsman, to spend a year or two in Germany, France, or Holland, he resigned his living, and set out for London to receive his last advice from the bishop, and so embarked for the continent. Upon his arrival in Holland, he travelled to Mechlin to see his brother George, who was prosecuting his studies in that place. Afterwards he went to Louvain, from which he made frequent excursions to Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, and other places, where he usually spent a few weeks with persons of reputation, both papists and protestants. But Louvain, being accounted the best place for the study of divinity, was his principal residence. Here some of the most celebrated divines, on both sides of the question, resided, and the most important points in divinity were frequently discussed with great freedom.

Mr Gilpin's first business was to get himself introduced to men eminent for learning, to whom his pleasing address, and literary attainments, were no mean recommendation. He attended all public readings and disputations, committed every thing material to writing, re-examined all his opinions, proposed his doubts privately to his friends, and in every respect made a proper use of his time; by which means he soon attained a

more correct view of the protestant faith, saw things in a stronger light, and felt great satisfaction in his mind from the change he had made. After having spent three years on the continent, Mr Gilpin was fully satisfied with regard to his former scruples, and firmly convinced of the propriety, as well as the necessity, of the reformation. Accordingly, in 1556, he returned to England, notwithstanding that the persecution was still raging with unabating severity. Bishop Tonsal received his kinsman with great kindness, and soon after his arrival presented him with the archdeaconry of Durham, to which the rectory of Easington was annexed. Mr Gilpin immediately repaired to his charge, and preached against the vices, the errors, and corruptions of the times, with uncommon boldness and conscientious severity, and by virtue of his office of archdeacon, laboured incessantly to reform the manners of the clergy. But the freedom of his reproof, and the sharpness of his reprehensions, provoked the malice, and roused the indignation of many of his clerical delinquents, who exerted all their influence and ingenuity to remove so troublesome an observer. With this view they found means to circulate their calumnies among the people, till it became a popular clamour, that he was an enemy to the church, a scandalizer of the clergy, a preacher of damnable heresies, and that if he was suffered to proceed in his mad career, religion would be totally unbinged by such doctrines as he was daily propagating. To realize their hopes of having him removed, a charge of heresy, consisting of thirteen articles, was drawn up, upon which he was accused in form before the bishop of Durham; but the bishop found means to protect his nephew from their malignity without endangering himself. However, the malice of his enemies could not rest so long as he continued to expose their negligence and unbecoming deportment; and Gilpin, to be freed from their malevolence, resigned both his places.

Soon after this he was presented to the rectory of Houghton le Spring. The living was valuable, but the duty was laborious. The parish contained fourteen villages, and the people had long been so destitute both of instruction and becoming example, that ignorance and superstition had nearly expelled every trace of genuine christianity, and offered fair also to extirpate reason and common sense. Nor could it be otherwise expected from the treatment they had received. Whether it was the effects of negligence or design it is difficult to ascertain; but certain it is, that the change of religion, which took place on the accession of king Edward, was not known in that parish or country-side at the death of that prince. Mr Gilpin was grieved to see ignorance and vice so lamentably prevalent,

but did not despair. He encouraged himself in the power and promise of God, and set about the strict performance of his duty. The people soon perceived that they had got a teacher very different from those they had formerly been accustomed to attend, and they crowded around him, and listened to his discourses with patience.

Knowing the temper of the clergy, he was now more cautious than heretofore lest he should give them offence; more cautious indeed than he afterwards approved of, for he often taxed his behaviour, at this time, with weakness and cowardice. But his caution was of little or no avail, for his enemies accused him a second time before the bishop, who again found means to protect him from their malice. From this time, however, his uncle's favour towards him began visibly to decline; and the better to evince his dislike of heresy, and the conduct of his nephew, he struck him out of his will, though he had made him his executor. The loss gave Mr Gilpin very little uneasiness; he was sorry that the bishop should have been offended at what he considered the discharging of an imperious duty, and would have given up almost any thing to satisfy him but a good conscience, which he considered the best friend, and the most agreeable companion, and he had determined never to part with it to please any man, or body of men.

In the meantime, his enemies were so enraged at their second failure, that they caused thirty-two articles to be exhibited against him before Bonner. At last they had got the right sow by the ear. Bonner, who was formed by nature for an inquisitor, extolled their laudable concern for religion, and promised them that he would have the heretic at the stake in a fortnight. Mr Gilpin, who was well aware of the bishop's summary mode of despatch, received this information with great composure, and prepared himself for the worst. Laying his hand on the shoulder of a friend, he said, "They have prevailed against me at last. They have accused me to the bishop of London, from whom there is no escaping. God forgive their malice, and grant me strength to undergo the trial." Then calling his servant, he ordered a long garment to be provided, in which he might make a decent appearance at the stake, and that it might be done immediately, as he knew not how soon he might have occasion for using it. Mr Gilpin had scarcely completed his arrangements when he was apprehended, and set off for London without the smallest hope of being again relieved from the malice of his enemies. In the course of his journey he had one of his legs broken, which unavoidably retarded his march. His conductors took occasion, from this misfortune, to retort upon him an expression which he had frequently made use of,

namely, "That nothing happens to men but what is intended for their good." And being asked, Whether he believed his broken leg was intended for his advantage? He readily replied, that he had no reason to doubt it. Nor were his hopes disappointed, for before he was able to travel, queen Mary had finished her course of blood, and Mr Gilpin thus again escaped the snares of his enemies, and returned to Houghton, through crowds of the people, expressing the joy of their hearts, and their gratitude to heaven for this singular interposition of divine providence. His uncle, the bishop of Durham, died the following year; but the earl of Bedford recommended him to queen Elizabeth, who offered him the bishoprick of Carlisle; and the bishop of Worcester, his relation, urged him to accept of it; but no arguments could induce him to act contrary to his conscience. Dr. Heylin insinuates, that Gilpin's scruples, on this point, would have vanished, might he have had the old temporalities undiminished; but here the doctor is egregiously mistaken, for the bishoprick was offered him with the old temporalities *undiminished*. His principal reason for rejecting the proffered preferment, was his objections to some points of conformity. Bishop Pilkington, who succeeded his uncle in the see of Durham, connived at his non-conformity, and excused him from subscribing to the use of the habits, but could only screen him for a time; for during the controversy concerning the habits about 1566, he was deprived for his non-conformity, though it is probable he was not long under ecclesiastical censure, seeing, the following year, he was again nominated to the bishoprick of Carlisle, and offered also the provostship of queen's college, Oxford; both of which he modestly declined. His heart was so set on the instruction of the people, that he had no relish for ecclesiastical preferment.

Mr Gilpin continued for many years at Houghton, and discharged the duties of his office without being further molested. When he first undertook the care of souls, he settled it as a maxim, in his own mind, to watch over their morals, to attend particularly to their instruction, and do all the good in his power. His future endeavours were therefore wholly directed to these important objects; and the better to effect his purpose, he endeavoured, in the first place, to gain the affections of the people, and to obtain this without making any servile compliances. His means, as well as the end in view, were laudable. His behaviour was frank without levity. He was courteous and obliging without meanness, and insinuated himself into their good graces, not by flattering them in their vices, but by convincing them that he really and sincerely laboured for their happiness both here and hereafter. He was not satisfied

with the instruction he gave them in public, but taught them from house to house, and encouraged his people to come to him with their doubts and difficulties. In this way he admonished the vicious, and encouraged the well-disposed; and, by the blessing of God on his faithful labours, an important change for the better was soon apparent throughout the parish. But it grieved his righteous soul to see the surrounding parishes so shamefully neglected by their spiritual instructors, and in consequence so deeply sunk in ignorance, superstition, and immorality, that true religion, and a godly conversation, were almost unknown among them. Such indeed was their deplorable condition, that bishop Grindal found it necessary, in 1570, to publish an injunction, wherein, among other things, he commands, "That no pedler shall be admitted to sell his wares in the porch of the church during divine service: That the parish clerks shall be able to read: That no lords of misrule, or summer lords and ladies, or any disguised persons, morice dancers, or others, shall come irreverently into the church, or play any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk, in the time of divine service." The bishop's prohibition amounts to a positive proof that these disgraceful scenes were common at that period in the see of Durham; and Mr Gilpin, that he might as far as in his power correct these abuses, travelled regularly every year through the most neglected parishes of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire: And that his own people might not suffer from his absence, he was at the expence of keeping an assistant. There is a tract of country on the borders of Northumberland, called Readsdales and Tynedale, inhabited by a banditti who lived chiefly by plunder. In this wretched place, where men were afraid to travel, Mr Gilpin spent some part of his time every year. He had fixed places and appointments for preaching, to which he punctually attended. Where there was a church he made use of it, where none, he preached in barns, or other large buildings, or in the open fields, and never failed of a large congregation.

Having at one time made the requisite preparations for an excursion into these deplorable places, he received a message from Dr. Barns, bishop of Durham, appointing him to preach a visitation sermon on the following Sabbath. He acquainted the bishop with his engagements, and begged his lordship to excuse him for that time; and receiving no answer, concluded that his excuse had been admitted, and so proceeded on his journey; but was not a little astonished, on his return, to find himself suspended. Some short time after this he received an order to meet the bishop and a great number of his clergy;

which he did, and was immediately ordered to preach. Mr Gilpin excused himself, by pleading his suspension, and that he was wholly unprepared; but no excuse could be admitted, the suspension was removed, and accordingly Mr Gilpin, unprepared as he was, had to mount the pulpit, where he preached upon the important charge, and awful responsibility of a christian bishop. In his sermon, after censuring, with unsparing severity, the corruption and vices of the clergy, he boldly addressed the bishop in these words: "Let not your lordship excuse yourself, by saying that these crimes have been committed by others without your knowledge; for be assured, my lord, that whatever is done, either by yourself in person, or by others in consequence of your connivance, is wholly your own: In presence, therefore, of God, angels, and men, I pronounce you the author of all these evils; and in that great day of general account, I shall be a witness against you, that all these things have come to your knowledge by my means; yea, and all these men who have heard me, will also witness against you."

Mr Gilpin's friends were much alarmed for his safety: From the great freedom he had used, they imagined that the bishop had now got that advantage against him which his enemies had so long wished to obtain; and when they expostulated with him, he only said, "The Lord God ruleth over all; and if my discourse answer the purpose intended, I am not very careful what be the consequences with regard to myself." Mr Gilpin called on the bishop to pay his compliments, who, after some conversation, told Mr Gilpin, that he had determined to wait on him to his house; which he accordingly did. As soon as he had conducted him into the parlour, the bishop turned round, and taking him by the hand, said, "Father Gilpin, I acknowledge you are fitter to be bishop of Durham, than I am to be the parson of your parish. I ask forgiveness for past injuries. Father, forgive me. I know you have enemies; but so long as I am bishop of Durham, be assured none of them shall give you any farther trouble."

Mr Gilpin's benevolence and hospitality were admirable, strangers and travellers found a cheerful reception at his house, all that came were made welcome; even when from home, the poor were fed, and strangers entertained as usual. Twenty-four of the poorest of his parishioners were his constant pensioners. Four times in the year a dinner was provided for the poor in general, when they received a certain quantity of corn, and a small sum of money; and lest the modesty of suffering individuals might prevent their relief, he was at great pains to search them out; but the money best laid out, in his opinion, was that which encouraged industry. If a poor man had lost a

beast, he would send him another; or when, at any time, the farmer had a bad crop, he would remit a portion of his tythes. Thus, as far as possible, he took the burden of the parish upon himself; nor were his generosity and beneficence confined to the bounds of his own parish, through the distant places where he preached, and even on the road, he still exercised his usual liberality.

Towards the close of life, Mr Gilpin went through his laborious exercises with great difficulty. By many years arduous labour and fatigue, his constitution was worn down, and his health considerably impaired. In a letter to a friend, he says, "To sustain all these travels and troubles I have a very weak body, subject to many diseases, by the motions of which I am daily warned of my approaching dissolution. My greatest grief is, that my memory is almost gone; my sight, and also my hearing, fast failing me, with other ailments more than I can well express." While thus struggling with old age, and a shattered constitution, an ox ran him down, with such violence, on the street, that though he survived the shock, he continued lame to the end of his life.

During his last illness he signified his apprehensions to his friends, and spoke of death with happy composure of spirit. Some few days before his departure, he requested that his friends, his acquaintances and dependents, might be called into his chamber, where he delivered, to each of them, the pathetic admonitions of a dying christian; and soon after finished a life of unremitting labour in the cause of religion and holiness, under the consoling prospect of that eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, promised. His death took place the 4th of March 1583, and in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Such was the happy termination of the life and unremitting exertions of Mr Bernard Gilpin, whose learning, piety, charity, and conscientious labours, have seldom been equalled in modern times. He was possessed of a ready comprehension, a powerful memory, and a profound judgment. He was greatly superior in the knowledge of languages, history and theology; and so intent on the instruction of the ignorant, that he was usually called the apostle of the north; and his beneficence was so universal, that they styled him the father of the poor. He was a decided puritan and non-conformist in principle; but hesitated concerning the duty of separating from the church. Full of faith and good works, he was accounted a saint even by his enemies, and died lamented as he lived revered.

By his last will and testament he left one-half of his property to the poor of Houghton, and the rest to a number of poor scholars at the university. From his childhood Mr Gilpin

was inclined to thoughtfulness, as will appear by the following anecdote. "A begging friar, coming on a Saturday evening to his father's house, was received with great hospitality; but making too free with what was set before him, got disgustingly intoxicated. Next morning, however, he ordered the bell to be rung for public worship, and from the pulpit attacked the vices of the age with unmerciful severity, particularly the disgraceful sin of drunkenness. Young Gilpin, then a child on his mother's lap, for some time seemed earnestly attending to the friar's discourse, and at length cried out, with indignation, "Mamma, do you hear that fellow how he speaks against drinking, and was drunk himself last night!"

The disinterested pains he took among the barbarous people in the north, excited in their bosoms the warmest emotions of gratitude and esteem. Being once on his journey to Reads-dale and Tynedale, he had his horses stolen through the carelessness of his servant. The news were quickly spread through the country, and every one expressed the highest indignation at the base transaction. In the meantime, the thief was rejoicing over his prize; but finding, by the general report, it was father Gilpin's horses he had stole, he became exceedingly terrified, believing the devil should carry him off bodily for stealing the property of such an excellent man; and under this fearful panic, came trembling back and restored the horses. Strangers and travellers were so kindly entertained, and even their beasts were so well taken care of at Mr Gilpin's house, that it was humorously said, "If a horse was let loose in any part of the country, he would soon find his way to the rectory of Houghton."

---

### JOHN COPING.

THIS maltreated individual was minister near Bury, St. Edmund's; a zealous puritan of the Brownist persuasion, and an almost unparalleled sufferer for non-conformity. In 1576 he was brought into trouble by the bishop of Norwich's commissary, and committed to prison at Bury, where he was charged with maintaining the following opinions: "That unpreaching ministers were dumb dogs: That whoever kept saints' days were idolaters: That the queen, having sworn to keep God's law, and set forth his glory as appointed in the scriptures, but did not, is perjured: That for six months he had refused to have his own child baptized, because he had determined that none should baptize it who did not preach; and that he would not

admit a god-father or god-mother on the occasion." Mr Coping having, for these offences, remained in prison two years, and still refusing to conform, was brought before justice Andrews, December 1578, when the above false and malicious opinions, as they were pleased to call them, were proved against him. Mr Coping, continuing stedfast to his principles, and resolved not to sacrifice a good conscience on the altar of conformity, was remanded to prison; where he remained almost five years more. Mr Elias Thacker, another minister of the same denomination, was his fellow-prisoner. After these two men had suffered this lingering and painful confinement, they were indicted, tried, and condemned, for circulating certain books, said to be seditiously written, by Thomas Brown, against the book of common prayer. Brown's book, for the circulating of which these men were condemned, was charged with sedition, inasmuch as it acknowledged the supremacy of the queen in civil matters *only*, not in matters ecclesiastical, thereby subverting the constitution of the established church. The judges laid hold on this construction, on purpose to aggravate their offence to the queen, whom they knew to be extremely jealous of her supremacy, as the sentence passed upon them was founded upon the 23d Eliz. against seditious libels, and for refusing the oath of supremacy. Having received the sentence of death, they were both hanged at Bury, in the month of June 1583. Such was the resentment, and even the madness of their persecutors, that they collected together all that could be found of Brown's books, prior to their execution, and burnt them before their eyes. Under all these unavailing barbarities, the two champions of independence continued immoveable, and died sound in the faith, and with the reputation of holy and unblemished lives. It may be considered unfair to measure the transactions of those days of ignorance by the standard of present faith or feeling; but to hang men for circulating books, while the writer himself was pardoned and set at liberty, appears more like implacable revenge than even the severity of justice.

---

### JOHN FIELD, A. M.

THIS highly distinguished divine was minister of Aldermary church, in the city. The puritans, whose application to the bishops, and also to the queen, for a farther reformation had failed, finding all their individual and united endeavours unavailing, came to the resolution of applying to parliament.

With this view, they made all the interest in their power amongst the members, and compiled a treatise, wherein their numerous grievances were exhibited in one view. This was drawn up by Mr Field and Mr Wilcocks, revised by a number of their brethren, and entitled, *An Admonition to Parliament*; to which were added, Beza's letter to the earl of Leicester, and Gualter's to bishop Parkhurst. The work contains the model of a christian church, pointing out the manner of electing ministers, their various duties, and their equality of power, and then proceeds to expose the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the tyrannical proceedings of the bishops, concluding with an humble petition to both houses, that discipline, better according with the word of God, and other reformed churches, may be established by law. They proved, by incontrovertible evidence, the tyrannical government of the church, and the persecution by which it was upheld; but the doubt is, whether they would not have fallen into the same error had they succeeded in their application to parliament, and, like the then ruling ecclesiastics, also required an act of uniformity, which would have probably shifted this dangerous power into other hands, but could be of no other advantage, unless we suppose that the new actors would have exercised their authority with more moderation. The truth is, toleration of opinion was by no means generally understood at this time. This fatal error, which had for so many ages made havock of the church, was introduced by the clergy when wearied with the simplicity of the apostolic mode of governing by persuasion and rational conviction. They then began to imitate the Jewish system of priests, altars, sacrifices, and sacerdotal habiliments, with other imitations of that despotic economy, which the doctrines of Christ declared null and void, and his death rendered for ever unnecessary.

Mr Field and Mr Wilcocks presented the admonition to parliament themselves, for which they were committed to Newgate; and the book being already printed, went abroad, and passed through four editions in about two years, notwithstanding that the bishops used their best endeavours to suppress it. The two prisoners were sentenced to one full year's imprisonment; which they accordingly suffered; but could not, even at that period, obtain their liberty. They petitioned the lords of the council, also the earl of Leicester, to endeavour to move the queen to order their liberation; but it does not appear whether they succeeded in these applications.

During their imprisonment, Dr. Whitegift published his answer to the admonition, in which he charges them with being disturbers of the peace and good order of the church, with being enemies to the state, and holding, publishing, and abetting

many dangerous heresies. To these charges they wrote an animated reply, annexing a very judicious and comprehensive statement of their religious opinions.

All their attempts to promote a farther reformation in the church of England having thus proved impracticable, the leading puritans agreed to attempt it in a more private way. With this view, they erected a presbytery at Wandsworth in Surrey; which being seated on the bank of the Thames, was convenient for the London brethren. This is said to have taken place in 1572. It is not precisely ascertained at what time these persecuted individuals were liberated from prison, only that Mr Field, we find, was minister of Aldermary church in 1574; but his hardships were not yet over; for teaching children in gentlemen's houses, contrary to the orders of the bishops, both he and Mr Wilcocks were banished to the most barbarous places of Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Lancashire, or other places where his lordship observed they might be useful in reclaiming the people from the ignorance and errors of Rome. The next account we meet with of this excellent divine is, that he was engaged with several other learned divines in a disputation with certain papists in the tower, in which he is said to have taken an active part, and to have collected and published an account of the same, after having been examined and approved by the persons concerned. In 1584 he was again suspended by the bishop of London, for admitting an assembly of divines at his house, among whom several were from Scotland. These divines being disaffected to the hierarchy, the assembly was considered an unlawful conventicle. Mr Field was therefore suspended for entertaining them, and the rest deprived for refusing to subscribe. Whether he was ever restored to the exercise of his ministry is uncertain. He died in February 1587, and his remains were interred in Cripplegate church, London. Some short time before his death, Mr Field united with his brethren in subscribing the Book of Discipline.

---

### JOHN FOX, A. M.

THIS celebrated author, better known by the title of Martyrologist, was born at Boston in Lincolnshire, in 1517. Owing to the early death of his father, and the second marriage of his mother, he was put under the guardian care of his father-in-law. At the age of sixteen he was sent to Brazen-nose college, Oxford, and afterwards became fellow of Magdalene college in the same university. In his youth he discovered a taste for

poetry, and composed several Latin comedies upon subjects selected from the scriptures. For some time after he went to college, Mr Fox was strongly attached to the Romish religion. His life was also strictly moral, he therefore rejected the doctrine of justification through the merits of Christ, considering that his own merit, alms-deeds, penances, and compliance with the ceremonies of the church, would afford him sufficient security and protection. Afterwards, however, he came to be convinced of the false foundation on which he had erected his visionary fabric of defence, and fled for refuge to the blood of sprinkling. His indefatigable researches into the history of the church, the writings of the fathers, and especially the holy scriptures, thoroughly convinced him of the immense difference that existed between the doctrines and practice of the Roman church and those of the primitive christians.

Anxious to become a competent judge of the controversy, which was now become general between the papists and protestants, he studied incessantly. Living in a very solitary manner, and forsaking, in a great measure, the company of his old popish friends and acquaintances, he soon became suspected of entertaining the reforming principles, and of being infected with heresy: But having found the truth, he became bold in its defence, and determined to suffer the loss of all things that came in competition with his public profession thereof. This was no sooner known, than he was publicly accused, and expelled the college for heresy. His enemies indeed thought they had dealt very favourably in suffering him to escape with his life. This took place in 1545, upon which he was deserted by his friends and relatives, who, as he had been convicted of heresy, thought it unsafe, and for that reason were unwilling to countenance or protect him. In the meantime, his father-in-law basely took advantage of this circumstance, to withhold his estate which had been left him by his father. In this hour of extremity, while forsaken by his friends, and oppressed by his enemies, God had compassion on him, and raised him an unexpected friend and protector, in Sir Thomas Lucy of Warwickshire, who took him into his house, and made him tutor to his children, where he found a comfortable asylum from the rage of his enemies. While in this situation he married, but still continued in Sir Thomas' family till his pupils were grown up, when he was again reduced to great straits, and glad to solicit entertainment at the house of his father-in-law, which, with considerable difficulty, he sometimes obtained; and sometimes also he lived at his wife's father's in Coventry, till a little before the death of king Henry, that he removed to the metropolis. After his arrival in London, he had no employment for

a considerable time, and was again reduced to absolute penury and destitution. In this deplorable condition, as he was sitting one day in St. Paul's, pale, meagre, and dejected from want and starvation, with a countenance ghastly as that of a dying man, a person, whom he had no recollection of having ever seen before, came and sat down beside him, and accosting him with great familiarity, put a sum of money into his hand, saying, "Be of good cheer Mr Fox, and use all means to preserve your life; for, be assured, that in a few days God will give you a better prospect, and provide you with less precarious means of subsistence." Though Mr Fox could never learn to whom he was indebted for that providential relief, in less than three days he was taken into the family of the duchess of Richmond, and appointed tutor to the earl of Surrey's children, whose education had been committed to her care. In this honourable family Mr Fox continued during the remaining part of the reign of Henry VIII., the whole reign of Edward VI., and part of that of queen Mary. Bishop Gardiner, in whose diocese he enjoyed this comfortable retreat, would have willingly brought him to the stake, had not the powerful protection of the duke of Norfolk, who had been his pupil, saved him. It was with deep regret that Gardiner beheld the heir of one of the first families of England trained up in the protestant faith under his influence. This proud and persecuting prelate formed several designs, and used various stratagems to effect the ruin of this harmless individual, till at last he had to fly for his life, and take shelter in a foreign land.

The duke, who revered him as a father, protected him so long as he was able, and took care, when he removed, to provide him with every thing necessary for his comfort on the voyage. He set sail from Ipswich, in company with his wife and some other persons engaged in the same cause. The vessel had scarcely got out to sea when they were overtaken by a tremendous storm, which obliged them to return to the port, where they landed next day. But Mr Fox had just got ashore when he was apprised that the bishop's warrant for his apprehension had been emitted, and that the strictest search had been made for him during his absence at sea. Upon this intelligence, he prevailed on the captain to put again to sea; which he did immediately, though the storm had not subsided, and they arrived in safety at Newport; in Flanders, in two days. Thus had Mr Fox twice narrowly escaped the flames.

From Newport he travelled to Antwerp, then to Frankfort, where he got involved in the contentions excited amongst the brethren by the officious interference of Dr. Cox and his party, which obliged the first settlers to remove to Basil in Switzer-

land, whither Mr Fox accompanied them. Basil, at this time, was accounted one of the first places in Europe for printing; here a number of the English refugees found employment in revising and correcting the press. Mr Fox supported his family in this way; and here he laid the plan of his Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs, and had proceeded some length with the work, but reserved the greater part of it till he returned to his native country, where he could obtain the testimony of a greater number of witnesses who had seen the transactions they attested. It appears, from the author's own notes, that he was eleven years in compiling this great work, notwithstanding that he was favoured with the assistance of several distinguished characters; among whom were Mr John Aylmer, bishop of London, Edmond Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Norton, a highly celebrated lawyer, who married archbishop Cranmer's only daughter. From this last-mentioned individual our author received the greatest assistance. Grindal likewise furnished him with a great many documents, which, when digested and arranged, he found of important service. For this purpose, during Grindal's exile, he had established a correspondence in England, by which means statements of most of the sufferings of the martyrs came through his hands; but so intent was he on obtaining satisfactory evidence for every thing introduced into this work, that he persuaded Mr Fox not to publish it till some opportunity could be embraced for comparing and correcting the documents sent over on the ground where the transactions took place. It was also by Grindal's advice that Mr Fox at first published the Acts of several of the Martyrs separately, particularly of such as had been supported with satisfactory evidence. Mr Fox had resolved to publish the whole work in Latin; but by the advice of Grindal, he published it both in Latin and English, with the design of rendering it more generally serviceable to the public. It was first published in London, in one thick folio volume, with the following title, "Acts and Monuments of these latter perilous days, touching matters of the Church; wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish prelates, speciallye in this realme of England and Scotland, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousand unto the time now present," &c. The ninth edition of this work was published in London, 1632, in three volumes folio, with copper cuts, the former editions having had only wooden ones.

Several writers have laboured to depreciate the memory of Mr Fox, by insinuating that his martyrology contains many misrepresentations and falsehoods. Dr. Collier, ever watchful

for an opportunity to vilify his performance, and lessen his reputation, charges him with ill-nature and disingenuousness, and that a vein of coarse satire and indelicate phraseology runs through the whole work: That he ought to be read with great caution; moreover, that his zeal was bitter, and that his passion and disaffection pushed him on to profanity.

That Mr Fox evinces, in some parts of his book, a temper kindled into indignation, will not be denied; but then it ought to be recollected, that the scenes, of merciless cruelty and unspeakable torment, he has described, were many of them recent transactions, several of which, in all likelihood, passed under his own eye, and must therefore have left impressions on his mind which could never be obliterated; besides, though he escaped the flames of Smithfield almost by a miracle, he had to drink a pretty large proportion of the bitter cup allotted to the faithful of that period—all which circumstances taken into the account, the wonder is *not*, that he sometimes gave vent to his indignation at such diabolical procedure, but that he conducted himself, while describing these fiend-like transactions, with so much moderation as he has done. Mr Fox, like every other writer of memoirs, was subjected to the inconveniency of selecting his information from so many sources, that it was impossible for him to publish a volume of such dimensions with certainty that no error had crept into his narrative. He corrected, however, all the mistakes that came to his knowledge in his next edition. What more could be reasonably expected? Tyrants and persecutors, in all ages, have endeavoured to cover their atrocities with some plausible pretence. It is little wonder then that they should charge Fox with disingenuity, who had torn off their veil of hypocrisy, and exhibited them to the world in all their naked and hideous deformity.

On this herculean performance Mr Strype passes an honourable encomium. “Mr Fox (says he) has done essential service to the protestant cause, by shewing, from ancient records, books, registers, and choice manuscripts, the continual encroachments of the popes and their coadjutors, and the spirited resistance maintained by learned and good men in every age and country, particularly under king Henry and queen Mary in England. He hath preserved the memoirs of those holy men and women, those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and deaths, cheerfully submitted to for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and for refusing to comply with the popish doctrines and superstition. The world is infinitely indebted to Mr Fox, continues he, for his painful and patient researches into the records, archives, and repositories of original acts and letters of state, and other highly-important manuscripts, from

which he has communicated abundance of extracts in these volumes; and as his labours were incessant, so his transcriptions are eminently correct."

No book ever inflicted a wound so deep and incurable on the Romish system of superstition and bloody persecution; on which account, his talents, zeal, and labours, drew down upon himself the malice and unqualified malediction of all his catholic foes. His name was inserted in a bead roll, or list of prescription, intended for a first sacrifice when the contemplated scheme of overrunning England should be accomplished. Mr Fox's history of the martyrs was placed in the common halls of archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and heads of colleges, and in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom, by order of queen Elizabeth.

On learning that Elizabeth had mounted the throne of England, Mr Fox returned from his exile, and was received with great cordiality, and kindly entertained by his pupil the duke of Norfolk, who maintained him at his residence, and settled a pension upon him by his last will. In 1572, when this unhappy nobleman was beheaded on Towerhill for his treasonable connections with the queen of Scots, he was attended by Mr Fox, and Dr. Newell dean of St. Paul's, in his last moments on the scaffold. After returning from the continent, Mr Fox was three years without preferment of any kind whatever, as appears from his letter to Dr. Humphrey, his friend and acquaintance; where he says, "I still wear the same clothes, and remain in the sordid condition that England received me when I came from Germany; nor have I changed my degree and order, which is that of the mendicants or friar preachers, if you please." Thus, with good-natured pleasantry, did he reproach the neglect and ingratitude of the times. He continued, however, till the year 1563 without the least preferment, when secretary Cecil procured for him a prebend in the church of Salisbury; this, which with some difficulty he retained till his death, was all the preferment ever he obtained. He lived, however, many years after this in great esteem and favour with persons of high rank and reputation. Bishops Grindal, Parkhurst, Pilkington, and Aylmer, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Thomas Gresham, were his steady and powerful friends; and by their influence would have raised him to the highest preferment; but as he could not subscribe, and disapproved of the ceremonies of the church, he expressed his gratitude for their kind intentions, but begged to be excused.

In the year 1564, archbishop Parker attempted to force the clergy to conform to the ritual of the established church; and

trusting that the capital would influence the country, began with the London ministers: Judging also that Mr Fox's conduct would, in all probability, be followed in the city, he was first called, and examined on the following question: "Will you promise conformity to the apparel, by law established, and testify your acquiescence by subscribing with your hand?" Here Mr Fox drew from his pocket his Greek New Testament, saying, "To *this* I will subscribe!"

When the commissioners urged him to subscribe the canon, he refused, saying, "I have nothing in the church but a prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you take it from me." Whoever refused thus to conform were immediately suspended, and, at the termination of three months, deprived of their livings. His ecclesiastic judges, however, were ashamed to deprive so celebrated an individual to whom so little had been given.

The queen having, at one time, been graciously pleased to grant indulgence to several non-conforming divines, Fox presented her majesty with a panegyric written in Latin; but in the year 1575, he had occasion to address her on a very different subject. In the course of this year the spirit of persecution was wrought up to the most extravagant pitch against the anabaptists in London, ten of whom were condemned for the opinions they held; of which number eight were ordered into banishment, and the remaining two to be burnt. On this occasion Mr Fox wrote an excellent letter of admonition to the queen, in which he deprecates rekindling the fires of Smithfield, from the consideration, that men, who err from ignorance, which all must do who adhere to their errors in defiance of death, are more the objects of pity than punishment, more entitled to instruction than persecution, unless we are determined to destroy the soul as well as the body. I do not write this, says he, with any design of favouring or patronizing error, but to save the lives of erring men, I myself being one, and to leave them an opportunity of re-considering their belief, of being better informed, and of retracting their erroneous opinions. His laudable endeavours, however, to soften the rigour of her severity against these otherwise unoffending individuals, were all to no purpose; the queen remained inflexible, and though she always called him father Fox, on this occasion she gave him a flat denial, unless they would submit to her despotic authority; which they would not, and were accordingly both burnt at Smithfield, July 22d, 1575, to the everlasting disgrace of the reign, the character, and kingdom, of this cruel and imperious woman.

Mr Fox was a laborious student, a most learned, pious, and judicious divine, strongly opposed to every act of severity in

matters of religion; but being a noted and determined non-conformist, his merits were overlooked and shamefully neglected. Preferment, however, he had determined not to accept on the terms it was then bestowed; he was content with his prebend at Salisbury; while the richest mitre in England, according to Fuller, would have counted itself preferred by being placed on his head. His enemies were many; yet several of them have had the honesty to acknowledge his powerful talents, his pious life, and manifold virtues. Even Wood denominates him a sagacious searcher into antiquity, incomparably charitable, and of an exemplary life and conversation; but a severe Calvinist, and a bitter enemy to popery.

This celebrated author, and indefatigable preacher, having spent a long and laborious life in promoting and in suffering for the cause of Christ, and the best interests of men, resigned his soul to God who gave it, in April 18th, 1587, and in the seventieth year of his age. His remains were interred in the chancel of St. Giles's church, Cripplegate, London, where, against the south wall, a monumental inscription was erected to his memory by his son.

---

### JOHN ELLISTON.

THIS pious, diligent, and faithful minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ, had a benefice at Preston in Northamptonshire, where he laboured to reform his parishioners with the greatest assiduity, both by preaching and catechising; but endured much trouble and persecution on account of his non-conformity to the ceremonies of the church. His enemies were men strongly attached to popery, who, hating the simplicity of the gospel as taught by Mr Elliston, complained to the chancellor of Peterborough that he did not wear the surplice, read the litany, nor use the cross in baptism. For these *weighty* reasons he was indicted to stand trial at the assizes; where his case being heard before the judge, he was dismissed. But having left an account of the troubles in which he was involved, we shall suffer Mr Elliston to speak for himself.

“Having been pastor at Preston (says he) only about ten weeks, and anxious to instruct the people in the scriptural doctrines of religion to the best of my ability, some of my parishioners, much attached to the Romish ceremonies, complained to Dr. Ellis, the chancellor, that I did not wear the surplice, read the litany, or use the cross in baptism; on which I was cited before the judge at the assize, but acquitted and dismissed. After this they exhibited a charge against me to Dr. Scambler,

bishop of Petersborough, consisting of sixteen articles. On my appearance before his lordship, February 10th, 1584, he asked me whether I would subscribe; and on refusing, treated me with much abusive language.

“The first article charged against me was, that I did not wear the surplice. I said I did not refuse it. The second, That I did not use the cross in baptism; and being asked why I did not, I answered, because it was nowhere required in the word of God, the unerring rule by which the conduct of all christian ministers, as well as others, ought to be regulated. Neither, said the bishop, is it required what kind of boots you shall wear. To which I replied, the form or fashion of my boots can give no offence, there being no law, human or divine, for regulating that article of dress; but christian baptism is distinctly held forth by the author of our religion, without any such ceremony as the sign of the cross, and to that original institution we do well to take heed, lest we draw down upon ourselves the plagues threatened against all such as add to the already perfect words of that inspired book. Here again the bishop scoffed and abused me. In the next place, he asked why I catechised the aged as well as the young. To which I replied, that having the charge of all, I considered it my duty to instruct all; and that catechising was one method, and a very profitable one, for conveying instruction to persons of any age. Old people, he said, should not be catechised, they did not stand in need of it. I begged he would encourage and promote, rather than hinder good things. But, said he, you omit the litany on Sabbath days. I preach, said I, on Sabbath. But, said he, preach or not on Sabbath, the litany must be read. But why do you keep persons back from the communion? Because, I replied, they will not submit to be examined. You must admit them, said the bishop, if they can say the Lord’s prayer and the ten commandments. After many other charges, which I answered as occasion served, I was suspended, and informed, that unless I would subscribe, I should not remain in his diocese. To this I only replied, that the earth is the Lord’s, and he hath no doubt a place for me to live in; so I departed.

“On March 6th, he cited me again, along with several other ministers, requiring us to subscribe; and on May 30th, I was called a third time; but not having had timeous warning, he had deprived me before I could make my appearance. I therefore protested against his unjust sentence, and appealed, telling him that he had not dealt uprightly in my case, notwithstanding that I had endeavoured, with all quietness, to discharge the duties of my station with honest propriety, while he treated others, if they would only subscribe, with great

kindness and civility, though destitute both of learning and integrity. If, however, you go about thus to discredit the conscientious part of your clergy, be assured you will thereby discredit yourself. After this, though Petersborough was thirty-six miles from the place where I lived, I had seven journies thither in little more than one year. In April I went to London for an inhibition; and after my return had to make another journey to Petersborough to have it served on the bishop. In the meantime, archbishop Whitegift, on purpose to prevent me from prosecuting my appeal, had me cited before him on ascension day. When I appeared before his grace, two articles were charged against me—1st, That at morning prayer, on whitsunday, I did not read two psalms and two chapters, and then preach; and, 2d, That preaching from the second psalm, and railing against my enemies, I affirmed that they would all be damned who troubled me. On hearing my answers to these charges, I was dismissed; but the fees of the pursuivants, and other expences connected with all these travels, &c., were very considerable. After this, I was called several times up to London, sometimes before Whitegift, and sometimes also before the bishop of London. These, my troubles, says Mr Elliston, pressed me down for almost three years, during which period I was obliged to travel ten times to London, seven times to Petersborough, many times to Leicester and Northampton, and once to Cambridge." The unavoidable expence attending so many journies, together with a long deprivation of his office, brought this peaceable and moderate puritan to the verge of poverty. The charges against him were so trifling, that they were ashamed to commit him to prison; but determined on his ruin, endeavoured to compass it by wantonly subjecting him to these troublesome and expensive travels. He was a member of the classes at Devontry, and frequently attended the associations of the puritans. It is thought he died in 1617.

---

#### LAURENCE HUMPHREY, D. D.

THIS celebrated puritan was born in Buckinghamshire, at Newport-Pagnel, about the year 1527. He had his education at first in the university of Cambridge, afterwards in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he became perpetual fellow in 1552. Having studied theology with uncommon industry, he entered into holy orders, and remained at Oxford till some time after the commencement of queen Mary's persecution, when he was permitted, by the heads of the university, to travel into foreign parts for the space of one year, on condition that he should

avoid every place suspected of heresy, and the company and correspondence of all who were, or had been, authors and abettors of heretical opinions.

Having thus obtained liberty to leave the country, he repaired to Zurich, where he joined the English refugees; and failing to return at the end of the year, lost his fellowship. During his exile at Zurich, we find his name subscribed to a letter from the English protestants in that place, addressed to their brethren at Frankfort, dated October 23d, 1554. After the death of queen Mary, Humphrey, having corresponded with the learned divines of Geneva, returned so much the Calvinist, both in doctrine and discipline, that the best character that the conformists could give him, but to which truth obliged them, was, that he was a *moderate* and conscientious non-conformist, much commended for the purity of his life and conversation, and admired for his wit and learning. On his return he was restored to his fellowship, and nominated by her majesty for queen's professor of divinity in the Oxford university, having been considered the fittest person then in the kingdom for discharging the duties of that important office. Soon after this he took his degrees in divinity, and was elected president of Magdalen college, against a powerful opposition from the popish party. In this situation, many persons, afterward famed for their literary acquirements, were brought forward under his care, of whom the famous Sir Thomas Bodley was one.

In the following account of this celebrated divine, we shall have occasion frequently to mention his intimate friend, the worthy Dr. Thomas Samson, who, like himself, was highly regarded at Oxford, for his piety, learning, and zeal in promoting the true religion. Their endearing qualifications and exertions were nevertheless insufficient to secure them against the rigour of the high commission for rejecting the popish garments. Accordingly, Humphrey and Samson, with four other divines, were cited before archbishop Parker and his colleagues, at Lambeth, on the 3d of March 1564. On their appearance, the archbishop, on purpose to convince them of the propriety of conforming, urged upon them the opinions of Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer; but still their judgments remained unconvinced. They requested to be permitted to return to their duty; but this the archbishop, who had determined to bring them before the council, promptly refused. After waiting his pleasure for some time at London, they prepared a petition, drawn up in an elegant but submissive style, which they presented to the archbishop, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, and Lincoln, with other commissioners.

In this supplication they expressed their sorrow that any dis-

sention should exist between them on so small a matter as linen and woollen, as they styled the cap and surplice. They expressed their satisfaction, however, that under the Captain of salvation, they all professed the same gospel, and held by the same faith; though in the matter of habits each followed the dictates of their own minds, where there was often room for liberty, but always for charity. They urged the authority of Augustine, Socrates, and Theodoret, to show that the great diversity of rites and observances that existed in their times, did not mar the unity and concord of the church; and farther urged their claim to toleration, from the consideration, that their consciences were tender, and ought not to be grieved with unnecessary forms: That they themselves were very far from being either turbulent or obstinate: That they neither studied novelty, refused to be convinced, or attempted to disturb the peace or unity of the church: That things in themselves quite indifferent might not always appear to be so even to good and peaceable christians; and that the law, for restoring the ceremonies of the Romish church, was at least connected with, and assimilated to, those laws under which our forefathers groaned for deliverance. Seeing, however, you have taken a different view of these laws and ceremonies, we do not condemn you: Charity pleads, and we have ground to expect you will listen to the moderation of her amiable arguments, in not condemning us for exercising the same rights of conscience as we cheerfully allow to you, to others, and to all. They therefore beseech their lordships, if there be any fellowship in Christ, that they would follow the directions given by divine inspiration concerning such things as are of themselves matters of indifference, in permitting every one to be fully persuaded in his own mind. They wrote also to the earl of Leicester; but their arguments and condescension were of no avail; they were still obliged to continue their attendance. The commissioners were divided in their opinions, some were for enforcing the law of conformity, others were for conniving at their non-conformity. The archbishop, however, who was otherwise minded, on the 29th of April peremptorily declared, in open court, that they should either conform to wear the square cap in their long gowns, to wear the surplice with non-regent's hoods in the choirs, according to ancient custom; and that they must communicate kneeling, and use wafer or unleavened bread—otherwise there was no alternative left but to give up their preferment. To this they replied, that their consciences would not suffer them to conform on these intolerant terms, whatever might be the consequence. For these reasons they were still continued in their confinement; but the brunt of the battle fell on Dr. Samson.

During this year, they were several times examined before the archbishop respecting the wearing of the Romish habits; when, among many other reasons, they urged the words of St. Paul, That as meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten, so garments consecrated to idolatry ought not to be worn: That things indifferent in themselves ought not to be matters of necessity, for this were to change the very nature of such things, and deprive us of our liberty of choosing or refusing: For, added they, if we are bound to wear the popish habits whenever commanded, we may soon be forced to have our crowns shorn, and to use oil, spittle, salt, cream, with all the other papistical additions to the ordinances of the gospel of Christ.

Humphrey and Samson having freely and fully given their opinions, with their declaration to abide by the same at all hazards, a pacific proposition was drawn up; to which, after due consideration, they both subscribed, with this reserve, that all things that are lawful are not always either edifying or expedient. Upon which it appears they were both released.

About this time Humphrey wrote a letter to the queen, in which he addressed her majesty as follows:

“Several of the most renowned of the kings of Judah, in their zeal for the house of God, destroyed the groves, and threw down the altars erected to idolatry. They defaced and removed the images, and annihilated even the smallest relics of idolatry. Nor can the form and pattern of our reformation be perfect so long as we retain so many of the foolish and superstitious memorials of the enemies of the truth. Your majesty knows, that with regard to things in themselves indifferent, it is the right and privilege of every man to hold his own opinion, and that the conscience ought in no case to be violated. This truth will, I doubt not, be attested by the internal feelings of every man. Seeing, therefore, that the liberty we request is reasonable, honest, and necessary, while the observances commanded are doubtful, and of no utility, Why should we, who are your loyal and loving subjects, besides being the ministers of God’s word, stand as exceptions in the exercise of your kindness and clemency, O queen, usually open to all? Though you do not give place to your subjects, still you may exercise your clemency in sparing the distressed: Though you will not annul a public decree, still you may mitigate its severity. If you cannot abolish a law, you may grant a toleration.

“The acquisition of power, O queen, either in church or state, forms no part of our request; but we are very desirous that Reason, the Queen of queens, should bear rule, and that the humble request of the ministers of Christ may obtain what common

justice claims in their behalf as men and subjects, and religion demands for them as christians and christian ministers. Wherefore, most noble prince, I humbly entreat your majesty seriously and attentively to consider the majesty of the glorious gospel, the equity and propriety of the reformation, in which, as a nation, we are earnestly engaged; the greatness of the work, and the small number of the workmen; the lightness of the fault, and the disproportioned weight of the punishment; the tears of the good, the triumphs of the wicked, and the many mischiefs incident to the times."

In consequence of this, and similar endeavours on the part of Mr Humphrey, he obtained a connivance or partial toleration, and the bishop of Winchester presented him with a small living in the diocese of Salisbury; but bishop Jewel, his professed friend, and intimate acquaintance, refused to admit him, and protested that he never would till he gave satisfactory assurance of his conforming; nor does it appear that he ever was admitted.

When the advertisements for enforcing a more strict uniformity were published, Dr. Humphrey wrote to secretary Cecil, requesting him to use his best endeavours with the queen to prevent the execution of that intolerant order. In this letter, dated April 23d, 1556, he says, "I am sorry that the old sore has broken out afresh, and that to the ruin of many, and the sorrow and astonishment of all. The book of advertisements contains many things, which, on many accounts, are disapproved by multitudes of wise and good men; and the vehemence with which it has been enforced has agitated the whole kingdom, and spoiled every thing. The grief and vexation occasioned by these cruel measures are greater than you could well imagine; and truly it is a matter of serious import, and deep lamentation, that the most active and able ministers of the word are silenced from preaching, while the cries of numbers of the people awaken the pity of God and man. I humbly request you to endeavour to move the queen to put a stop to these advertisements, that the book may be permitted to sleep in silence. The people, at this time, have need of unity and concord; but these advertisements have created more variety and discord than ever.—To your wisdom and goodness I refer all."

About the same time he expostulated with the bishops on their unwarrantable, corrupt, and unchristian procedure. In this letter he tells them, "The gospel requires that Christ be publicly preached, and the faith of Christ openly professed before men; but in place of encouraging the true servants of Christ in prosecuting their arduous employment, every discouragement is thrown in their way. The man possessing the necessary quali-

fications for instructing the people, without his cap, is silenced; while the man, destitute both of character and qualifications, with his cap and surplice, is exalted; so that the preacher is punished for his labour, and the unpreaching prelate rewarded for his idleness. Is not this like the Pharisees preferring mint and anise to judgment and mercy; the traditions of men to the commandments of God? Charity, my lords, would have first taught us, equity would have spared us, brotherly-kindness would have warned us, and pity would have pardoned us, if we had been found transgressors. God is my witness, I think honourably of your lordships; I esteem you as brethren, and reverence you as lords of the congregation. How is it then that you have no good opinion of us? Why do you trust known adversaries, and distrust your very brethren? We confess one faith, preach one doctrine, and acknowledge one ruler on earth; in all these things we are cordially agreed—and must we be thus maltreated for the want of a cap and surplice? Shall brethren persecute brethren for a forked cap, contrived by some idle monk for a badge of singularity? Shall we never cease to fight about the pope's coat, notwithstanding that his head and shoulders, nay, his whole body, is banished from the land? God has commanded us to exercise our talents; and must we be rendered idle and useless in his church, because we do not choose to disgrace the gravity of our office with the motley garments of a stage fool? My lords, before this take place, you would do well to consider the cause of the church, the triumphs of antichrist, the laughter of satan, and the sufferings of your fellow-men and fellow-christians."

During the same year, queen Elizabeth made a pompous visit to the university of Oxford; on which occasion Dr. Humphrey distinguished himself in a public disputation before her majesty, whom the university entertained with an academical exercise of a different description every day, in which the ablest men of the age exerted all their powers to merit the applause of an audience so dignified and illustrious. At the conclusion, the queen made a speech in praise of the learned disputants.

Dr. Humphrey was favoured at last with a toleration, which lasted about ten years, when he consented to wear the habits, and was made dean of Gloucester, 1576; and in 1580 removed to the deanery of Winchester; which he held till his death. The earl of Leicester, in his letter to the university of Cambridge, makes very honourable mention of him, and warmly recommends him to the office of vice-chancellor of that university, as "every way a right worthy man." He was, for many years, president of Magdalen college, Oxford; public professor of divinity in that university, and several times vice-chancellor,

In speaking of this distinguished literarian, the Oxford historian says, "That he was the standard-bearer in the cause of non-conformity; that he stocked his college with non-conformists, insomuch, that for many years after his death they could not be rooted out; and that he scattered the seeds of Calvinism so thick in the divinity schools, and expressed such abhorrence of the doctrines and ceremonies of the Romish church, as if the one had been the oracles of God, and the other a loathsome sink of corruption and abomination." This writer had, nevertheless, the candour to acknowledge, that Humphrey was a great and general scholar, an able linguist, and a profound divine, who, for elegance of style, clearness of arrangement, and strength of argument, was superior to most of his theological contemporaries. Archbishop Matthews says concerning him, "That Dr. Humphrey had read a greater number of the works of the fathers than Champion the Jesuit had ever seen; that he had devoured more than he had ever tasted, and taught more than he had ever read." Fuller gives him the character of a moderate and conscientious non-conformist; and Granger says, he was one of the greatest divines, and general scholars, of his age. He had the very singular honour of living to see many of his pupils become bishops; while he himself, exceedingly their superior in every respect, was denied any considerable preferment, on account of his puritanical principles. Having served his generation by a life of hard study and useful labour in his Master's vineyard, he died in February 1589, in the sixty-third year of his age, and his remains were interred in the inner chapel belonging to Magdalen college, where a monumental inscription was erected to his memory.

---

### WILLIAM FULKE, D. D.

THIS puritan divine, much celebrated for his piety and learning, was born in London, and had his education in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow in 1564. He was a high-spirited youth, of excellent parts; and when but a boy at school, he had a literary contest with Edmund Champion; and having lost the silver pen which was promised as the victor's reward, he could not suffer the idea of yielding to his antagonist; and the mortification he felt on this luckless occasion was almost inconceivable. Before he became fellow of his college, he spent six years at Clifford's inn in studying the law; but returning to the university, and not relishing the dry study of the law, he directed his attention to the study of other sciences more congenial to his inclination; for which his

father was so exceedingly offended, that though possessed of great property, he would no longer support so rebellious a son. Young Fulke, who was by this time an excellent scholar, and of an enterprising genius, would not suffer his mind to sink in despondency, but resolved to persevere in his literary pursuits, and make his way in the world as well as he could.

By his uncommon genius, and intense application to the study of the mathematics, the languages, and divinity, he soon became a most distinguished proficient in each of these high departments, and espoused the principles of the puritans at a very early period. In 1565 he preached openly and boldly against the popish ceremonies which had been incorporated with the church establishment. This roused the indignation of the ruling ecclesiastics, and Mr Fulke was forthwith cited before the chancellor of the university, where he appears to have been expelled from the college for his puritan principles. But Mr Fulke immediately took lodgings in town, and supported himself without the least difficulty, by delivering public lectures. Having, so early as 1569, obtained a most distinguished reputation, he was on the point of being elected master of St. John's college; when the jealous archbishop Parker, who thought it best to crush puritanism in the bud, interposed his authority, and prevented the election. On this occasion the earl of Leicester, a constant friend to the non-conformists, received him into his family, and made him his domestic chaplain. During the same year he was also charged with being concerned in certain illegal marriages; but upon examination by the bishop of Ely, he was honourably acquitted, the charge having been proved a mere calumny; on which he presently recovered his reputation. While under this charge, he voluntarily resigned his fellowship; but so soon as his innocence was re-established, he was re-elected by the college.

In 1571 the earl of Essex presented Dr. Fulke to the rectory of Warley in Essex, and shortly after to that of Kedington in Suffolk. About this time he took his doctor's degree at Cambridge, and was incorporated in the same at Oxford. The year following he attended the earl of Lincoln, then lord high admiral, as ambassador to the French court. On his return he was chosen master of Pembroke-hall, and professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge.

Dr. Fulke was intimately acquainted with Mr Thomas Cartwright, knew his abilities, and therefore joined with other learned divines in entreating him to answer the Rhemish Testament; but finding that archbishop Whitegift had charged him not to proceed, he undertook to answer it himself. His work was entitled, *A Confutation of the Rhemish Testament*, 1589,

in which he gave notice, that the reader might some time be favoured with a more complete answer from Mr Cartwright. What occasioned the publication of the Rhemish Testament was this: The English papists, in the seminary at Rheims, perceiving that the English translation of the scriptures by the protestants, then in general circulation, threatened to shake the faith of their laity with regard to many points of doctrine and discipline taught and exercised in the Roman church, resolved, as Fuller expresses it, to fit them with a pair of *false spectacles*. Accordingly they prepared and published their translation in opposition to the protestant versions. This Fulke undertook to refute, and very successfully accomplished his purpose. Of this admirable performance, which the celebrated Mr Hervey calls a valuable piece of ancient controversy and criticism, full of sound divinity, weighty arguments, and important observations: He says, "Would the young student wish to discover the very sinews of popery, and give an effectual blow to that complication of errors, I scarcely know a treatise better calculated for that purpose."

In 1582 Dr. Fulke, and several other divines, were engaged in a public disputation with some papists in the tower, and here he had to contend with his old school-fellow, with whom he had formerly contended for the silver pen. He was author of a work, entitled, "A short and plain declaration of the wishes of all those faithful ministers who seek a reformation of the discipline of the church of England, which may serve for their apology against the false accusations and slanders of their enemies." Wood gives him the character of a good philosopher, and a pious and solid divine. Granger informs us, that he obtained great celebrity by his writings against cardinal Allen, and Hiskins, Sanders, and Rastel, pillars of the popish superstition, 1559. "Dr. Fulke (says he) was, for many years, a rigid puritan; but getting the better of his principles, he made a near approach to the doctrine and discipline of the established church." But the approximation he made to the discipline of the established church, if indeed he made any, will be best traced from the works he has published, wherein he was ever in the habit of delivering his sentiments openly, and without reserve. Let the doctor therefore speak for himself.

"For order (says he) and seemly government, there was one principal, to whom, from long custom in the church, the name of bishop was applied; yet, in the scriptures, a bishop and an elder are of one order and one authority; and in every church and congregation, says he, there should be an eldership, which ought to have the hearing, the examination, and the determination of all matters pertaining to the discipline and government

of that congregation." Respecting the sign of the cross, he says, "Many speak of the cross in baptism, but they speak contrary to the book of God, and for that reason their arguments and sentiments are, and ought to be, rejected; for the cross is not like the king's stamp, Christ appointed no such mark or seal to distinguish his servants." From these sentiments, and indeed from the tenor of his whole works, Mr Fulke was evidently a puritan in his views of the discipline and rites of the established church.

Having spent a life of much labour and usefulness in the service of God and his generation, this celebrated preacher of righteousness rested from his labours in the month of August 1589, and his remains were interred in the chancel of the church of Kedington, where a monumental inscription was afterwards erected to his memory.

---

### EDWARD SNAPE.

THIS determined non-conformist most probably had his education at Cambridge; afterwards he was minister at St. Peter's, Northampton, a laborious preacher, and a powerful advocate for a farther reformation of the established church. He did not consider himself as possessing all the authority of a minister of the gospel, till he had the call of the people over whom he was to preside; and his parishioners, learning this, immediately set about electing him for their minister.

In 1575 Mr Snape and Mr Cartwright were invited to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, to assist the ministers of those places to frame a code of regulations for the order and government of their churches. They were both distinguished for learning and talents, and laboured, with unwearied perseverance, to reduce the discipline of the church to the New Testament standard. After having effected a harmonious settlement of those churches, Mr Snape returned to England, and preached the gospel, for some time, in the diocese of Exeter, where Mr Eusebius Paget, and Mr John Holmes, were labouring to promote the true religion, and by their faithful and frequent sermons, and other ministerial services, were become a great blessing to the place. Mr Snape, soon after, returned to his parishioners at Northampton, where, it is probable, he continued for a number of years. In 1586 he united with the puritan brethren in subscribing the Book of Discipline; and, in 1590, being a zealous and active member of the puritan associations held in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and other counties, he was convened before the court of high commission. Here

he was charged with having in his possession a certain book, entitled, A defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline: That he refused to baptize a child unless it was called by some scripture name: That, in the public service of the church, he did not read the confession, absolutions, psalms, lessons, and litany, with some other portions of the common prayer book: That he had renounced his calling to the ministry by episcopal ordination, and urged others to do the same.

For these, and similar crimes, Mr Snape, and many of his brethren, were cited before the high commission at Lambeth, and required to take the oath *ex officio*. This they peremptorily refused, unless they were permitted to see and consider the questions to be answered. Mr Snape's letters having been intercepted, they were produced as evidence against him. He, nevertheless, refused to answer, considering it contrary to reason and common justice, the laws both of God and man, to force any individual to become their own accuser; he was therefore instantly sent to prison. Whether he persevered in refusing the oath is not so certain, only that he answered a number of the questions put to him; this, however, he might have done without taking the oath. "With respect to my calling to the ministry (says he), I affirm that I had it of the church of God, in being approved by the godly and learned divines in the neighbourhood, and chosen by the people of my charge. As for the book of common prayer, I will use it only in as far as it is corroborated by the word of God; and if it can be proven to me, by sound argument from the book of God, that no part thereof ought to be introduced into the service of the church, I will cease to use it at all. As for the calling of elders to take part in the discipline of the church, I promise to use all lawful means to effect so desirable a purpose. Respecting obedience to the bishops, I will not yield myself subject to any ecclesiastic jurisdiction claimed by them. To whatever civil power they may possess, I promise, however, my cordial and ready obedience: But to surcease or surrender my ministry, I will not, though inhibited by the bishop; providing the major part of the communicants of my congregation shall require the continuance thereof, and will also bind themselves to afford me a competent support; with this, and the approbation of the godly neighbouring ministers, come bonds or liberty, I will not surcease. In one word, whatever I use in my ministry, which shall be proved unlawful by the word of God, and whatever I use not, and ought to use, so proved by the scriptures of truth, I will, with God's help, renounce the former, and exercise the latter." He also acknowledged, that he moved the mayor of Northampton to join with other towns in petitioning the queen to grant them a

more pure and equal ecclesiastical discipline: That he joined with the association at Warwick when they declared against private baptism, reading apocryphal books and homilies in the church, communicating with unlawful ministers, the government of bishops and archbishops, and for the erection of a more primitive mode of discipline. He was, moreover, charged with using the following expressions: "I pray God to strengthen our faith, and arm us with patience; and then let the devil and his deputies, the bishops, do what they can. In the meantime, let us take our pennyworths of them, and not die in their debt."

At one of Mr Snape's examinations, the following interrogation was put: "Have you, at any time, said and signified this, What would you think, should we devise a method to throw off the whole yoke and government of the bishops, and erect a system of church government that they shall never be able to overturn, and all in one day, but peradventure not for a year to come?"

After having suffered eleven months close imprisonment, Mr Snape joined, with many others under similar oppression, in supplicating the lord treasurer to be admitted to bail. On this occasion Whitegift sent them a form of submission, which they unanimously rejected; but when he was liberated we are not able to ascertain. While Mr Snape was in prison, and his means wholly exhausted by his long confinement, his keeper, finding he had nothing farther to expect from his impoverished prisoner, used him very unkindly. The good man, one day his chamber window being open, was much, though agreeably surprised, when he arose from his devotion, to find on the floor a purse full of gold, which had been thrown into his chamber. This very extraordinary, and altogether unexpected supply, not only answered all his present necessities, but also procured for him a very different mode of treatment from his unfeeling and avaricious gaoler.

---

#### RICHARD GREENHAM, A. M.

THIS faithful steward of the bread of life was born about the year 1531, and educated at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts, and became fellow. On leaving the university, he became pastor of the congregation at Drayton, near Cambridge, where, for many years, he laboured, with unremitting ardour, for the instruction and salvation of perishing sinners. He was so diligent a student, that, winter or summer, his custom was to rise by four o'clock. He always

preached twice on Sabbath, and catechised the young people of his parish; and usually preached four times during the week, and catechised once. For the convenience of his people, these week-day services were performed early in the morning. He was more concerned to be serviceable to his flock than to obtain any worldly consideration whatever. His liberality to the poor was frequently exercised beyond the proportion of his means, so that his family were sometimes reduced to great want.

Mr Greenham was celebrated for promoting peace amongst his people, and laboured for the peace of the church. He was a most conscientious non-conformist, choosing, on all occasions, rather to suffer than sacrifice the peace of his own conscience; and though ever cautious in speaking of the church, lest he should give offence, he was suspended from his ministry, because he would not subscribe the prayer book, and wear the habits of idolatry. He considered all ceremonies, introduced into the church without the warrant of scripture, of mischievous consequence, ever productive of superstition, and therefore by all means to be avoided: And to subscribe to any thing but the scripture, or what is obviously drawn from that sacred volume, he had determined, at all hazards, to resist.

Being called before the bishop of Ely on a complaint of non-conformity, he discovered his prudence, peaceable disposition, and great good sense. His lordship, observing that there existed in the church a great and deplorable schism, asked Mr Greenham where the blame rested, Whether with the conformists or the non-conformists? To which he readily replied, it might with either or neither; for, said he, if both parties loved each other as in duty bound, and did reciprocal acts of kindness to one another as religion enjoins, the blame would rest on neither side; but whichsoever deviates from this sacred rule, are assuredly the blame-worthy party. The bishop is said to have been so well pleased with this answer, that he dismissed him in peace. Mr Greenham subscribed the book of discipline along with his reforming brethren.

Having laboured in the ministry at Drayton about twenty-one years, he removed to London, and became minister at Christ-church, where he finished his labours in about two years thereafter, and died a most comfortable death in 1591, aged sixty years. Fuller says concerning him, That he was an avowed enemy to all non-residents, and wondered how such men could find any enjoyment of their wealth, on every article of which they may see written, in legible characters, *this is the price of blood!*

According to the same author, his life and conversation was

more than ordinarily correct. He was a strict observer of the Lord's day, and wrote a treatise on the Sabbath, than which no book had ever made a deeper impression on the minds of the people, or so greatly promoted the observance of that sacred day throughout the kingdom. Mr Strype denominates him a pious minister of Christ, but strongly opposed to the rites and ceremonies of the church established by law. His works, including sermons, treatises, and a commentary on Psalm cxix, were published at different times, but collected and re-published, in one volume folio, in the year 1601. Bishop Wilkins speaks of his works with high commendation; he classes his sermons with the first of his time, and considers his commentary an admirable performance for the age in which it was written, both for style and method, and, like all his other works, full of spiritual instruction.

---

### GILES WIGGINTON.

THIS distinguished sufferer in the cause of a pure reformation from the dregs of popish superstition, was born at Oundle in Northamptonshire, educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, and, in 1566, made second scholar in the college. He was afterward chosen fellow of the house, though much against the inclination of Dr. Whitegift, who opposed his election with all his power and influence. He took his degree of arts in 1571, having gained the reputation of a proficient in the knowledge of divinity, Greek, and Hebrew.

Some few years after this, having completed his studies at the university, he was presented to the vicarage of Sedburgh, in the north-riding of Yorkshire; but being a zealous puritan, his sufferings in the common cause were shamefully severe. In the year 1581, archbishop Sandys wrote to the bishop of Chester, in whose diocese Mr Wigginton officiated, and thus animadverted on his character and conduct. "Your lordship (says he) ought to administer a little necessary admonition and instruction to Mr Wigginton, a young man very far out of frame, who, in my opinion, will not accept of you as his ordinary or bishop; nor would I, in your place, accept of him as a preacher in my diocese. He labours, it is true, labours hard, not however to build up, but to pull down, and, by every method he can devise, to overturn and destroy the state ecclesiastic."

Being afterwards in London, he was appointed, in 1584, to preach before the judges in St. Dunstan's church; when Whitegift, archbishop of Canterbury, being apprised of his appoint-

ment, sent a pursuivant to his lodgings in the dead of night, who, finding Wigginton in bed, forbade him to preach according to his appointment, and demanded his bond for appearing next day at Lambeth; all which was done without any written warrant. Upon his appearance at Lambeth, he refused the oath *ex officio*, by which he was to answer whatever questions they chose to propose, lest they should tend to criminate either himself or others. This oath he positively refused; and the archbishop, as usual on such occasions, reviled him with epithets altogether unbecoming the pretended gravity of a bishop; and having disgorged his fulsome abuse, committed him to the Gatehouse prison, where he remained about nine weeks. At the termination of which period, this *merciful* prelate gave him a specimen of his canonical admonition, in charging him not to preach in his province without farther licence.

In 1585, one Middleton, suspected to be in principle a papist, and otherwise a man of very exceptionable character, informed against him; on which Whitegift gave orders to the archbishop of York to proceed against Mr Wigginton to the extent of the canon law. Accordingly he was cited before Chadderton, bishop of Chester, where twelve charges were exhibited against him. The result of this summary process was, that Wigginton was deprived of his ministry, and one Colecloth, a minister of immoral character, put in his place. By the influence and favour of several high characters, he was, nevertheless, after some time restored.

In 1586, being in London, he was again apprehended by Whitegift's pursuivants, and carried before his grace at Lambeth; when refusing, as formerly, to accuse himself, he was committed to the White-lion prison, where he was treated with unfeeling barbarity. There, by the positive orders of the archbishop, he was so loaded with irons, confined in a close prison, destitute of air, exercise, and necessary food, that in about five weeks, he says himself, he was almost dead. In this deplorable case Wigginton wrote to certain men of quality, imploring their interest and influence to obtain his deliverance. In this letter, dated White-lion, June 1st, 1586, he thus expresses himself: "My desire is, that you make my deplorable situation known to her majesty's honourable privy council, or to her majesty herself, that the cause of my imprisonment may be investigated, and myself rescued from the hands of my persecutors. Conscious of my innocence, I crave no mercy, I demand justice. My old adversary, the archbishop, treats me more like a Turk or a dog, than a man or a minister of Jesus Christ."

In the meantime, his life being considered in imminent danger, he was sent to another prison in London, and some time

after brought again to Lambeth, where still refusing to answer, he was abused by Whitegift, suspended from preaching in his province, and sent to the archbishop of York for his final deprivation. Owing to the extremity of his sickness, he was obliged to remain some time in London; and when the physicians considered him in a hopeless state, he was again commanded to appear before Whitegift at Lambeth; but this being impossible, the sentence of deprivation, and also of degradation, were passed upon him in his absence. After his health had been somewhat restored, Mr Wigginton returned to Sedburgh, where he offered himself to preach in the church, but was refused the pulpit; he therefore preached wherever he could find an opportunity, attended always with a very large assembly. Conceiving himself to be the pastor set over them by the Lord, he still administered the sacraments to the people; which, when Whitegift came to understand, he instigated Sandys to send forth an attachment against him, addressed to all justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all others, her majesty's officers within the province of York, or any of them, to apprehend him, and commit him to the castle of Lancaster, in the province of York. Accordingly, Mr Wigginton was arrested at Boroughbridge some short time after, and carried to the castle of Lancaster, fifty miles distant, in the middle of a cold and severe winter, where he was shut up in close prison amongst felons and condemned criminals, and used with more severity than either them or the recusant papists. From this prison he sent an account of his case and situation to Sir Walter Mildmay, his patron, who was at this time one of the privy council, soliciting his interference in his behalf.

We are not able to ascertain what effect was produced by this application, or how long Wigginton was prisoner at this time, only that, in about two years after, that is, in December 1588, being in London, the archbishop's pursuivant apprehended him at his lodgings while in bed, and carried him again to Lambeth, on suspicion of being one of the authors of a publication, entitled, *Martin Mar-prelate*. He was brought before the archbishop, the bishop of Winchester, Drs. Aubery, Cosin, Goodman, and other members of the court of high commission, where he was examined on the following points:

*Archbishop.* There is book, a vile, seditious, and intolerable book, called *Martin Mar-prelate*, and you are suspected to be one of its authors; you must therefore swear what you know concerning it.

*Wigginton.* You do well, my lord, to let me know what I have to swear to; but let me also know who are my accusers, for I have no mind to accuse myself.

*Arch.* We will take your answers without your oath. What say you to the following articles? Have you any of these books, or have you at any time read them, or heard any part of them read?

*Wig.* I will not answer to accuse myself; you know my mind on this point already; but let my accusers stand forward and proceed against me according to justice and the laws of the land.

*Arch.* Have you had any of them, and how many? How came you by them? What did you with them? In whose hands are they, and by whose means did you obtain them?

*Wig.* I would sooner accuse myself than others; but I will accuse neither. Prove your allegations by proper witnesses, and proceed against me by the laws of God and the realm.

*Arch.* Have you bought, sold, given, dispersed, handled, or any way dealt in them; and in what manner have you done so?

*Wig.* I account it as unnatural for me to accuse myself, as to thrust a knife into my flesh. The matter, I understand, is attended with danger; I shall therefore forbear, and accuse neither myself nor any other person. In the mouth of two or three witnesses let every word be established. The heathen judge said, I will hear thee when thine accusers are come; and shall a christian judge, and a minister of the gospel of righteousness and peace, command me to accuse myself? Relinquish, for shame! such tyrannical usurpation of power over thy fellow-servants.

*Arch.* Whom do you believe, think, suspect, or conjecture, to be the author, writer, or printer of it, or any part of it; or did you make any oath or vow, or promise to conceal the same?

*Wig.* Whatever I believe, think, suspect, or conjecture, or have sworn, vowed, or promised, I am not bound to make known. I answer, therefore, as before, I would rather accuse myself than my neighbour.

*Arch.* There are many lies in Martin.

*Wig.* It becomes you, then, to refute them if you can.

The examination is too long, and little interesting; the above will suffice for a specimen of this inquisitorial court.

Having finished their examination, and finding Mr Wigginton inflexible, he was removed till they should consult what was to be done; after which he was again brought before them, when Whitegift thus addressed him: "Forasmuch as you have refused to swear and answer as required, and in so doing have confessed yourself guilty, according to law, of the charges laid against you. And as you have, at sundry times, and in diverse manners, evidenced the contempt you bear to our ecclesiastic

authority, and to this our high commission, with which the queen has entrusted and empowered us to act for her behoof, which authority you shall obey before you and I have done: Your former enlargement shall be withdrawn. You shall also be kept a close prisoner in the Gatehouse, till such time as you feel yourself disposed to yield to our authority; and so soon as you find yourself thus inclined, you may send us word. In the meantime, go your way. Away with him, poursuivant!" He was accordingly carried to the Gatehouse prison, where, notwithstanding that much interest was made for his release, it was all to no purpose. Mr Wigginton was an able minister, and a very learned and pious divine. At what time he procured his liberty is uncertain. He was alive in the year 1591.

---

### HUMPHREY FENN.

THIS reverend and learned divine was minister at Northampton for several years, and more than forty a faithful labourer in the church at Coventry, yet met he with many and severe oppressions for his non-conformity. While at Northampton, he was apprehended and committed to close confinement, and that for a long period; during which the inhabitants of that town presented a humble petition for restoring him to his liberty and the exercise of his office. It is not evident what was the result of this application in his behalf; but it is most probable he never returned to Northampton. Having at length procured his liberty, it would appear that he commenced his ministerial labours at Coventry. The oppressed puritans, anxious to be relieved from the galling fetters with which they had long been bound, Mr Fenn was unanimously chosen, by the puritan ministers in London, to accompany the earl of Leicester, in laying a statement of their sufferings and their requests before those in public authority; but with what success this was attended we are unable to give any account. Mr Fenn, however, consented, saying, "That he was ever ready to run when the church commanded him." This conscientious puritan accounted it highly improper to receive the sacrament from the hands of a dumb, that is, an unpreaching clergyman, or to attend the service of the church where there was no sermon used.

Upon the persecutions that followed the publication of Whitegift's three articles, he was cited to appear at Lambeth before the archbishop, when he was urged, by many arguments, to subscribe; all which he answered, giving cogent reasons for his refusal: But his reasons not satisfying the commissioners,

he remained a long time in prison, during which period his flock was totally neglected. But it appears from his own letter to the archbishop, that the earl of Leicester had spoken in his behalf, so that he was at length restored to his ministry at Coventry, where, though he might probably enjoy peace for a season, his persecutors were not yet done with him. In the year 1591, an information was exhibited against him, and many of his brethren, for being concerned in the puritan classes, attending their associations, and subscribing their book of discipline. Accordingly, they were all apprehended and committed to prison. These conscientious sufferers, during their confinement, presented a long letter to the queen, dated April 1592, wherein, at great length, they refuted the calumnies brought against them by ignorant or evil-designing men, and vindicated the propriety of their conduct under the circumstances with which they were environed. But how long after this time they remained in prison is uncertain. On Mr Fenn's release, it appears he returned to Coventry, where he remained the rest of his days, and died in a firm attachment to those principles for which he so severely suffered, and which he so heroically defended. Mr Clark says concerning him, that he was famous for his ministry, and also for his non-conformity, in the city of Coventry; and that, in his last will and testament, he so fully and openly protested against the hierarchy and ceremonies of the national church, that when his will came to be proved, the prelates, or those of their party, would not suffer it to have a place amongst the records of the court.

---

### JOHN MORE.

THIS learned and zealous servant of Christ was fellow of Christ-college, Cambridge, where it is most likely he received his education. After leaving the university, he became a most useful, indefatigable, and popular preacher at St. Andrew's church, in the city of Norwich, and had an ample share of the prelatical persecution of that period. He refused to wear the surplice, particularly because it was grievously offensive to great numbers, both of pious ministers and people, in and around the city of Norwich. When convened before the bishop of the diocese to answer for his non-conformity, the bishop told him, that it was much better to offend a few private persons, than to offend God, and disobey his prince. His lordship, however, was loath to exercise any severities against him. "I am not aware (says he) that he has at any time spoken against her majesty's book of injunctions; nor do I find him, in any respect,

stubborn, and he is most assuredly a godly and learned man, and has done much good in this city." The public contest he maintained against the famous Dr. Pern of Cambridge, shows how zealous he was in promoting and defending the purity and evangelical simplicity of the gospel of Christ; and it was a heavy affliction to all godly and serious people, to see a divine, possessed of such excellent ministerial qualifications, interrupted in the exercise of his ministry.

But the prelates imposed their ceremonies upon the clergy with so much rigour, that Mr More, and his brethren in and about Norwich, foreseeing that the storm was fast gathering around them, endeavoured to ward it off, by presenting a humble petition to the lords of the council. This declaration and supplication was dated 25th September 1576. It states, in substance, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives and their property in the service of their prince; yet they durst not yield to her majesty's intended conformity. And having enlarged on the manifold evils attending such rigorous and tyrannical impositions, and the alarming consequences that were likely to ensue, they conclude by stating, that there are already nineteen or twenty exercises of preaching and catechising put down by silencing the ministers of this city, Norwich. We therefore humbly crave your assistance, both with our prince and the bishops; and may the Lord God direct your honours in this affair, and in all your other concerns, that they may tend to the good of his church, and the peace and prosperity of our native land.

JOHN MORE,  
RICHARD CRICK,  
THOMAS ROBERTS,

GEORGE LEEDS,  
RICHARD DOWE,  
WILLIAM HART."

Concerning the life, labours, and character of Mr More, Grainger states, that he was about twenty years minister of St. Andrew's in Norwich, where he was highly esteemed for the universality of his knowledge in the sciences, his uncommon proficiency in the learned languages, and, above all, for his extensive learning and indefatigable labours as a minister of the gospel. He constantly preached thrice every Lord's day, and was much admired for his talent in that department of his ministerial labours. He refused several considerable preferments, where the duty was much less laborious than that of his cure at Norwich, merely because he conceived that his labours would be more serviceable in that city. The same author, in describing the different modes of dress in that period, says, that Mr More, one of the worthiest clergymen in the reign of Elizabeth, wore the longest and the largest beard of any Englishman in his time, and gave the best reason that ever was given for so

doing, namely, that it might be an inducement so to conduct himself, that no act of his life might seem unworthy of the gravity of his appearance. Dr. Ames says concerning him, that he was a most heavenly man, the light and glory of the church. And Fuller includes him in the number of the learned writers of Christ-college, Cambridge; and that he made an excellent map of Palestine. He died in the year 1592.

---

### THOMAS SAMSON, D. D.

THIS singularly honest and inflexible non-conforming divine was born about 1517, and educated at the university of Oxford; after which he studied at the Temple, became a zealous reformer, a celebrated preacher, and instrumental in converting John Bradford, the famous martyr, to the protestant faith. He was ordained by archbishop Cranmer and bishop Ridley, and highly esteemed by these two reverend prelates, who, at his earnest request, dispensed with the habits on that occasion. In 1551 he became rector of All-hallows, Bread Street, London; and during the following year was preferred to the deanery of Winchester, where he continued till the death of king Edward, highly esteemed as a preacher. After the accession of queen Mary he concealed himself for some time; and, together with Richard Chambers, another zealous protestant, collected money in London for the support and encouragement of some poor protestant scholars in the two universities. But this was no sooner known to the prelates, than they were both obliged to flee for their lives. On the 16th August 1554, Bradford, Bacon, and Veron, were committed to the tower, and Samson, it was intended, should accompany them, but evaded their search. Having thus narrowly escaped from the malice of his enemies, Samson fled to Strasburg, where he was much esteemed by the learned Tremelius. He was intimately acquainted with most of the learned English exiles; and during his residence on the continent, he assisted in writing and publishing the Geneva translation of the bible. When Elizabeth mounted the throne, Samson returned to England, and soon after was offered the bishoprick of Norwich; which he refused to accept, because he was altogether dissatisfied with the episcopal office, the popish habits, and their idolatrous ceremonies. During the three first years of the reign of Elizabeth he delivered the rehearsal sermons at Paul's cross, and is said to have been appointed to this service on account of his fine elocution, and other rhetorical qualifications. He also accompanied the queen, as her preacher, in her royal visitation to the north.

In 1560 he became dean of Christ-church, Oxford. To procure his settlement in this public situation, the members of the house wrote to lord Dudley, urging him to prevail upon the queen to nominate Samson. In this letter, which was subscribed by twenty-two persons, distinguished for their learning, it is stated, that after well considering all the learned men in the kingdom, they found none worthy to be compared with Dr. Samson, for singular learning and great piety, having also the praise of all men: That it was indeed a matter of doubt whether there was a better man, a greater linguist, a more complete scholar, or a deeper divine. Afterwards Dr. Samson, Dr. Laurence Humphrey, and Mr Kingsmill, all staunch puritans, were the only protestant preachers in the university of Oxford. Dr. Samson sat in the convocation of 1562, and subscribed the thirty-nine articles of the English church. About this time a paper of requests was presented to the commons, chiefly relating to matters of church government, in respect of which, the requesters desired exemption in a number of important particulars. Samson's name is amongst the subscriptions of this paper; but after much discussion, it was rejected by the house.

Soon after this, Samson's objections to the habits and ceremonies became known at court, and secretary Cecil urged him to conform, and not give offence by his disobedience, adding, that obedience was more acceptable than sacrifice. To this Samson replied, in a letter, to the following import:

“That the law of God commanded all idols to be destroyed, with all the ceremonies and appurtenances pertaining to idolatry. And we find that the godly and reforming kings of Judah destroyed their altars, brake down their groves, and annihilated the most apparently insignificant relics, as well as the idols themselves: That Christ, in forming the New Testament church, did not use the pharisaical ceremonies, or recommend them to his disciples, but reprov'd them, and warn'd his disciples to avoid them: Therefore all ceremonies devised and practised by idolatrous papists ought to be rejected, prohibited, destroyed. And when men in authority command otherwise, he, who by following the direction of the Spirit of God in his word, notwithstanding that he is accounted disobedient by men, really and only yields that obedience, which, in the sight of God, is better and more acceptable than the most costly sacrifice.”

That these were only a part of the reasons he had for acting as he did: And seeing he put no restraint on others to violate their consciences, but left them to the Lord, who alone is competent to decide on the opinions of his creatures; so his desire was to be left to the same unfettered exercise of his judgment.

In 1564, Dr. Samson, and his friend Dr. Humphrey, were cited before the high commission court at Lambeth, where he suffered deprivation, and was removed from the university. Some of the learned lawyers were, however, of opinion, that his deprivation was illegal, and that the commissioners were involved in a premunire. Besides being deprived of his benefice, he was also subjected to long and rigorous imprisonment. In the year 1573 he was struck on the one side by the dead palsy; and having, for some short time prior to this, enjoyed the lecture at Whittington college, London, for which he received ten pounds a year, he resigned it into the hands of his patrons. It was in the gift of the company of cloth-workers, to whom he recommended Edward Deering, whom they chose for his successor. But Mr Deering being also silenced for his non-conformity, Parker utterly refused his allowance. Deering was a man of great learning, exemplary piety, and an excellent preacher; and the benefice being so small, it shows the spirit of severity that actuated this dignified prelate.

In the month of March this year, Dr. Samson sent a letter to the lord treasurer, Burleigh, signifying that God had been pleased to deprive him of the use of half his limbs, though not of his understanding, which he considered as the harbinger of death; but before his heavenly Father called him home, he was constrained, he said, once more to trouble his lordship, and to solicit him to use his best endeavours to promote the necessary reformation of the church. "My lord (says he), it is not enough that the doctrines of the gospel are preached in the church of England, while the government of the church, as set forth in that same gospel, is altogether wanting. The doctrine and the government, as appointed by Christ, are both good, both necessarily connected together, and no consideration of human policy can ever justify their separation. What an unseemly thing, what a horrid deformity, is it, to see a church, professing the gospel, and preaching the doctrines of Christ, yet ruled and governed by canons, customs, ceremonies, and superstitions, traditions, and legendary tales, invented by anti-christ, the adversary and public opposer of Christ and his blessed evangel. On this subject Martin Bucer wrote a book to king Edward, entitled, *De Regno Christi*. There you will see what is wanting in the church of England to constitute her a corresponding department of the kingdom of Christ. My lord, I beseech you to read this faithful and brief epitome of said book which I have sent you; and I beseech you to lay it to heart, it is the cause of Christ and his church, and of the first importance to the souls of sinful men. Ah! my lord, use your

utmost endeavours, that as Christ teacheth us in the church of England, he may also rule and govern us by the mild and merciful laws of his kingdom. Help, my lord, in this good and gracious work of your God. In so doing you will serve him who is King of kings, who will not fail to make a public acknowledgment of your labour of love, when kings, lords, and beggars, shall stand before him undistinguished but by their virtues." To this advice the treasurer replied, that he much approved of what had been recommended, but found it impossible to realize his pious desires. But Dr. Samson, in return, put him in mind how much good he had done at the commencement of the reformation, and that his power was much enlarged since that period, and that the present state of the church was as needful as ever of his friendly exertions in her behalf.

In the following year he wrote to Grindal, his old acquaintance, and fellow-exile in the land of strangers, but now the dignified archbishop of York. Several letters passed between them about this time. Dr. Samson reminds the bishop of his former low condition, and cautions him against being lifted up with his present elevated situation and title. Grindal, who was a very different character from many of the dignified clergy of that period, in respect of his candour and moderation, told him, in reply, "That he put no value on his title of lord; that his chief care was to discharge the duties of his office with faithfulness till his Lord should come." Samson, in reply to this, says, "If you are not lordly, nor value your lordly title, as you tell me, and I trust in truth and sincerity, shall I call you a phoenix? If you, whom worldly policy alone could induce to become a lord, nevertheless continue a loving brother, and humble minister and servant of Christ and his little and despised flock, I must say, that the special grace of God has most happily preserved you from the snares and temptations of this unhappy period, when most men mind their own interest, honour, and authority, and few the things that are of Jesus Christ. And yet, methinks, your state, your port, your train of waiting-men in the streets, your gentleman-usher walking bareheaded before you, your numerous band of idle domestics, with all the other glittering appendages of your large establishment, have a very lordly-looking appearance. Perhaps the same policy which made you a lord, charges you also with all this lordly state; but doth the Lord Jesus, who has commanded, that he who aspires to power in his church shall be servant of all, Has he charged you with all this unprofitable magnificence? I true not. But even, independent of all this, such a number of idle-serving men are not only unprofitable, they are also utterly unsuitable to the state and sphere of operations in which

the servant of Christ ought to move and to labour; and most assuredly such idlers should not be supported by the patrimony of the church, which has been devoted to the more important purposes of hiring labourers to toil in the Lord's vineyard, and to relieve the necessities of the poor of his people. This, my lord, is one of the great evils that popery has left behind her in our church of England." Grindal, in his letter, had expressed his pity for the doctor's poverty and lameness. In answer to which he says, "I have no recollection of having ever complained either of the one or the other: If I did of the first, I was to blame; for in that case I must have complained before I suffered want. And as for my lameness, I am so far from complaining, that I thank God for it. He might have smitten me so as to destroy me; but in his merciful kindness he has spared me, and as a loving Father dealt very tenderly with me; for which, with a grateful heart, I praise his blessed name. If he has any farther service for me in his church he will heal me; and if otherwise, may he give me grace to say with Eli, 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.' Though I am in bonds, these bonds have been put upon me by the tender hand of a Father; and were it put to my choice, I would carry them cheerfully to my grave, rather than exchange them for a lordly bishoprick."

Soon after receiving the paralytic shock that occasioned his lameness, Dr. Samson was presented to the mastership of the hospital at Leicester, whither he retired, and spent the rest of his days. Here he was of signal service to the foundation, in retrieving its immunities and endowments; an honourable account of which is given at length in Strype's Annals. He was intimately acquainted with all the leading puritans, with most of whom he kept up a correspondence. In 1584 he was concerned in presenting a supplication to the queen, the council, and the parliament, for a farther reformation of the church. This supplication enumerates many grievances still retained, and, for many cogent reasons therein specified, humbly solicits a peaceful and speedy redress. To this supplication Dr. Samson prefixed an address, in which, among other complaints, he says, "We have not vigilant, able, and faithful pastors resident amongst us, to teach us the word of God, by preaching and catechising. We have some kind of pastors, it is true, but many of them do not reside on their benefices; some of them licenced to two, and others to three, benefices. Were our bishops inclined to remedy this great evil, we should have the less reason to complain; but in place of this, they appoint men to watch over their flocks, who can only read to us from a printed book the lessons appointed for them to read; and some

of them perform this service so wretchedly, that they can scarcely be understood. Pastors are commanded to feed the flock of God over which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers; and surely it must be a preposterous, as well as a presumptuous thing, thus to ordain men for pastors who are destitute of every pre-requisite qualification. The pastors who have the sanction of Jesus Christ, are such as can feed his people with knowledge and understanding; such only did he send forth, and such alone did his apostles recognize—men apt to teach, and qualified rightly to divide and distribute the word of truth, that by sound doctrine they might convince the gainsayers. We might, says he, further urge this our complaint, from the consideration, that the faithful and well qualified teachers amongst us, scarce as they are, meet with the most unaccountable discouragement. Numbers of them have been already displaced and silenced, not because they *do not* teach us plainly and faithfully, but because they cannot conscientiously conform to the unprofitable ceremonies which men have devised, for purposes very different from the instruction of the ignorant, and such as are gone out of the way.

“We therefore most humbly beseech your highness and your honours, to consider that this hard usage of our pastors brings us into great distress. Consider that we stand in much need of men who are both able and willing to instruct us in the paths of religion and godliness; but we have no need whatever of these idle ceremonies, which tend nothing towards our edification. By silencing our pastors who would feed us with the knowledge of God’s word, and substituting in their place ignorant *readers*, furnished with unprofitable ceremonies, what is it but to withdraw from our lips that bread of life which God has prepared for the nourishment of our souls, and to set before us empty husks that swine would starve on? We are thoroughly convinced, however, that when the bishops thus deprive and silence our preaching pastors, so that they dare not teach us the will of our God, they undertake to do that for which they will one day be called to account.”

Dr. Samson was a man highly celebrated for learning, piety, and zeal in the cause of a farther reformation. None reprov'd the intolerance of the prelatical party with more freedom, or defended the opinions of the puritans with more inflexible constancy and perseverance; hence his talents, and his unyielding integrity, gained him the esteem of the seriously religious in every quarter of the kingdom. Upon his retiring to Leicester, he employ'd the remainder of his days in managing the concerns of his hospital, and in his favourite exercise of preaching; and having spent a life of much useful labour and unmerited

affliction, he died, in great tranquillity and comfort, a steady non-conformist, on the 9th April 1589, aged seventy-two years, and was interred in the chapel belonging to his hospital, where a monumental inscription was erected to his memory by his sons John and Nathaniel.

His works are, A Letter to the Professors of Christ's Gospel.—A Warning to take heed of Fowler's Psalter.—Brief Collection of the Ceremonies of the Church.—Prayers and Meditations gathered from the Epistles.—He also collected and published several sermons, written by his old friend Mr John Bradford.

---

### JOHN UDAL.

THIS celebrated scholar, and maltreated victim of prelatie intolerance, was educated at Cambridge. He was a preacher for about seven years at Kingston-upon-Thames. But some of his hearers, taking offence at his faithful warnings and admonitions, complained to the men in power; on which he was silenced by the official Dr. Hone, and committed to prison; but by the voluntary interference of the countess of Warwick, Sir Drue Drury, and others, in his favour, he was restored to his ministry. This, however, was only the beginning of his sorrows. In the year 1588 he was again suspended, and deprived of his living; when the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne prevailed upon the earl of Huntingdon, lord president of the north, to send him to preach the gospel amongst them. Accordingly, being driven from his flock at Kingston, Mr Udal removed to Newcastle, where his ministerial labours were of essential service to the people of that district. He had not remained in Newcastle more than one year, during which time the plague raged with uncommon violence, and had swept off two thousand of the inhabitants, when, by an order from the privy council, he was commanded to make his appearance at London. Thither therefore he immediately repaired, and, on the 13th of January 1589, made his appearance at lord Cobham's house. The commissioners present were, lords Buckhurst, chief justice Anderson and Cobham, the bishop of Rochester, Dr. Aubery, Dr. Lewin, Mr Fortesque, and Egerton the solicitor.—The lord chief justice commenced his examination as follows:

*Anderson.* How long have you been at Newcastle?

*Udal.* About a year, please your lordship.

*A.* Why went you from Kingston on Thames?

*U.* Because I was silenced in that place, and called to Newcastle.

*A.* What calling had you thither?

*U.* The people requested my lord of Huntingdon to send me, who accordingly did.

*A.* Had you the allowance of the bishop of the diocese?

*U.* There was none at the time.

*A.* You are called here on suspicion of being the author of certain books.

*U.* If it be for any of Martin's books, I have already answered, and I am ready to answer again.

*A.* Where did you answer, and in what manner?

*U.* At Lambeth, I cleared myself of being the author, or of knowing who he is.

*A.* Well, but you must answer to other books.

*U.* I hope your lordship will not urge me to answer to any other book or article, seeing I have been cited expressly for the purpose of answering to Martin.

*A.* You must answer to others; what say you of *A Demonstration* and *A Dialogue*, did you not make them?

*U.* I cannot answer.

*A.* Why would you clear yourself of Martin, and not of those, unless you are guilty?

*U.* Because I have reason to answer in the one case, but not in the other.

*A.* Let us hear your reason, I cannot conceive of it, seeing they both concern the same thing.

*U.* The reason, my lord, is this: Though the matter proposed in both are the same, I would not be understood to handle it in the manner of the former. I like the manner and management of the latter much better, so that I care not though it should be fathered upon me.

*A.* What say you? did you make these books? or do you know who did?

*U.* I cannot answer to that question, my lord.

*A.* You might as well have told me you are the author.

*U.* That, my lord, does not necessarily follow.

*A.* Will you not take the oath now, as well as you did formerly.

*U.* I was called to answer formerly upon my oath, which I did accordingly, and in these answers apprized my judges of certain things concerning myself, which they could never have known otherwise; but when my friends laboured to have me restored, the archbishop told them that he had matter against me, by my own confession, sufficient to prevent my restoration: Upon which I covenanted with mine own heart never again to afford them such an opportunity.

*A.* Then you must go to prison.

*U.* I had rather go to prison, with a good conscience, than walk at liberty with an ill one.

So Mr Udal was carried to the Gatehouse prison by a messenger, who delivered him to the keeper, with a warrant to be kept close prisoner, without the use of pen, ink, or paper, or any person allowed to speak with him. There he remained half-a-year, during which his wife was not permitted to speak with him, unless in the presence of the keeper. She had applied to the commissioners, and also to the council, for more liberty; but without effect. Udal's chamber associates, during this time, were seminary priests, traitors, and professed papists. At the end of six months he was removed to the White-lion in Southwark, and on the 24th of July carried to the assizes at Croydon, with fetters on his legs, and indicted upon the statute 23d. Eliz. chap. 3d, before baron Clarke and sergeant Puckering, for writing a wicked, scandalous, and seditious libel, entitled, "A Demonstration of the truth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his word for the government of his church in all places, and at all times, till the end of the world." The book was dedicated to the archbishops, bishops, &c. In the dedication are these words, on which the charge against him was principally founded, viz. "Who can, without blushing, deny you (the bishops) to be the cause of all ungodliness, seeing your government permits man to be any thing but a sound christian. For under your jurisdiction, it is safer, by far, to be a papist, an anabaptist, any thing indeed, however wicked, rather than that which every man ought to be. I could live in England for twenty years, in any of these hateful characters, nay, even in the bishops' houses, and, in all probability, meet with little or no molestation. So true is the charge made against you, in a Dialogue newly come forth, and since burned by your authority, that you care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to the damnation of your own souls, and those of millions beside." In the indictment it is said, "That he, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being instigated by the devil, did maliciously publish a scandalous and infamous libel against the queen's majesty, her crown and dignity."

Being brought to the bar, and his indictment read, Mr Udal humbly requested their lordships to be heard by council; but this was denied by his lordship, saying, you cannot have it. Answer to your indictment. He then pled not guilty, and put himself on the trial of his country.

The points in the indictment were three. 1st, That Udal was author of the book. 2d, That he wrote it with a malicious intent; and, 3d, That the charges in the indictment were felony by the 23d. of Eliz. chap. 2d.

In proving the first point, namely, that Mr Udal was the author of the book, the judges did not stand upon the legal formality of bringing the witnesses face to face with the accused; their examinations, or something said to be their examinations, however, were produced, to which the register swore. Stephen Chatfield's articles were first read: They stated, that he had seen certain papers in Mr Udal's study, and on asking to whom they belonged, Udal said, to a friend: That he, Chatfield, had advised him to put them out of the way, as he feared they concerned the state. Moreover, that Mr Udal told him, at another time, that should the bishops silence him, he would give them a blow, such as they had never got before. Chatfield was then called to attest these facts; but he did not appear. Mr Udal, said the judge, you are very happy at this. I heartily wish he were here, said the prisoner, for as I am assured he can say nothing to prove this point, so I can prove that he is heartily sorry that he made any complaint against me, confessing that he did it in a fit of anger, and that by suggestions of some, whom he has since found to be bad men. Mr Udal proceeding to vindicate himself, by stating that the book came out before he had this conversation with Chatfield; but the judge interrupted him, saying, the case is sufficiently clear already.

The examination of Nicholas Tomkins was next produced. This Tomkins was now beyond seas, but the paper stated, that Mr Udal told him that he was the author. But Tomkins himself afterwards said, that he would not, for a thousand worlds, affirm any thing more, than that Mr Udal said, in his hearing, that he could, without hesitation, set his name to the book, provided he had impartial judges. When Mr Udal wanted to bring forward his witnesses to prove this, and other facts, the judge interfered, saying, the witnesses were against the queen's majesty, and therefore could not be heard.

The confession of Henry Sharp was next read, who, upon his oath before the lord chamberland, had declared, that he heard Mr Penry say, that Mr Udal was author of the Demonstration.

This was all the evidence of the fact upon which he was convicted. Not a single witness was produced in court, so that the poor man had no opportunity to cross-examine them, and refute their evidence. And not being proven, the whole was a solemn mockery. They might have condemned him as well without as with a trial so obviously partial, and, beyond all civilized and judicial procedure, unjust. Fuller allows that the proof was by no means competent, for it was generally believed that he was not the writer of the book, though probably of

the preface; but even this was not proved. The statute was evidently strained beyond its original import, and that with the design to reach his life. At the bar Mr Udal demeaned himself with great modesty and discretion; and having rebutted the charges brought against him to the satisfaction of every intelligent and impartial auditor, he submitted, with christian resignation, to a sentence he was not permitted to ward off. The times were peculiarly bad, and the court of high commission was severe to a proverb; but Mr Udal's case, for flagrant injustice, and undisguised villany, will scarcely find a parallel in the annals of the inquisition. The pannel was not allowed exculpatory evidence, the jury were not permitted to judge of the intention which alone constitutes the crime; and his refusing to swear that he was *not* the author of the book, was charged against him as a sufficient proof that he really *was*.

Mr Udal was convicted in the summer of 1590, but did not receive sentence till the ensuing spring. In the meantime, a pardon was held out, on condition that he would subscribe a most degrading acknowledgment and recantation. But no sophistry could decoy, nor threatening could terrify him into such a base submission. He told them, that no consideration on earth could induce him to subscribe to that as a truth, which he knew to be false; he therefore resolved to make the last sacrifice, rather than be guilty of such hypocritical prevarication.

The day before he was to receive sentence, he offered a submission, drawn up by himself, to the following import: "That with regard to the book, which a jury of twelve men had found him to be the author, though he could not disavow the cause maintained, nor the substance of the doctrines debated therein, which he considered holy, and, as far as he could judge concerning them, agreeable to the word of God; yet he acknowledged that in some parts of it the manner of writing might justly offend her majesty: And as the verdict of the jury imputed all its faults to him, and had laid all the severity of the punishment upon him, his humble suit to her majesty was, that her mercy and pardon might remove the guilt and offence which the law had thus cast upon him, and that, in her great clemency, she would be graciously pleased to restore him to the comforts of life and liberty; and, on his part, he would promise and engage, in all humble submission to God and her majesty, to conduct himself, during the whole course of his life, in such a dutiful and obedient manner as became a minister of the gospel, and her majesty's faithful subject." Prior to this, he had solicited his judges to recommend him to the queen's mercy, and had also supplicated several others; but all to no purpose, nothing would satisfy the court but his recantation; which being directly opposed to the conviction of his own mind, he utterly rejected.

At the close of the spring assizes, Mr Udal being called to the bar, along with other felons, and asked what he had to say, why judgment should not be pronounced against him, according to the verdict of a jury of his peers. He delivered a paper to the court, stating the grounds on which he objected to the verdict given against him. The substance of which are as follows:

“1st, Because the jury, whose duty it was to judge both of the action and intention of the law as well as of the fact, not only whether I was the author of the book with which I am charged, but also whether the sentiments therein held forth were written with a malicious intent; or whether, on an impartial construction of the statute, they amounted to felony as charged in the indictment. But the jury, notwithstanding the oath they had taken to perform this obvious part of their office, under the most awful responsibility, were nevertheless freed, by the express authority of your lordships, from performing its most essential parts. They were not permitted to consider whether the book was written with a malicious intention against her majesty, or her majesty’s government, which alone could constitute the crime of felony in the eye of the law, and according to the intent of the statute on which the charges were founded. But the jury were not only freed from the discharge of these important inquires, they were also tampered with, and wrought upon by promises, that, though under existing circumstances it was expedient to proceed the length of conviction, no farther danger was to be apprehended to the prisoner, but that it would tend ultimately to his advantage. By these promises the jurors were not left to the free exercise of their own judgments, but artfully led to a verdict they would otherwise have opposed; as appears from the shame and sorrow some of them have manifested ever since.

“2d, Because in that paragraph of the book on which the charge against me is founded, there is no mention made, either of the queen or her crown and dignity; neither indeed is there a single sentence concerning her majesty, in the whole book, but what breathes a spirit of loyalty, candour, and affection. So that if any just cause of complaint any where exist against the book in question, it must remain with the bishops, who alone have been characterized therein. But notwithstanding of all this, the jury have found a verdict against me, for writing a scandalous and infamous libel against her majesty, and of doing this with a malicious intent; whereas the paragraph founded upon, and even the whole contents of the book itself, ascribes blame to none but the bishops. The indictment, therefore, and the paragraph on which it is founded, are so diametrically

opposed the one to the other, that the most jesuitical ingenuity shall never be able to reconcile them.

“It is true, I have been told, that whoever traduces the character of a bishop, traduces that of the queen, by whose authority the bishop acts, inasmuch as bishops are members of her body politic. But had the assertors of such ridiculous absurdities consulted their own credit for modesty and propriety of sentiment, they would have first considered, whether parish constables, as well as bishops, do not act by the queen’s authority; and whether they, as well as the bishops, are not for the same reason members of the same political body; and even whether every member of the great English community be not also members of this political body. If therefore this be the case, and who will have the confidence to negative the assertion; then, consider for a moment, how tyrannical and unjust it would appear to every sound understanding, to condemn, to an ignominious death, one of her majesty’s loyal subjects, for no greater crime than that of lashing the negligence or the tyrannical exercise of power in a parish constable, under the creeping subterfuge, that the satirist did all this against her majesty, whom he reveres. The servant is not greater than his master; but it would appear, that some of the bishops of England are anxious to be considered at least equal to their mistress; and I have no doubt, but the simple dictates of common justice will dispose thousands of her majesty’s subjects to think with me, that some of these aspiring churchmen might be indicted for treason against the queen, with much more propriety than I have been for felony, on account of their audacity in thus claiming an equality with their sovereign. I beseech your lordships, therefore, to reconsider the circumstances under which the verdict against me has been found; deign to recollect, that there is no legal, nor indeed any other species of evidence, that I am even the author of the book: That the intention has not yet been examined: That the paragraph libelled has no respect to the queen; and, of course, that the indictment is not relevant to infer the pains awarded by the statute.

“But even supposing that my case had been legitimately embraced by the statute, still the felony, which alone consists in the malicious intention, cannot possibly be made out against me, inasmuch as that prominent point of the indictment has not been considered at all by the jury. Hitherto juries have been in the habit of founding their verdicts on the evidence given. My jury, however, has reached their destination by a much shorter process. Evidence they had none, they have therefore left us in the dark as to the means used in discovering my criminality; whether this was effected by the principle of instinct,

or whether, like fox-hounds, they can detect felony by the smell, they have neglected to inform us. Alas! my lords, this mode of conviction, if ever it be suffered to become a precedent, will be found fraught with the most alarming consequences to the country. It is calculated to transform one of our greatest blessings, *the trial by jury*, to a most powerful engine of sweeping destruction. To cool the affections of men, not merely towards the laws themselves, but also towards the legislature, and all the subordinate branches of the government. To break the bands of unity, and tear asunder every cord of affection by which society are knit together. For all confidence must needs be shaken, wherever men observe their friends and neighbours thus pursued to the death by a perverted law, and an influenced judgment-seat.

“With regard to myself, I have been indicted, before this high tribunal, on suspicion of writing a scandalous and infamous libel against my sovereign, and that I have done this with a malicious intent against her majesty. In respect of which, I appeal first to God, and then to all men who have known my course of life from my youth till the present time; nay, more, I appeal to the consciences of your lordships, whether you have found me guilty of any act that savours of the least malice against her majesty.

“But, my lords, by the laws of God, and I trust also by the laws of England, the witnesses ought to have been produced, in open court, before me. This, however, you are well aware, was not the case. Nothing, I say, nothing was brought forward to prove my criminality, but some papers said to be reports of depositions of individuals, who seemed ashamed to make their appearance, or substantiate these their supposed declarations. This species of evidence the law will not admit, not even in determining the title to a rood of ground; how much more inadmissible must it appear in a case of life or death? Supposing your lordships shut up to the hard necessity of losing either your lands or your lives, the choice you would make, under this painful alternative, would soon discover which was the most valuable in your estimation. Wherefore, then, was this common privilege, guaranteed to every Englishman by our great national charter, denied to me? Why were not my accusers produced, to give evidence in my presence, that I might enjoy the privilege of cross-examining them, and thereby have an opportunity of refuting what appeared incorrect in their testimony? The law requires all this, and candour would admit the same, even were there no law. But in place of measuring my supposed guilt by the golden moteward of justice, the crooked rule of expediency has been substituted in its room, so

that not only justice, but even the legitimate forms of justice, have been cruelly denied me, and I am about to receive the sentence of death upon the mere reports of evidence, which the principal witness against me declares he would not swear to for the value of a thousand worlds. All this I offered to prove by a number of sufficient witnesses; but was prevented, upon the unwarrantable plea, that being against the crown, they could not be heard.

“Thus, my lords, my exculpatory evidence has been rejected without legal cause; neither have I been confronted by my accusers as the law directs. My jury were not permitted to weigh the import of the expressions charged against me; and notwithstanding of all the latitude taken in repelling my objections, you have found nothing against me. Your evidence, illegal and loose as it was, has utterly failed in bringing any one charge in the indictment home to me. You have not even proved me to be either the author or publisher of the book in question. But, my lords, supposing I was the author of the book, and that you had succeeded in proving me to be so, to what would it amount, not surely to felony; for, let it be remembered, that in substance it contains nothing but what is taught and believed in the best reformed churches of Europe. If therefore you condemn me as its author for felony, you at the same time condemn those nations, and all those churches that hold the same opinions.

“With regard to the manner in which the book is written, men will differ in their opinions. Even of those who receive the doctrine therein contended for, as agreeable to the word of God, and the example of the primitive churches, some may hesitate at the asperity of the language used in some parts of the work, and perhaps form the opinion, that an admonition, a small fine, or a short imprisonment, becomes necessary, as a salutary example to deter others from overstepping the line of moderation in their controversial animadversions. But *death*, and death for an error so *trivial!* as you value your reputation amongst men; as you dread the cutting accusations of a revolting conscience; as you estimate the happiness of heaven, and the glory yet to be revealed—pause, I beseech you, reconsider the circumstances of the case, recollect the deficiency of evidence, count the cost, and calculate the consequences, before you pronounce a sentence so utterly disproportioned to the supposed offence—a sentence, which every good man must reprobate, and which villains themselves will never have the confidence to defend. After all, if nothing less than my blood, or what is still more precious, my integrity, will satiate the resentment of mine enemies, God’s will be done: But know ye, that I am

not destitute of other resources. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall one day judge the world in righteousness. To him, therefore, I appeal from your iniquitous decision; and confident in his wisdom, power, and impartial justice, my flesh also shall rest in hope. Behold! I am in your hands to do with me according to your own good pleasure; but know this, that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and upon the land. As the blood of Abel, so, be assured, the blood of Udal, will cry to God from the ground, and the righteous Judge of the world will require it at the hands of all who shall be found guilty."

Nothing, however, that he could say proved available. His reasons were rejected, and his judges remained inflexible, unless he would subscribe to his recantation; which his conscience could not permit. The sentence of death therefore was passed upon him, February 20th, and his execution was openly awarded. When he received the cruel and unjust sentence, he was not in the least agitated, but said, with peculiar gravity and seriousness, God's will be done. His execution was put off, however, by private orders from the court. In the meantime, the dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Andrews were sent to persuade him to sign his recantation; which he peremptorily refused.

From the belief that the queen had got an erroneous account of his character and opinions, Sir Walter Raleigh persuaded him to write a short account of his faith; which he did, and sent it to her majesty by the hand of Sir Walter. King James \* of Scotland also wrote to the queen in Udal's behalf, earnestly requesting that her majesty would forgive Mr Udal for his sake, promising to do as much for her in any matter she might recommend to his consideration. The Turkey merchants, about the same time, promised, providing he might be restored to his liberty, to send him to some of their factories abroad, to which he had consented, and wrote a letter to the treasurer, apprising him of these circumstances, and praying him to be a means of restoring him to liberty. On which the archbishop, it is said, yielded to his request. The keeper had promised to further the business, and Udal had reason to hope, as the earl of Essex had a draught of his pardon ready prepared; but the queen, for what reason we are not able to account, never signed it. The Turkey fleet sailed, and poor Udal, tossed between hope and despair, died a few months after, quite broken-hearted, in the Marshal-sea, about the close of 1592.—Fuller characterises him a learned man, blameless in life, powerful in prayer,

\* On the accession of King James to the crown, it is said, that on his arrival in England, amongst the first persons he inquired after was Mr Udal; and being informed of his death, "Then, upon my soul (said the king), we have lost the best scholar in Europe."

and a diligent, as well as an edifying preacher. His remains were honourably interred in the church-yard of St. George, Southwark. His funeral was attended by most of the London ministers, who had, many of them, been his visitors while in prison, and were now willing to drop a tear over the mortal remains of a man, whose faith and patience were put to the severest trial, and who died for the testimony of a good conscience; and an evidence, that tyrants and oppressors can only control the body, but cannot triumph over a steady, well regulated, and determined mind.

His works were, *The Key of the Holy Tongue*—A short Dictionary—*Praxis* on certain Psalms—A Commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah—The state of the Church of England laid open, &c.

---

### JOHN GREENWOOD.

THIS most distinguished puritan, and inflexible non-conformist, was for some time chaplain to lord Rich; but afterwards renouncing his episcopal orders, he became a rigid Brownist; and those of that persuasion becoming pretty numerous in and about London, formed themselves into a church; and Mr Francis Johnson was elected, by the suffrages of the congregation, as their pastor, and Mr Greenwood for their doctor or teacher. This took place, it would appear, about 1592.

On Mr Greenwood's embracing the sentiments of this denomination, he became intimately acquainted with Mr Henry Barrow, a lawyer, and warmly attached to the same opinions. Their actings and sufferings were so closely connected, and often intermixed with one another, that it will be difficult to narrate them separately. Having been, for some time, fellow-prisoners for the same cause, they were brought before the court of high commission in November 1586, and charged with holding and propagating schismatical and seditious opinions. The leading articles of which were: That the church of England is no true church: That its worship is idolatry: That she admits unsanctified and profane persons to her communion: That her ministers have no lawful calling to the ministry: That her government is unscriptural, ungodly, and tyrannical: That the people of every parish ought to choose their respective pastors themselves: That every elder, though neither doctor nor pastor, is a bishop: That printed or written creeds or catechisms are idle, useless, and unnecessary; and that to use set forms of prayer is a species of blasphemy. Such were the charges brought forward against these men by their *enemies*

and persecutors. We have good reason, therefore, to believe that they are the worst things with which they were able to charge them; and the reader will judge for himself how far they correspond with the generally received opinions of religious liberty in the nineteenth century. When Mr Greenwood and Mr Barrow appeared before the commission, they were closely examined. Mr Greenwood had been prisoner before Barrow; but how long cannot now be ascertained. In 1592, however, they had been at least four or five years close prisoners, and treated, during the whole of that wearisome period, with unchristian severity. They underwent a close and insulting examination before the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London and Winchester, the two lord chief justices, the lord chief baron, the master of the rolls, and others, in which the court exhausted their ingenuity in attempting to lead them into an acknowledgment of the crimes they had laid to their charge; but there is too much quibbling to make their tedious examinations in the least interesting. Mr Greenwood was remanded to prison, where he remained a long time in close confinement; and, as it would appear from a paper, entitled, "The names of sundry faithful christians imprisoned by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London," he had many companions in his tribulation. In this paper it is stated, that Mr Greenwood and Barrow had been confined thirty weeks in the Clink, for reading a portion of scripture, in a friend's house, on the Lord's day; but were removed to the Fleet by an *habeas corpus*, where they lay on an execution of two hundred and sixty pounds each: That Henry Thomson and George Collier were committed to the Clink for hearing Mr Greenwood read the said portion of scripture, and had remained nineteen months without being called to answer. Jerome Studley, for refusing to answer interrogatories, was sent to the same place, where he remained fifteen months. Christopher Roper was committed close prisoner by the bishop of London. Edward Boys was nineteen months in bridewell, and afterwards removed to the Clink. John Chamber was committed to the same prison for hearing Mr Greenwood read as above, where he died. George Bright, for commending a faithful christian for his integrity in holding out when under persecution, was confined in Newgate, where he also died. Maynard, Roe, and Barrow, three aged widows, were thrown into Newgate by the bishop of London, for hearing Mr Greenwood read the above portion of scripture, where two of them died by the infection of the prison. Quintin Smyth was sent to Newgate, confined in a dungeon, loaded with irons, and had his bible taken from him; and John Purdye was sent to bridewell, and confined in a place called *Little Ease*,

where he was beat with bludgeons because he would not attend the parish church. These are merely a specimen of vast numbers, who, about this time, were treated with similar severity for their non-conformity.

While these cruel measures were exercising against the Brownists, who, by this time, partly occupied all the jails in London, the high commission appointed forty-three conforming clergymen to confer with the same number of these imprisoned puritans, to whom they delivered a brief of the positions with which they were charged. These were twelve in number; and in the shape they were charged against them, full of heretical and blasphemous sentiments, but containing little more than misrepresentations. The Brownists replied in a publication, entitled, "A brief answer to certain slanderous and ungodly calumniations, spread abroad by the bishops and their adherents, against divers faithful and true christians, 1590." In this piece they denied the charges thus maliciously brought against them, and openly declared their opinions on the various points specified in these positions, and endeavoured to set the public opinion right with regard both to their faith and practice. Mr Greenwood and Barrow were supposed to have been the authors of this reply, in which they had treated the bishops and the church, by law established, with considerable freedom.

Mr Greenwood and Mr Barrow united with about sixty other prisoners, in the different jails of the metropolis, in stating their grievances to the lord treasurer. In their petition, they earnestly entreated his lordship either to grant them an early trial, or, in the meantime, to favour them with the privilege of some christian conference, or that they might be admitted to bail according to law; or that he would, by some means, bring their cause before the rest of her majesty's most honourable privy council: "For (say they) her majesty has not, in the wide extent of her empire, more dutiful and loving subjects, who have, to the number of threescore and upwards, been imprisoned contrary to all law, reason, and equity: Separated from our lawful callings, our trades, wives, children, and families, and shut up in close and nauseous prisons, where every comfort is denied us; while poverty and famine prey upon our constitutions, so that many have already fallen victims to the severity thus exercised against us; and all this by the sole authority of the bishops, who deprive us of all legal audience and protection. We are not only oppressed, but calumniated and traduced in our characters, and charged with opinions we never held, and actions which our souls abhor; but, above all, we are debarred from spiritual edification and comfort, by doctrine, prayer, or mutual conference." This ap-

plication, like most others, proved of little avail. During their long imprisonment, various pamphlets were published, whereby their characters were vilely aspersed, and their tenets most maliciously misrepresented to the world; nor were they themselves inactive. They also set forth several publications in defence of their characters and the doctrines they had espoused. Greenwood and Barrow were considered as the authors of these publications; and having expressed themselves with considerable freedom, with respect both to the office and conduct of the dignitaries of the church, and even of the church itself as by law established, they thereby drew down upon themselves the powerful resentment of the bishops. Accordingly, on the 21st March 1592, they, together with Daniel Studley, Robert Bowle, Mr Saxto Bellot, were indicted at the Old Bailey, upon the statute 23d. Eliz., for writing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the queen and government; whereas, in fact, they had published nothing but what was levelled at the bishops and the church. On their trial they evinced a heroic courage and undaunted self-possession, exhibiting no token of wavering timidity, making no application for mercy, but a bold and freeman-like demand for justice, in all its instituted forms. They protested, that they never wrote, or had the least intention to write, against her majesty, but merely against the bishops and the church; all which was sufficiently obvious. The jury, however, possessed too large a portion of the spirit of their judges to let them slip, and accordingly brought them all in guilty. Bellot, with tears, requested a conference, and confessed his sorrow for what he had done. Studley and Bowle stood firm, declared their unshaken loyalty to the queen, and manfully refused to accept of mercy at the expence of their sincerity; but being only considered as accessaries, they were reprieved, and sent back to prison. About four years after this Studley was banished; and in a short time after Bellot and Bowle died in Newgate; but Greenwood and Barrow were, in the meantime, reserved for public examples, and had the sentence of death passed upon them, March 23d.

After receiving the awful sentence, several divines were appointed to converse with the prisoners, and, if possible, bring them to a recantation; but all their endeavours were vain, they remained inflexible. They had counted the cost before they embarked in the hazardous work of reformation, and made choice of what they conceived the least dangerous alternative. Accordingly, on the last day of March, they were taken to Tyburn in a cart, where they were placed under the gallows, and for some time exposed to the multitude, in the hopes that the terrors of death would frighten them to a recantation; but the

sight of the dreadful apparatus made no impression on their resolution. They were therefore carried back to Newgate, where they remained till the 6th of April, when they were carried a second time to Tyburn, and executed pursuant to their sentence. At the place of execution they gave undoubted evidence of the sincerity of their faith, of their unfeigned piety, and true loyalty; which being represented to the queen, she seemed sorry that she had signed the warrant for their execution. Dr. Rainolds, who had attended them in their last moments, signified to her majesty, that it was his opinion the age had not produced two individuals better qualified for furthering the work of the gospel than these two men. We learn, moreover, from the famous Hugh Broughton, that though they were condemned on the pretence of being disturbers of the state, that this would have been forgiven them if they would have condescended to attend the parish church; which shows that they became martyrs for their non-conformity.

The archbishop, in order to throw the odium of his intolerance on the civil magistrate, contrived to have them tried for writing against the queen, notwithstanding that all the books charged against them were written against the church, the officers of the church, their tyrannical government, and popish ceremonies; with which hypocritical disingenuousness Mr Barrow charges him most explicitly. Having suffered confinement, in close prison, for several years, exposed to the severities of cold, nakedness, and famine, he presented a supplication to the queen, earnestly requesting to be delivered from their present miseries, though it were even by death. This paper, however, the archbishop intercepted; and fearing that the queen might become acquainted with their real situation, and the cause thereof, he meanly prevented it from reaching her majesty. "The archbishop (says Mr Barrow), having filled the various prisons in London with such men as could not conscientiously conform to the established religion, covered his cruelty and tyrannical conduct towards them, by charging their non-conformity, not against the church, but against the queen and her government. He has destined brother Greenwood and myself to death, and others to a miserable imprisonment; their helpless wives and children to be cast out of the city, and their property confiscated. Is not this, says he, a right christian bishop! Are these the virtues of him who takes upon himself the care and the government of the churches, thus to devour God's poor sheep, to tear off their flesh, to break their bones, and chop them to pieces as flesh for the caldron? Will he thus instruct and convince gainsayers? or does he consult either his own credit, the credit of the church, or the honour of his prince, by

such tyrannical havock? For our parts, we are always ready, through the grace of God, to be offered up upon the testimony of the faith that we have made, and our lives are not dear unto us, so that we may finish our testimony with joy."

Little as religious freedom was understood at the period in question, these long imprisonments, with all their concomitant severities, together with the condemnation and cruel execution of Mr Barrow and Mr Greenwood, were such acts of cruelty and flagrant injustice, as will perpetuate the disgrace of the church, and for ever tarnish the glory of Elizabeth's otherwise illustrious reign. The queen has been charged with listening too implicitly to the suggestions of her clergy, who unfeelingly represented the puritans as men of seditious principles, and rebels against their sovereign, who by their disobedience shook the foundation of her government and throne. But this is not the first time, nor the only kingdom in which disobedience to the ruling ecclesiastics has been charged as rebellion against the prince; nor would it be an easy matter to clear the clergy from leading the way in these unmanly misrepresentations.

Mr Greenwood published, 1st, A brief Refutation of Mr George Gifford—2d, An Answer to Mr George Gifford's Defence of Read Prayers and Devised Liturgies.

---

### JOHN PENRY, A. M.

THIS inflexible puritan was born in Brecknockshire, Wales, in 1559, and educated first at Cambridge, and afterwards at Oxford, where he took his degree of master of arts, 1586. He was about eighteen years of age when he came first to Cambridge; and Wales, the place of his nativity, being at that period wholly overspread with popish darkness, Penry was, of course, a papist; but soon after having embraced the doctrines of the protestant church, and taken his degrees, he became a much esteemed preacher in both universities, where he was accounted a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man. All this could scarcely be expected from so bitter a conformist as Wood; who farther informs us, that Penry, being full of Welsh blood, and possessing a hot head, and a restless disposition, changed his course, and became a notorious anabaptist, in some measure a Brownist, and an inveterate enemy to the English church. That Mr Penry was a determined enemy to the hierarchal government of the church of England, and particularly to the persecuting severity exercised by the prelatical junto in his time, need create no surprise, he being a most zealous promoter of a thorough reformation.

On leaving the university, Mr Penry settled for some time at Northampton, where, it is thought, he was employed in the ministry. His sufferings, of which he had a double portion, commenced about 1587, when he was cited before archbishop Whitegift, bishop Cooper, and others of the court of high commission. Here he was charged with having published a book, in which he had asserted, "That mere readers, that is, such as could not or would not preach, were no ministers: That the reading of homilies, or any other books, was not preaching the word of God; and therefore the ordinary means of salvation was thereby neglected and wholly wanting.

During his examination, the bishop of London asking him, What objection he had to non-residents? He said, non-resident clergymen do what they can to deprive the people of the ordinary means of salvation, which is the preaching of the word.

*Bishop.* Is preaching the *only* means of salvation?

*Penry.* It is the only *ordinary* means; for how shall they believe unless they hear, and how can they hear without a preacher. It pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe. Penry having reasoned this point at some length, the bishop of Winchester rose and said, "I assure you, my lords, it is an execrable heresy." An heresy! said Penry, I thank God that I ever have known that heresy. It is such a heresy, my lord, that I have determined to die in possession of it.

*Bish.* I tell thee it is an heresy, and that thou shalt recant it as such.

*Pen.* No, by the grace of God, never, so long as I live.

Here the archbishop supported his brother of Winchester, by asserting that Penry's opinion was an execrable heresy. But, says he, such heathenish untruths are more to be pitied than answered. So Mr Penry was committed to prison, and after a month's confinement, liberated without further proceeding. But presently after the bishops sent their pursuivants with warrants to apprehend and commit him to prison. Walton, one of the pursuivants, went to Northampton, and entering Penry's house, ransacked his study, and brought away what papers he pleased; but Mr Penry was not to be found.

Upon the publication of Martin Mar-prelate, and other satirical pamphlets, a special warrant was issued from the council, signed by several hands, Whitegift's being one, to seize and apprehend him as an enemy to the state, and that all the queen's good and loyal subjects should take him so to be. In the meantime Penry had gone into Scotland, not merely on the score of safety, but as a student of divinity, where he remained till 1593. During his residence in Scotland, he made many obser-

vations on the state of religion for his own private use, and had drawn up the heads of an address to the queen, on purpose that he might apprise her majesty of the real state of religion in the kingdom; how much she was deceived by the misrepresentations of her dignified clergy, and of the many and gross abuses that existed in the church; also to intercede with her majesty for permission to preach the gospel in his native country of Wales, where, at that period, it was extremely necessary. This skeleton of his petition and address he had resolved to extend, and deliver, with his own hand, when he should find a proper opportunity. With this paper, and his other observations, Mr Penry returned from Scotland; but had scarcely arrived in London, till he was seized in Stepney parish by information from the vicar. This happened in the month of May, and poor Penry was arraigned, condemned, and executed in the course of the same month.

The charges brought against him were extracted from his private papers. He was indicted on the statute 23d. of Eliz. chap. 2d., for seditious words and rumours uttered against the queen's most excellent majesty, to the stirring up of rebellion amongst her subjects. He was convicted of felony on the 21st of May, in the king's bench, before justice Popham. During his short confinement, he was examined before the worshipful Mr Fanshaw and justice Young.

*Fanshaw.* It seems strange, Mr Penry, that you hold opinions that none of the learned men of this age, nor any of the martyrs of former ages, ever maintained. Can you shew any writer, ancient or modern, of your judgment?

*Penry.* Whatever I hold I will be bound to prove from the scriptures, and shew that the same opinions have also been maintained by our holy martyrs, Wickliff, Brute, Purvy, White, Tyndale, Lambert, Barnes, Latimer, and others.

*Fan.* Do the martyrs then teach you that there is no church of Christ in England?

*Pen.* If by a church you mean that public profession of religion, in which salvation, by the death and righteousness of Christ, is taught and believed, I do by no means deny the existence of a church in England.

*Fan.* What is it then that you dislike in our church, and why will you not partake with us of these truths and these sacraments?

*Pen.* I dislike, 1st, your false ecclesiastic officers. 2d, The calling of these officers. 3d, A great part of the works in which these false and improperly elected officers are engaged. 4th, Their maintenance or livings—All of which I will be bound to prove contrary to the word of God, and derived not from Jesus

Christ, the king and only head of his own church, but from antichrist, his most evident and audacious enemy.

*Fan.* What officers do you mean?

*Pen.* Archbishops, lord bishops, archdeacons, commissaries, chancellors, deans, canons, prebendaries, priests, &c., all of whom are the invention of the Romish church, and correspond with no other body, civil or ecclesiastic. The church of Christ is complete in all her offices without them. The state has no occasion for them. Pagan idolatry, with all its absurdities, never had them. The kingdom of antichrist, and it alone, cannot be entire without them.

*Fan.* Would you then have no other offices in the church, now that she is at peace, than those considered necessary in times of persecution and distress?

*Pen.* No, surely; for if the order left by Moses was not to be altered but by the special command of God; then may neither man or angel, unless by the same authority, add or abstract from that holy form that the Son of God has appointed for his own house.

*Fan.* What office had you in your church, that meets in woods, and I know not where?

*Pen.* I have no office in that poor congregation; and with respect to our meeting in woods and secret places, we have the honourable example of good men in all ages, when, like us, prohibited to meet in public by intolerant persecutors. Yet we are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, but ready to profess the same before men and angels. Let not therefore our necessity be charged against us as a crime, especially as you yourselves are the sole cause.

*Fan.* You labour to draw her majesty's subjects from their allegiance, and from the church of England, to hear you, and such as you, teaching in woods.

*Pen.* Nay, I persuade all men to obey their prince and her laws; only I endeavour to persuade all the world from yielding obedience to antichrist, and to submit to the simple laws and easy yoke of our Redeemer; all which I know to be agreeable to the laws of the queen.

It was at first intended to indict Mr Penry on the books published in his name; but by the advice of counsel, he drew up a paper, which induced his adversaries to alter their intention. This paper, dated May 10th, 1593, is entitled, "Mr Penry's declaration that he is *not* in danger from the law by the books published in his name." In this declaration, he observes, that the statute was never intended to include those who wrote merely against the ecclesiastic establishment; because, in that case, it must have condemned many of the most learned

protestants, both at home and abroad, but only such persons as by their writings defame her majesty's royal person, against whom he had never written, nor determined to write: Nor had he, at any time, been at a meeting or conventicle where any, under or above the number of twelve persons, were assembled; but that, nevertheless, had he been guilty of all these, he ought to have been accused within one month of the crime, upon the oath of two witnesses, and to have been indicted within the space of one year, otherwise the statute itself clears him in express terms.

The court, apprehending that this declaration of Penry's might occasion an argument in law, set aside his printed books, and had him indicted on the contents of his manuscript petition and observations before mentioned. This was still more unjust and unprecedented, as he expresses himself to the lord treasurer Burleigh, to whom he sent his protestation immediately after his condemnation. "It is most lamentable (says he), and without a parallel, that the private observations of a student, and these made while in a foreign land, and especially considering that they were most secret and altogether imperfect, should occasion his life to terminate in violence and blood. I have, nevertheless, this consolation, that though my consciousness of innocence stands me in no stead before my earthly tribunal, I know that I shall have an honourable acquittal before the tribunal of the great King and merciful Father, who tenderly guards and supplies the desolate widow and the fatherless, and will be the father and protector of my poor widow and friendless orphans. And being likely to trouble your lordship with no more letters, I acknowledge, with hearty gratitude, your lordship's favours towards me, in receiving the writings which I have presumed to send you from time to time. And in this, most probably my last, I protest before God, that so far as I know, I have written you nothing but the truth. And now that my private scrawls, and unfinished observations, are brought against me to the spilling of my blood, I humbly crave that the whole of these my private papers may be made public, that the world may see that they contain nothing but what is honourable both for myself and my sovereign. For though I be condemned as a felon or traitor, I thank God, that neither man nor devil shall ever be able to convict me of either.

"I never set myself up as a public rebuker, much less for a reformer of states and kingdoms; but all the world must bear with me, if, in the discharge of my conscience, I prefer my testimony to the truths of Jesus Christ, before the favour of any creature in earth or in heaven. The prosperity of my country, and the honour of my prince, were always dear to me, as he

knows by whom kings reign, and kingdoms are preserved; nor have I taken part in this cause out of contention, vain glory, or with the design to draw disciples after me, Lord, thou art witness. Whatever I may have written contrary to the word of God, I have warned the world to avoid. My confession of faith, and allegiance to God and the queen, written since my imprisonment, I take, as I shall answer before Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, to contain nothing but God's eternal truth; and therefore if my blood were an ocean, and each drop a life to me, I would freely give it all in defence thereof; yet if any error can be shewn, that error I will not defend.

“Great things in this life I have never sought; sufficiency I have had with great trouble; but with my lot in life I have been most content, yea, even with my untimely and unmerited death, I am, and shall be, contented; and I pray God that it may not be laid to the charge of any person in the land. From my heart I forgive all those who seek after my life, as I hope to be forgiven at the bar of the impartial and universal Judge. Seeing, however, we cannot agree in sentiment in this life, may we meet together in heaven, where the jarring animosities of this transitory state of erring probation shall give way to the unspeakable consolations of love, peace, purity, and everlasting concord. And if my death can procure any quietness in the church of God and my country, I am glad of having a life to bestow in this service. To what better purpose could it be applied were it preserved. Thus have I lived towards my God and my prince; and thus, by the grace of God, I mean to die. Many such subjects may her majesty have the pleasure to reign over; but may none of them meet with my reward. My last and earnest request is, that the queen may be made acquainted with these things before my death, or at least after my departure.” Having given a particular account of his religious opinions, Mr Penry adds, “Death, thanks be to God, I fear not. I know that the sting of death is taken away, and that the dead are truly blessed who die in the Lord; but imprisonments, arraignments, and death, are pitiful arguments for convincing the consciences of men.”

Mr Penry was not brought to execution immediately, as was generally expected, but at a time when it was least of all looked for. He was taken while at dinner, and privately conveyed to the place of execution, and there hastily bereaved of his life, without being permitted to make a declaration either of his faith towards God, or his allegiance to the queen, though he earnestly requested that permission.

Mr Penry was undoubtedly a man of extensive learning, eminent talents, and incorruptible integrity; but these excellent

qualifications, in place of being available in soothing the prelatial resentment, rather served as an inducement to remove a light, that served to discover the false foundation on which the whole fabric of ecclesiastic tyranny had been erected; and in spite of all the noise they had raised about his sedition and rebellion against her majesty, the body of the people were satisfied, that his plain dealing with the bishops and the church constituted the *real* crime for which he had to lay down his life.

Mr Penry was the author of several learned works; but it never could be proved that he had any hand in the writings, entitled, "Martin Mar-prelate," though most of the high churchmen have ascribed them to him and some others. It is well known, however, that the real authors were never discovered. The following has been considered as a correct list of his works.

1st, The equity and propriety of an humble supplication, to be exhibited unto her most gracious majesty, and the high court of parliament, in behalf of the country of Wales, that some order may be taken for preaching the gospel amongst the inhabitants of that part of the kingdom, 1587.—2d, A view of some of the wants and disorders in the service of God within her majesty's country of Wales.—3d, A Defence of what has been written on the Questions of an Ignorant Ministry, and holding communion with such.—4th, Exhortation to the Governors and People of her majesty's country of Wales.—5th, A Dialogue, wherein is plainly laid open the tyrannical dealings of the lord bishops against God's children, 1589.—6th, Treatise, wherein is manfully proved, that reformation, and its true friends, are unjustly charged with enmity to her majesty and the state, 1590.—7th, The state of the Church of England.—8th, Petition of Peace.—9th, His Apology.—10th, Of Public Ministry.—11th, History of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, applied to the prelatial ministry and church assemblies of England.

### FRANCIS JOHNSON.

THIS highly distinguished puritan divine was fellow of Christ-college, Cambridge, a very popular preacher in the university, and afterwards a leading character amongst the Brownists in London. In a sermon preached in St. Mary's church, Cambridge, 1588, Mr Johnson was charged with uttering certain erroneous and dangerous doctrines; for which he was cited before the vice-chancellor Dr. Nevil, and the heads of the college, who committed him to prison. The various proceedings

of these ecclesiastical rulers, respecting his case, engaged the attention of the university for more than twelve months; some warmly approving, and others as severely censuring the rigorous measures adopted on this occasion. His text was 1 Peter i. 4. "The elders who are amongst you I exhort, who am also an elder." The erroneous and dangerous positions charged against Mr Johnson are said to have been collected from his sermon, and are, 1st, That the church of God ought to be governed by elders. 2d, That a particular form of church government is marked out in the word of God. 3d, That no other form ought to be used in the church. 4th, That we have not that form. 5th, That the want thereof is one cause of the present ignorance, idolatry, and disobedience. 6th, That ministers ought to live upon their own cures. 7th, That there ought to be an equality amongst ministers, which the papists do not relish. 8th, That we have an Amaziah amongst us, who forbiddeth Amos to preach at Bethel. 9th, That they do not exhort to feed the flock, but hinder those who would.

Mr Johnson was commanded to answer to these charges, and declare, upon oath, what he had delivered in his sermon; which he absolutely refused, on the ground, that he would, in so doing, be accessory to his own condemnation. He underwent several strict examinations, and was committed to prison; where he remained a long time, and at last laid the case before lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university. In the meantime, though he would not answer on oath, he delivered his answers in writing; which gave no satisfaction to the rulers; but after rigid examination, and long imprisonment, he was enjoined, October 19th, 1589, to make a most ridiculous recantation from the pulpit of St. Mary's church. And because he performed it in mincing terms, something short of the prescribed form, on the 30th October, of the same year, he was expelled from the university; but not having removed from the place, he was again, on the 18th December, cruelly cast into prison. By the recommendation of the chancellor he made an appeal to the university against these illegal and cruel proceedings, stating the evil treatment he had received in a letter to his lordship; wherein he says, "I, a poor prisoner, overthrown by the power of mine adversaries in a just cause, being fully assured that here I can find no justice, inasmuch as the proctor has already been checked for doing his duty with regard to my appeal, do earnestly, in God's behalf, and for the sake of righteous dealing, beseech your lordship to take my cause into your hearing, and rescue me from this grievous imprisonment, which undeservedly, the Lord of heaven knows, I sustain." Two supplications to the chancellor, in Johnson's behalf, and signed by sixty-

eight scholars, all fellows of the university, were, about this time, also addressed to the lord chancellor. We have reason, however, to believe that all these applications were unavailing; nor can we discover how long Mr Johnson remained a prisoner. The merciless and unpolitic persecution of the puritans, in place of restoring or maintaining uniformity, operated in a directly opposite manner from what was intended, and confidently expected, by these cruel and domineering prelates. A large proportion of the clergy could not, in conscience, acquiesce in the measure going forward, and much less could they approve of a church thus fighting against her enemies with such carnal weapons. About this period, therefore, very many pious and able pastors were shut up to the necessity of finally separating from the prelatical establishment; amongst whom was Mr Johnson, who espoused the opinions of the Brownists, better known, at present, by the title of English Independents, and joined himself to their congregation, which assembled privately in or about London. About the year 1592, this congregation becoming rather numerous, formed themselves into a church, and Mr Johnson was elected their pastor by the suffrages of the brotherhood; Mr John Greenwood, doctor or teacher; Messrs Bowman and Lee, deacons; and Messrs Studley and Kinaston, elders. The whole of this service was performed in one day, in Nicholas Lane, at the house of Mr Fox; and at the same time seven persons were baptized without god-fathers or god-mothers, Mr Johnson only sprinkling their faces with water, and pronouncing the words, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, &c." The Lord's supper was likewise administered without the established ceremonies. At the close they sung an hymn, and made a collection for the poor; and from this time forward it was agreed, that every new member, on his entering, should promise to walk with them so long as they walked in the way of the Lord, in as far as might be warranted by the word of God.

This congregation, that they might escape the bishop's officers, were obliged to meet in various places, often during the night; but were discovered on a Lord's day, in the same house, at Islington, where the protestant congregation were used to meet in the days of queen Mary. About sixty-six persons were taken into custody, and sent two and two to the different prisons about London, though it does not appear whether Mr Johnson was taken at this time; but during the present year, he was committed, along with Mr Greenwood, to the Compter, and next day committed to close prison by Whitegift and other commissioners. After fourteen months close confinement, he was brought to trial. The charge against him was merely his having written against the established church, and the oppres-

sion of the prelates; and notwithstanding that he had been prisoner prior to the enactment of the statute he was charged with violating, he was found guilty, and condemned to perpetual banishment from his country.

Mr Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, and some others, having lately suffered death for tenaciously adhering to the same principles, the dignitaries, convinced they could neither reduce their number, nor even arrest the progress of puritanism by their sanguinary measures, without incurring the execration of all moderate and reasonable men, came to the resolution of banishing the most tenacious of the puritans, especially the Brownists, in such numbers as to clean the jails, and rid the country of a sect that had become a grievous eye-sore to the spiritual rulers.

Mr Johnson being thus condemned to perpetual banishment, retired, with many of his friends, to Amsterdam, where they formed a church after the model of the Brownists, having the learned Mr Henry Ainsworth for doctor or teacher. The grand principle on which this church was founded may be expressed in Mr Johnson's own words. "The church of Christ (says he) ought not to be governed by popish canons, courts, classes, customs, or by any other human inventions, but by the laws and rules which Christ has appointed in his testament. Every particular church, with its pastors, stands immediately under Christ, the Archpastor, without any other ecclesiastical power intervening, whether it be of prelates, or synods, or any other invention of man."

Mr Johnson and Mr Ainsworth, many years after their removing to Holland, differed concerning the discipline of the church. Johnson placed the government in the eldership alone; while Mr Ainsworth placed it in the whole church, of which the elders are only a part. The consequence was, that Mr Johnson and his party withdrew when they could no longer live together. Ainsworth, and those who adhered to his opinions, held a separate assembly at Amsterdam, and Mr Johnson at last removed with his friends to Embden, where he afterwards died, and his congregation was dissolved.

The principal objections of the Brownists to the church of England were: Her promiscuous communion, whereby profane persons were admitted to the privileges of the church. Her antichristian office-bearers, primates, metropolitans, lord bishops, &c. Her book of consecration of bishops, taken from the pope's pontifical. Her confounding the civil and ecclesiastical offices in the same person. Her retaining and using apocryphal books. Her stunted and formal prayers and liturgy, taken out of the pope's mass-book, with the same order of psalms, lessons, col-

lects, paternosters, epistles, gospels, versicles, responds, &c. &c. The cross in baptism, the hallowed font, and questions to the infant in baptism. God-fathers, god-mothers, women baptizing of children, which tends to perpetuate the absurd doctrine, that children dying unbaptized are damned. Dispensing the sacrament, not according to the institution of Christ, but in words borrowed from the pope's portuis. Receiving it kneeling; the ring in marriage; praying over the dead; churching or purifying of women. Their holidays, their fasts, or abstaining from flesh on their eves, Fridays, Saturdays, ember-days, and all the days of lent. Their dispensations to eat flesh on such forbidden times. Dispensations for non-residents. For holding two, three, four, or more benefices. Their suspensions, absolutions, deprivations, and degradations. Their penance in a white sheet; their commutation of penance, and absolving one person for another. The prelates confirmation, or bishoping of children, to assure them of God's favour, by a sign of man's devising. Bowing at the name of Jesus. Absolving the dead who die under excommunication, before they are admitted to christian burial. The popish vestments. The prelates lordly dominion; their revenues and retinues. The priests' maintenance by tythes, christmas offerings, &c. The prelates ruling the church by the pope's cursed canon law. And, finally, their oppressing, imprisoning, banishing, and putting to death such as renounce their absurdities, and refuse to witness and defile themselves with these and their other abominations.

The boasted reign of queen Elizabeth, with all its popularity, was, nevertheless, a period of cruel persecution to all who could not conform to her established mode of worship; but of all the denominations of puritans, the Brownists or Independents suffered the greatest severities; not because of their non-conformity to the vestments and ceremonies, for, in this respect, they did nothing more than other puritans, but, as it would seem, because this reforming party, who were not satisfied with loping off the antichristian branches, had begun to lay the ax to the root of the tree, by declaring that the church of England was no church of Christ: That her lordly prelates, and all her subaltern officers, were none of them ministers of the New Testament, but intruders, who, by climbing over the wall, had taken violent possession of God's heritage, where, in place of feeding and protecting the sheep of his pasture, like hungry wolves, were ready to devour them. This plain dealing, on the part of the Independents, roused the indignation of the bishops, who misrepresented them to her majesty, as enemies to her person and government, that they might crush them under the weight of civil power.

## CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN, B. D.

Mr Goodman was born in the city of Chester about 1519, and had his education at Brazen-nose college, Oxford. After taking his degrees in arts, he was constituted one of the senior students of Christ-church, then newly founded by Henry VIII. Towards the end of the reign of king Edward, he was admitted to the reading of sentences, and chosen divinity lecturer in the university. Upon the re-establishment of popery under queen Mary, owing to the bloody persecution that ensued, Goodman retired from the storm, and took refuge at Frankfort, where he was soon involved in the troubles which the officious interference of Dr. Cox and his party occasioned amongst the English refugees in that place. Here, when it was proposed to make choice of office-bearers for the church, Mr Goodman moved, that they should first condescend upon some specific order of church regulations, and submit the same to the judgment of the congregation, whereby it might appear that they respected the opinions of their brethren, and then proceed to the election, which, he conceived, ought to be determined by a majority of the whole church; but Goodman's motions were all over-ruled by Cox and his party, who declared that there should be no other regulations than the book of common prayer. In the meantime, Cox had the ministers assembled at his lodgings, to choose a bishop and other officers agreeable to the English establishment under Edward. The consequence of these jarring opinions was the breaking up of the congregation. Accordingly, Goodman set out for Geneva, accompanied by a number of his associates. Here Mr Goodman and Mr John Knox, the famous Scotch reformer, were chosen pastors of the English congregation, and so continued till the death of queen Mary. While at Geneva, Goodman assisted John Knox in composing the Book of Common Order, which was to be used as a directory of worship in the protestant congregations.

On receiving the news of the queen's death, Goodman wrote a most affectionate and healing letter to their fellow-exiles at Frankfort, which, together with the answer, is still preserved. During his exile, and a short time before the death of the queen, a report had reached Geneva that she was dead; upon which Mr Goodman wrote to Mr Bartlet Green, a lawyer, a pious professor, and his old acquaintance at Oxford, inquiring whether the report was true. His friend, in reply, said, "The queen is not *yet* dead." This letter was intercepted, and the writer apprehended, committed to the tower, and after a long imprisonment, tried, condemned, and committed to the flames by the blood-thirsty Bonner.

During his residence in Geneva, Mr Goodman took an active part in the translation and publication of the Geneva bible. Having finished the translation some short time after the accession of Elizabeth, Goodman returned from exile, but not to England in the first instance. He went into Scotland to his friend Mr Knox, and was for several years actively employed in preaching, and otherwise promoting the reformation in that country. In 1560, having preached for some time at Ayr, the committee of parliament, who nominated the ministers for the principal towns in Scotland, appointed him for St. Andrew's, where it was considered necessary that the officiating minister should be a man of established reputation. About this time a public disputation was held at Edinburgh between the protestants and papists, when Dr. Anderson, Dr. Leslie, Mr Mirton, and Mr Strachan, supported the doctrines of the popish church against Mr Knox, Mr Wilwick, and Mr Goodman. The points in dispute were, the holy eucharist and the sacrifice of the altar. The papists gave out that they had so completely foiled their antagonists, that they would never again encounter them. The nobility, however, who attended the dispute, were of a different opinion. In 1560, Mr Goodman attended the general assembly as minister of St. Andrew's, together with David Spence and Robert Kynpont, his assistant elders. In 1562 he was appointed, together with Mr John Row, minister of Perth, as assistants to John Erskine of Dun, in the visitation of Aberdeen and Banffshire. And in 1563 he argued, in opposition to Mr Secretary Lethington, that the tythes ought to be appropriated to the clergy. Lethington being hard pressed by the arguments of his antagonist, dropt some ungenerous hints, that strangers took too much upon themselves who intermeddled with the affairs of a foreign commonwealth. To which Mr Greenwood modestly, but firmly replied, "My lord secretary, though I am a stranger to your state policy, and conduct myself as such, yet in the kirk of God, the concerns of which are now under our serious consideration, I am no stranger here more than if I were in the metropolis of England."

In 1564 he was appointed to preach at Edinburgh, during the absence of Mr John Craig, one of the ministers of the city, who had been appointed to visit some of the southern departments of the kingdom. The assembly that met, June 25th, 1565, marked him out for numerous appointments, some of which he had no opportunity of fulfilling, inasmuch as he had returned to England before the meeting of the assembly, on the 25th of December, the same year; which is noticed in the church register, that "Commissioners from St. Andrew's appeared, requesting that Mr John Knox might be transplanted to St. Andrews.

The assembly refused their request, and desired them to choose a minister, in place of Mr Christopher Goodman lately departed to England, out of their own university."

In 1568 Mr Goodman became chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, in his expedition to Ireland against the rebels, where he evinced the greatest diligence and integrity in that service. In 1571 he was cited before archbishop Parker, and others of the high commission, at Lambeth. Mr Goodman, while in exile, had written a book with the following title: "How superior powers ought to be obeyed by their subjects, and wherein, according to God's word, they may be lawfully disobeyed and resisted; wherein also is declared the cause of all the present misery in England, and by what means the same may be remedied." In this work Mr Goodman spoke with considerable freedom against the government of women, but especially against the bloody proceedings of queen Mary. From this book, however, after the lapse of so many years, the archbishop selected certain passages, which he charged against him as dangerous and seditious, and which he required Mr Goodman to revoke. This, for some time, he refused; but before he could procure his liberty, he was obliged to subscribe the following recantation:

"Forasmuch as the extremity of the times, in which I wrote my book, overturned the true worship of God, by setting up idolatry, banishing good men, murdering the saints, and violating all promises made to the professors of the true religion. Moved by grief and indignation at such cruelty and tyrannical exertions of power, I did write many things, which may be, and are offensively taken; which, under less galling circumstances, I would not, and now wish I had not, written. But notwithstanding of these offensive sentiments contained in the book aforesaid, I hereby confess and protest, that good and godly women may lawfully govern whole realms and nations; and with my whole heart allow, that the government of her majesty, queen Elizabeth, is most lawful, and pray for the long continuance of the same. Neither did I ever mean to affirm that any person, or persons, by their own authority, ought, or might have lawfully punished even the cruel queen Mary with death. Nor yet that the people, by their own authority, may lawfully punish their magistrates for transgressing against the precepts of God. Nor that God ordinarily puts the sword of justice into the hands of the people, even though they seek after the right execution of the laws. Wherefore, as many of these assertions as may be fairly collected from my said book, them I do utterly renounce, and revoke, as none of mine; promising never to write, teach, or preach, any such offensive doctrine; but shall, by God's grace, endeavour to promote the true service of God, and obedience to her majesty.—CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN."

Mr Goodman's recantation is conceived with considerable art; the tenor of which is, That the eligibility of female government consists in their goodness and holiness: That the power of punishing criminal magistrates, if it does not rest with individuals, exists at least in parliaments or councils; and that, as a last, though no ordinary alternative, the people themselves possess this power. In the year 1584 Mr Goodman was living in or near the city of Chester, where he seems to have been silenced; and archbishop Whitegift having, about this time, pressed the subscription of his three articles on the godly ministers in those parts, Mr Goodman informed the earl of Leicester, how the papists in Cheshire, and other places, were exulting at the severities and cruel proceedings of the archbishop. Whitegift, however, denied the fact, and charged Goodman with perverseness in refusing conformity to the established order.

We have not been able to procure any farther account of this godly man till he was on his death-bed. At this time Mr James Usher, afterward the celebrated bishop of Armagh, came over to England to purchase books for the college library at Dublin, and paid him a visit; when Usher was so deeply impressed with the holy conversation of this venerable man, that when he himself became old, he often repeated the wise and grave speeches of his long-departed friend. Mr Goodman died in 1602, aged eighty-three years, and his remains were interred in St. Werburg's church, in the city of Chester.

Fuller designates him a leader of the fierce non-conformists. Wood says he was a most violent non-conformist, more rigid in his opinions than even his friend Calvin. Mr Leigh calls him a learned, good, and holy divine.

Mr Goodman published the two following articles: 1st, How superior powers ought to be obeyed by their subjects, and wherein they may be lawfully disobeyed and resisted, 1548.—2d, A Commentary on the Book of Amos. "Wood ascribes the first blast of the trumpet, against the monstrous regiment of women, to Mr Goodman;" but this is wrong, he only wrote the preface to that work. It is well known that the book itself was written by John Knox.

---

### JOHN RAINOLDS, D. D.

THIS very learned divine was born at Penhæ, near Exeter, in 1549, and educated in Corpus Christi-college, Oxford. At first he was a zealous papist, and his brother William a professed protestant; but disputing with one another the merits of their respective creeds, each, it is said, convinced his antagonist;

so that William became a zealous papist, and John a protestant; which he had no sooner done, than he applied himself to the study of the scriptures, and soon became a celebrated preacher. In 1578 he was chosen to perform the two acts of the university, which gained him great celebrity; and during the following year he was appointed to the reading of the sentences. By these exercises he was soon drawn into the popish controversy, where the papists were anxious to eclipse his reputation; but this only stirred him up to prepare himself for the combat. In order to this, he read and studied, with unparalleled rapidity, the Greek and Latin fathers, and perused all the ancient ecclesiastical records he could find. By these laborious means he soon became a complete master of the controversy, and thoroughly acquainted with the errors and superstitions of the Roman church.

About this time John Hart, a zealous papist, and celebrated for his controversial talents, had the confidence to challenge all the learned men in the country to try the doctrine of the church. No one was accounted a better match for this insulting champion of Rome than John Rainolds, who was therefore solicited by one of her majesty's privy council; but after several severe conflicts, Hart was obliged to retire, and leave the field in the possession of his triumphant antagonist. This conference was subscribed by the parties, and afterwards published; which gave full satisfaction to all unprejudiced readers, and so greatly raised the fame of Rainolds, that he was immediately taken notice of at court. After taking his degrees in divinity, the queen appointed him divinity lecturer at Oxford. In these lectures he encountered Ballarmine, the redoubted champion of the Romish church. Ballarmine was public reader in the English seminary at Rome, and his sentiments in defence of mother-church were taken down as they were delivered, and transmitted to Rainolds by a correspondent, from time to time, which he commented upon at Oxford; and thus Ballarmine's books of controversy were refuted before they were published to the world. The queen being informed of Rainolds' fame and success against the champions of Rome, preferred him to a deanery in Lincoln, and even offered him a bishoprick; which last he modestly refused.

On the 12th January 1588, Dr. Boncraft, chaplain to archbishop Whitegift, maintained, in a sermon, preached at Paul's cross, that bishops were of a different order from priests, and had a superiority over them by divine right, and that directly from God. In these times this doctrine was novel and strange even to the bishops themselves. Prior to this, it was understood, that all the superiority of the bishop over the priest or

presbyter was by human appointment, and devised in the third or fourth century; but Boncraft gratified the pride and ambition of the prelates by this new gloss, and though it gave great offence to most of the clergy, and especially to the puritan divines, still it furnished the prelates with an additional argument against their controversial antagonists. Sir Francis Knolls told the archbishop, that Boncraft's opinion was contrary to the command of Christ, who prohibited all superiority amongst his apostles; but doubting his own judgment, Sir Francis requested Dr. Rainolds to give his opinion of this new doctrine; which he did in a letter at considerable length. Wherein he observes, that all who have laboured to reform the church for the last five hundred years, have uniformly taught, that all pastors, whether called bishops, priests, or presbyters, have an equal authority in the church. The Waldenses, for example; and after them, Marsilius Patavinus; then Wickliff and his scholars; afterwards Huss and his followers, Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullenger, and Muscalus. Amongst ourselves, we have bishops, the queen's professors of divinity, and other learned men, Bradford, Lambert, Jewel, Pilkington, Humphrey, Fulke, &c. But why do I mention individuals? It is the opinion of all the reformed churches, Helvetia, Savoy, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Poland, and also our own. I hope Dr. Boncraft will acknowledge that he was overseen when he avouched that bishops have a superiority in the church of Christ by divine authority.

About 1599 Dr. Rainolds resigned his deanery of Lincoln, and the mastership of Queen's college, on his election to the precedency of Corpus Christi-college. In which situation, though he did not continue more than eight years, his labours were rendered singularly useful. In 1600, he was nominated one of the divines to attend the conference at Hampton-court on the part of the puritans. On the episcopalian side were, archbishop Whitegift, eight bishops and eight deans, with the king at their head. On the puritan side, Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Thomas Spark, Mr Laurence Chadderton, and Mr John Knewstubs, all nominated by his majesty. Dr. Rainolds, in the name of his brethren, humbly presented the following requests: 1st, That the doctrine of the church should be preserved pure, according to the word of God. 2d, That good pastors should be planted in all churches to preach the same. 3d, That church government should be sincerely administered, according to the rule laid down in the New Testament; and 4th, That the book of common prayer should be revised and improved to more increase of piety. These propositions comprehended almost all that the principal puritans desired; but however moderate they

may appear, not one of them was granted. When the puritan ministers wished to commence the discussion of the business on which they were avowedly called together, the king would not permit them to proceed; but rising from his chair, he said, "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I shall hurry them out of the country, or do worse!" Dr. Rainolds and his colleagues, finding they had no liberty of speech, and that it was useless to attempt a reply, remained in silence; while their antagonists, in the transports of victory, insulted and laughed them to scorn. This meeting was therefore justly called the mock conference of Hampton-court; and, according to some, was intended as a blind to facilitate the introduction of prelacy into Scotland. In 1604, the king appointed Dr. Rainolds one of the translators of the present authorised version of the bible, on account of his great skill in the Hebrew and Greek languages; but he did not live to see the work completed. He fell into a consumption in the midst of this laborious undertaking; yet he continued to lend his assistance till almost the last day of his life. During his sickness, his learned brethren in Oxford met at his lodging regularly once a week, to compare and correct their notes, till the last week of his life.

During his last sickness, his time was employed in prayer, in hearing persons read, and in conferring with the translators. During his life, Dr. Rainolds had been a strenuous opposer of the errors of popery; and now, on his death-bed, the papists propagated scandalous reports concerning the nature of his disease, and began to insinuate that he had recanted. To counteract this malicious slander, his friends were anxious to have some testimony of his faith previous to his departure. This being signified, he shook his head, but could not speak. His friends proposed to draw up a few lines in writing, which he might endeavour to subscribe; to this he gave signs of full approbation. Accordingly, the following paper was drawn up, viz. "These are to certify to all the world, that I die in the profession of that faith which I have all my life taught, both in my preaching and in my writings, and endeavoured to recommend by a corresponding deportment, with an assured hope of salvation, only by the merit of my Saviour Jesus Christ." Which paper being twice distinctly read to him, after seriously pondering the contents, he put on his spectacles, and subscribed his name in very fair characters. Next day, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, he breathed his soul into the arms of his only hope and Redeemer, being the 21st May 1607, and sixty-eighth year of his age. His remains were interred in the college chapel, with great funeral pomp, being attended by the vice-chancellor, the heads of the colleges, and the mayor and aldermen of the city.

Dr. Henry Airoy, vice-chancellor, preached his funeral sermon; and Mr Isaac Wake, the university orator, delivered a funeral oration, in which he gave him the following character :

“ However others may have admired his knowledge, his humility, and incredible self-denial, in all which he was passing wonderful, yet I do, and ever must, admire, above all, his indifference as to preferment, which so many consider the only point to which they ought to direct their most ardent exertions. Neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor Beza, nor Whitaker, can challenge any honour that Rainolds has not merited. I cannot therefore help congratulating our country where he was born; our mother, the university, where he was educated; and that house, ever pregnant with excellent wits, where he first learned the rudiments of his exquisite literature.” Dr. Crackenthrop, his intimate acquaintance, says concerning him, “ That he turned over all writers, profane, ecclesiastic, and divine, and all the councils, fathers, and histories of the church: That he was most excellent in all tongues, either useful or ornamental to a divine: That he had a sharp and ready wit, a grave and mature judgment, with a habit of unparalleled industry: That he was so well skilled in all arts and sciences, that it seemed as if he had spent his whole life in the study of each; and what is superior to all, the virtue, integrity, piety, and holiness of his life, were so eminent and conspicuous, that to name Rainolds, is to commend virtue itself.” Bishop Hall used to say, “ That Dr. Rainolds alone was a well furnished library, full of all faculties, all studies, and all manner of learning; and that his memory and reading were both so extensive, that ordinary men considered him a literary prodigy. He was wonderful in reading, famous in doctrine, and the very store-house of erudition. In a word, nothing can be, nothing has been, spoken against him, only that he was the pillar of puritanism, and the undeviating opposer of all superstition and human inventions in the church of Christ.”—Like the cities of Greece, which contended for the honour of being the place of Homer’s nativity, Fuller insinuates, and Crackenthrop attempts to prove, that Rainolds was no puritan, but a true conformist, and, of course, one of their own party. In this attempt, however, they have proved altogether unsuccessful; for besides subscribing the book of discipline, he utterly disapproved of the ceremonies; and though, as a collegian, he wore the round cap, he refused to wear the clerical habits. Granger says, that Dr. Rainolds was generally reputed to be the greatest scholar of his age; and that his memory was so retentive, that he scarcely knew what it was to forget. That he was considered a match for Ballarmino, the goliath of the Roman church; and that he was called a living library, and sometimes a third university.

His works consisted of, 1st, Two Orations.—2d, Six Thesis.—3d, A Sermon on the Destruction of the Idumeans.—4th, The sum of a Conference between John Rainolds and John Hart.—5th, The overthrow of Stage Plays.—6th, An Epistle to Thomas Pye.—7th, A Defence of the Judgment of the Reformed Churches.—8th, The Prophecy of Obediah opened and applied.—9th, A Letter to his friend concerning the Study of Divinity.—10th, The Discovery of the Man of Sin.—11th, The Origin of Bishops and Metropolitans briefly laid open.—12th, Judgment concerning Episcopacy.—13th, The Prophecy of Haggai interpreted and applied.—14th, Answer to Nicholas Saunders, his Book *De Schismate Anglicano*, in defence of our Reformation.—15th, A Treatise of the beginning and progress of the Popish Errors.—He also published several translations of the works of other learned men.

---

### THOMAS HOLLAND, D. D.

THIS celebrated literarian was born at Ludlaw, in Shropshire, in 1593, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford, where he took his degrees with great applause. In 1589 he succeeded Mr Laurence Humphrey as king's professor of divinity; and being accounted a prodigy in almost all parts of literature, he was elected master of Exeter college, 1592. Dr. Holland's distinguished reputation was not confined to his own country; he was also admired in the foreign universities; and many persons, eminent for learning and piety, afterwards became conspicuous ornaments, both in the church and state, who had been his scholars.

In his views of the doctrines of the gospel, the doctor was a thorough Calvinist; and with respect to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, a determined non-conformist. In a public sermon at the university, he boldly maintained, that bishops were no distinct order from presbyters, and that, by the word of God, their power and authority in the church were by no means superior. He opposed, with laudable zeal, the doctrines, worship, and ceremonies, that Boncraft, Neile, and Laud, intended to introduce into the university of Oxford. And while William Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was performing his exercise for bachelor of divinity, having maintained that there could be no true church without diocesan episcopacy, Dr. Holland sharply rebuked, and publicly disgraced him for thus endeavouring to sow discord amongst brethren, and between the church of England and the reformed churches on the continent. In the course of the same year Dr. Holland

was one of the Oxford divines appointed by king James to draw up a new translation of the bible, and had a considerable share in that learned and laborious work.

Towards the close of his life, this much esteemed, and highly renowned servant of Christ, spent much of his time in prayer and meditation. Sickness, age, and its attendant infirmities, only served to increase his ardour for heaven, he longed to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. This world, with all its vanities, had no charms to attract his attention. Heaven was the mark to which his faith, love, and all the desires of his soul were now directed; and finding that the hour of his departure was at hand, he exclaimed, "Come, thou bright morning star, come, O come, Lord Jesus, the desire of my soul is to be with thee." He died, March 17th, 1612, aged seventy-three years, and his remains were interred in the chancel of St. Mary's church, Oxford, with great funeral solemnity, and universal lamentation.

Mr Kilby, who preached his funeral sermon, says concerning him, "That he had a wonderful knowledge of all the learned languages, and of all arts and sciences, both human and divine: That he was mighty in the scriptures, and as familiarly acquainted with the fathers as if himself had been one of them; and so thoroughly versed in the schoolmen, that he was most worthily accomplished for filling the divinity chair, which he held for about twenty years with distinguished approbation and applause. He was so celebrated for his preaching, reading, disputing, moderating, and other excellent qualifications, that all who knew him commended, and those who heard of him, admired him. His life and conversation corresponding with his other good qualities, it was difficult to determine which was most to be admired. Some great scholars, in proportion as they become famous, decline in well-doing; others spread out the wings of their ambition, and soar away in quest of riches, honour, and preferment; but his learning was so sanctified and qualified by the grace of God, that love, joy, peace, gentleness, meekness, and brotherly-kindness, shone most conspicuous in his conversation amongst men; while heaven, the port to which he directed his course, and spread all his sails, was the prime object of his ambition." The Oxford historian denominates Dr. Holland a solid preacher, a most noted disputant, and learned divine.

He published several learned Orations, and a Sermon on Matt. xii. 42. and left a number of Manuscripts ready for the press, which, by falling into the hands of men inimical to his puritanical sentiments, were never printed.

## HUGH BROUGHTON.

THIS laborious literarian, and celebrated writer, was born at Oldbury in Shropshire, bordering on Wales, in 1549, and descended of an ancient family. He was educated in grammar learning under the famous Bernard Gilpin, at Houghton in the Spring, near Durham, who sent him to Christ-college, Cambridge, where he was afterwards chosen fellow. He was also elected one of the taxers of the university, preferred to a prebend in the church of Durham, and chosen reader of divinity in the same place. In 1579, after having enjoyed his fellowship several years, he was deprived of it by the vice-chancellor and others, not for want of learning, or any blemish in his character, but for some trivial irregularity in his admission, or in the execution of his office. He was a man of celebrity, and had many friends, who, at this juncture, pled his cause, and gave high commendations of his character. The bishop of Durham became his zealous advocate, and wrote a letter, dated December 14th, 1579, to lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university, warmly soliciting that Mr Broughton might still continue to hold his fellowship, notwithstanding his preferment at Durham. In consequence of this, and a letter jointly addressed to the chancellor, by the earls of Huntingdon and Essex, in which they speak in high commendation of his learning, obedience, and circumspection. The chancellor wrote to the vice-chancellor and the master of the college, in which he warmly expresses his disapprobation of their conduct, and that of the fellows, on their unjust treatment of Mr Broughton. Accordingly, after much opposition, he was again admitted to his fellowship by an order of the chancellor. In the meantime, he generously resigned the office of taxer for the university. It does not appear, however, that he returned any more to the college.

Some time after this he removed to London, where he had many worthy friends, amongst whom were the earls already mentioned, with Sir Walter Mildmay and others. About the same time he entered on the ministerial function, but still pursued his studies with inflexible perseverance, usually spending fourteen or sixteen hours a-day in the most intense application. In his sermons he commonly chose a text from the old, and another from the New Testament; and after discoursing pretty largely upon them, in their connection, he concluded with a short, but close application of the doctrine. Thus, in a short time, his preaching became extremely popular, particularly amongst the more learned; but that which, more than any thing else, rendered him known to the world, was the publication of

his book, entitled, "A Consent of Scriptures." This was a kind of scripture chronology and geneology, designed to show the chronological order of events from Adam to Christ, and harmonize the apparently jarring passages. It was the fruit of immense labour and study, and was published in 1588. The famous John Speed superintended the press. It was dedicated to queen Elizabeth, and presented to her majesty, by his own hand, in 1589. In his dedication, he says, "The whole book of God, most gracious sovereign, is so harmonious in itself, that every part thereof may be seen to breathe the same spirit. The prophecies briefly told, the events fully recorded, the temple, the altar, the sacrifices, all pointing to one centre, shows, that by Christ, the great propitiatory, the Son eternal, we are made heirs of the heavenly inheritance. To these truths all other, Hebrews and profane Greeks, bear ample testimony, even against themselves. These helps are stars in the story; and all this frame-work, coupling of joints, and proportion of body, will allure to study, when it is seen, that this one work, religion, and God's way of salvation, has occupied all families, countries, and ages, in building or pulling down."

The learned author has taken great pains in showing, that the heathen chronology is full of contradictions and inconsistencies; while the sacred records are clear of these imperfections. The book, however, was no sooner published than it was opposed. The archbishop at first disliked the performance to that degree, that he would have called the author to account for some sentiments therein expressed; and Mr Broughton, apprized of Whitegift's intention, fled into Germany, which greatly increased the clamour against the book; but bishop Aylmer, in commending the work, declared, that one good scholar would prove all its enemies to be foolish and ignorant declaimers. Nevertheless, Dr. Rainolds of Oxford, and Mr Lively of Cambridge, both learned professors of these universities, read publicly against it. Mr Broughton used to call this work his little book of great pains, for it cost him many years study; and when completed and published, it cost him a great deal of trouble in defending it. By permission of the queen and council, he entered on its defence in public lectures in St. Paul's church, where the lord mayor, some of the most learned of the bishops, and other people of distinction, were of his audience. Others of the bishops, however, could not endure these lectures, calling them conventicles dangerous to the estate of the church; and entering complaints on this ground, had his lectures put down. He and his friends, after this, convened at various places in the city as opportunity offered. He mostly resided at the house of Mr William Cotton, whose son, afterward Sir Rowland, he instructed

in the Hebrew language. His young pupil obtained such a proficiency in the language, that at the age of seven or eight years he could translate almost any chapter of the bible into English, and converse in Hebrew with the greatest ease. Mr William Cooper, afterwards bishop of Gallway, was another of his pupils. Mr Broughton's method of instruction was singular; he had his young pupil constantly with him, and invariably required him to speak, both to himself and others acquainted with the Hebrew, in that language. He also drew up a vocabulary, in which he fixed upon some place or thing, then named all the particulars belonging to it; such as heaven, angels, sun, moon, stars, clouds, &c. or a house, doors, windows, parlours, &c. a field, grass, flowers, trees, &c. Mr Broughton, before setting out for Germany, wrote a letter to his friend lord Burleigh, dated March 27th, 1590, desiring permission to travel, particularly with a view to make use of king Casimer's library; and he no doubt obtained the favour. He was always firm, and a determined defender of what he considered to be the truth; on which account he sometimes brought himself into awkward situations, by openly exposing the errors of popery. He had a public disputation with Rabi Elias, a learned Jew, in the synagogue at Frankfort. They disputed under an oath or imprecation, that God might immediately strike him dead, who, on that occasion, should speak contrary to the dictates of his conscience. In the conclusion, the Jew departed, desiring to be farther instructed by his writings. An account of this disputation reached Constantinople, where it excited a very considerable sensation amongst the Jews in that city. Two Italian Jews, who had seen Mr Broughton's works, particularly what he had written on Daniel, believed, and were baptized at Zurich. "Another (says he) is now in England, as I understand, who, by my means, embraced the gospel." In 1591 Mr Broughton returned from the continent, for the purpose of settling the controversy between himself and Dr. Rainolds. He had an anxious, but absurd, desire to have it adjusted by public authority. In one of his letters to the queen, he says, speaking of himself and his antagonist, "His fame for learning, and my more confident resistance, may induce many to think that the scriptures are difficult to be understood, when two men labour so long without deciding, in one way or other, the point in dispute. The fault is intolerable either in him or me, and the faulty should be forced to yield, that none may think amiss of the word of God." He earnestly solicited the queen to command the archbishops and both universities to determine the points in contest between him and his learned antagonist. The controversy, however, was at last decided by the arbitration of

Whitegift and bishop Aylmer; and though a reconciliation could not be fully effected, the result was greatly in favour of Broughton. The following year he again set out for Germany. The archbishop was his powerful adversary at court, and hindered the queen from preferring him, as, it is said, she intended. It has even been positively asserted, that he laid wait for him, and offered a sum of money for his apprehension. During his abode in Germany, he formed an acquaintance with the learned Scaliger, Rephelengius, Junius, Beza, and other celebrated scholars. He was particularly favoured by the archbishop of Mentz, to whom he dedicated his translation of the prophets into Greek. He was highly esteemed by many of the learned Jesuits; and though a bold and inflexible enemy to popery, he was offered a cardinal's cap.

The article of our Saviour's descent into hell began about this time to be called in question. It had hitherto been the received doctrine of the church of England, that the soul of Christ, being separated from his body, descended into hell; that as he had already conquered death and sin, he might triumph over satan. However, Broughton, the very Rabi of the age, succeeded in convincing the world, that the word *hades*, as used by the fathers for the place where Christ went after his crucifixion, did not mean hell, or the place of the damned, but the state of the dead, or the invisible world. He was the first of our countrymen who gave this explication; but his opinion, now generally and justly received, met with great opposition at the time. Mr Broughton was so celebrated for his knowledge in all kinds of Hebrew learning, that he was invited to Constantinople to instruct the Jews in the christian religion. And king James of Scotland invited him to become a Hebrew professor in one of the Scotch universities.

Mr Broughton directed his elaborate studies chiefly to a minute examination of the scriptures in their original languages. He found the authorized version of the bible very defective, and used his utmost endeavours to obtain a new translation. Anxious to accomplish this desirable object, he addressed a letter to Sir William Cecil, lord high treasurer, wherein he says, "That sundry lords, some bishops, besides doctors, and other inferiors of all sorts, have requested me to bestow my long studies, in Hebrew and Greek writings, in clearing up the translation of the bible. They judged rightly that it stands in want of amendment; but in what points I judge it improper to tell till the thing be accomplished, lest it should throw the present translation into disgrace. That it is susceptible of much improvement, every person of understanding and conscience must allow; besides, it is long since this motion was made to

the queen, who sent a message to Sir Francis Walsingham to take the matter into consideration; but other weighty affairs have hitherto prevented. In the meantime, I have been at much trouble and expence in preparing for that business, and have likewise solicited some who appeared fittest and worthiest to be contributors to the expence; and your lordship I consider one of the worthiest to be a contributor, for the maintenance of some six of us, who have been the longest students of the languages in question, to join together in the work. Not to alter any thing where amendment is unnecessary, nor to pass any thing where it is; by which means Job and the prophets may be brought to speak far better than they do at present. Where all may have short notes, with geographical maps, and chronological tables, to which, if it please your lordship to be a ready helper, your example will stir up others to lend their hand to a more needful concern than the repairing of the temple in the days of king Josiah." This generous proposal was, nevertheless, attended with unsurmountable difficulties; and however willingly the treasurer would have patronized the laudable design, it could not be undertaken at the time. Mr Broughton's second return from the continent was when the plague was raging in London; and his friends were not a little surprised to see him returned during so great a national calamity. He was, however, cheerful, and quite unalarmed with respect to the distemper. His conversation savoured much of heaven, and he spoke greatly to the comfort and edification of his friends. In 1603 he preached before prince Henry of Oatlands. He did not continue long, however, in his native country, but went a third time to the continent, and was chosen preacher to the English congregation at Middleburg. During his abode in this place, he sent the following petition to king James, now of England.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"Your majesty's most humble subject, Hugh Broughton, having suffered many years persecution, for publishing your right, and God's truth, by your unlearned bishops, who spent two impressions of libels to disgrace their Scottish mist; which libels their stationers declare they never sold. He requesteth your majesty's favour for a pension fit for his age, studies, and past travel, bearing always a most dutiful heart to your majesty.

"Your most humble Servant,

"HUGH BROUGHTON.

"From Middleburg, August, 1604."

While residing at Middleburg, besides the care of his congregation, he published his *smart discourse* against Archibald Bon-

craft, and sent the whole impression to Mr William Cotton, younger brother to Sir Rowland, then residing in London, requesting him, if he durst venture, to deliver a copy into the hands of the archbishop. Mr Cotton was not without his apprehensions; but could not think of refusing to answer the request of his friend. Accordingly, he waited on the archbishop; and having made the requisite apology, he delivered a copy of the book into his hand, very politely asking his grace's pardon for the boldness he had taken. Boncraft treated him with all the civility that could have been desired. He was no sooner dismissed, however, than the archbishop's officers came to his lodgings; and seizing all the copies of the book they could possibly find, carried them away. This the archbishop found to be the easier, and by far the shortest way, to answer the charges and arguments of his learned antagonist.

Mr Broughton having a dangerous complaint settled on his lungs, and desirous to breathe his last in his native country, he returned the third and last time to England, where he landed in November 1611. He told his friends that he was come to leave his bones in his native country, and that, if it was the will of God, he wished to die in Shropshire, the place of his birth. Sir Rowland Cotton, his former pupil, was anxious to gratify his old master in all his desires, and supply his wants, and for this purpose had suitable accommodations prepared for him at his own house in Shropshire. He continued in London, however, during the winter; and in the spring following, removed to an agreeable situation in the vicinity. During his confinement under his present affliction, he gave his friends many pious and profitable exhortations. He often urged them to the exercise of practical religion, saying, "Study your bibles, labour for the edification of one another; be peaceable, mind your own affairs. Some judgment will assuredly come upon this kingdom; but popery you have no reason to fear, it will never again overspread the land; but the course the bishops are taking will unavoidably fill the country with atheism; but keep your hands clean, and keep clear of the quarrel." As he drew towards his latter end, he said, "Satan has been assaulting me; but the Son of God hath rebuked him, and spoken comfortable things to my soul." A little before his death he became speechless; and some of his friends asking, Whether they should pray with him? He signified his warmest approbation, by holding up both hands; and soon after the prayer was ended, he breathed his last, on the 4th of August 1612, and in the sixty-third year of his age. His remains were interred in St. Autholin's church, London, with great funeral solemnity. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr Speght, from John xi. 8.; but the bishops would not suffer it to be printed.

Mr Broughton was a student of indefatigable application, and a most celebrated scholar and linguist. His temper was, however, remarkably tinged with austerity. Amongst friends, however, he was affable and affectionate. In opposing error and impiety he was bold and severe, and would not fail to reprove sharply whatever it might cost him. He was free, easy, and communicative to such as wished to learn; but apt to lose his temper when his scholars could not comprehend the directions he was giving them. As a writer, his style is rough and obscure; and in our times, he would be considered too vain, and much too severe to his literary opponents.

The greatest, the most worthy, and even the most popular of men have had their enemies; nor has Mr Broughton been singular in this respect. He has been charged by Mr William Gilpin with ingratitude, and that he endeavoured to supplant the very man who supported him both at school and the college, even the patron who raised him up. Of this, however, Mr Gilpin has neglected to bring forward any evidence; which, in a matter of this importance, he certainly ought to have done, especially after Mr Broughton was gone, and could no longer defend himself. Gilpin, moreover, charges him with paying a servile court to the vulgar, in the capacity of a popular preacher. It would, however, appear from the tenor of his life and manners, that servility was no part of his character.

Mr Gilpin has likewise said concerning him, that he outlived his credit, and became the jest of the stage; but Gilpin might have said the same, with equal propriety, of the famous Socrates, who was represented on the Athenian theatre as the man in the clouds; besides, the numerous authentic testimonies of his character, given in the foregoing narrative, sufficiently repels the ungenerous assertion. The learned Dr. Lightfoot, who wrote his life, declares himself, compared to this great master of Hebrew and Rabinical learning, but a child. Mr Strype also asserts, that in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and all talmudical literature, Mr Broughton was certainly the greatest scholar in Europe.

Most of his works were collected in 1662, and printed in London, in one large folio, divided into four tomes, with his life prefixed by Dr. Lightfoot, and his funeral sermon, preached by Mr Speght, inserted towards the end of the work, with the following title: "The works of the great Albionian divine, renowned, in many nations, for his rare skill in the languages of Salem and Athens, and for his familiar acquaintance with all Rabinical learning, Hugh Broughton." There are many manuscripts of his own hand writing still preserved in the British museum; some of them are on literary subjects, others on con-

troversy, and a number miscellaneous; these are thirty-five in all, and bound in one volume quarto; besides which, there is also the Manuscript of his Harmony of the Bible.

---

### ROBERT PARKER.

THIS persecuted puritan became rector of North-Benflete in Essex, 1571; which, the following year, he resigned for that of West-Henningfield, in the same county, where he remained for several years; after which he was appointed pastor of the church of Dedham, also in Essex. He was suspended by bishop Aylmer for refusing to subscribe to Whitegift's three articles. Being restored to his ministry some time after, but with proviso, that after a certain day, which was stated, if he did not fully conform to the articles, he should be deprived; which there is reason to believe he was. Having endured these troubles, he left the county of Essex, and was, some time after, beneficed at Wilton in Wiltshire, where he continued many years.

In 1598, bishop Bilson having published a work, in which he avers, that Jesus Christ, after his death upon the cross, actually descended into the regions of the damned. Many learned divines undertook to refute this, and establish the opposite opinion. Mr Parker, amongst the rest, published a learned piece, entitled, "De Descensu Christi ad Infernos;" for which he was ridiculed by the opposite party. The celebrated Dr. Ames, however, says concerning the work, "That it is a performance of such beauty and energy, that it dazzles the eyes even of envy itself." These right reverend and jeering ecclesiastics had done themselves more honour, had they discovered an ability to answer it; but they took a much more prudent, and a less laborious, method of managing this troublesome concern. They persuaded the king to issue his royal proclamation, with a tempting reward offered for apprehending the author; which obliged Mr Parker to conceal himself, till an opportunity arrived for retiring to a foreign country. While thus lurking amongst his friends, the argus-eyed archbishop Boncraft had information that he was concealed in a citizen's house in London, and immediately set a watch, while others were ready prepared with a warrant to apprehend him. Boncraft's spy having fixed himself at the door, had knowledge of his being in the house, and considered himself sure of his prize; but Parker, dressing himself in the habit of a citizen, ventured forth, though with small hopes of getting clear off. The watchman at the door, however, at this critical moment, observing

his intended bride pass on the other side of the street, stepped over to speak with her; and Mr Parker, in the interim, passed unobserved; and the officers, with their warrant, were subjected to suffer the mortification of a mysterious disappointment.

After this signal interposition of providence, he retired to the house of a friend in the vicinity of London, where a servant in the family again furnished the archbishop with information of his place of retreat; and Boncraft's officers actually searched the house where he was. The only apartment which they neglected to search was that wherein he was concealed; from which he heard them cursing and quarrelling. Some said the room had not been examined, others that it had, and would not suffer it to be searched again; by which oversight Mr Parker was preserved from an apprehension, which, from the humour of the king, and the malicious spirit of the bishops, would, in all likelihood, have cost him his life. After these remarkable deliverances, Mr Parker fled from the storm that was gathering around him, by embarking for Holland; and would have been chosen pastor to the English church at Amsterdam, had not the apprehension of offending the king of England prevented. Thus disappointed at Amsterdam, he went to Doesburg, and became preacher to the garrison, where, about eight months after his departure from England, he died.

During his short abode at Doesburg, he wrote several very affectionate letters to Mr Paget, minister at Amsterdam, wherein he discovers a becoming spirit of resignation to the will of God. He thanks him for the pains he had taken in his behalf, though without success. "At which (says he) I am not in the least moved, knowing that it is the will of God, and that he will be my God wherever he has appointed me to go."

Mr Parker has the undisputed character of an able writer, a man of great learning and piety, a studious scholar, and laborious preacher. Besides the work above mentioned, Mr Parker was author of *De Politia Ecclesiastica*; in which he maintains, that whatever relates to the church must be deduced from scripture. "We deny no authority (says he) to the king in matters ecclesiastical, only what Jesus Christ, the alone head of his church, has appropriated to himself, and denied to communicate to any of the children of men, whatever be their wisdom, power, or place in human society. We hold, that Christ alone is the doctor or teacher of his own church, and that the word of Christ, which he has given to his church, is of itself complete and perfect: That it contains all parts of true religion, both for substance and ceremony; a perfect direction in all ecclesiastic matters, to which it is unlawful for men or angels to add, and from which nothing is to be abstracted."

## WILLIAM BRADSHAW, A. M.

THIS bold defender of the puritan doctrines was born at Market-Bosworth in Leicestershire, in 1571, a descendant of the Bradshaws of Lancashire, and had his education in Emanuel college, Cambridge. Having taken his degrees, he was recommended by Dr. Chadderton, and became tutor to the children of Sir Thomas Lighton, governor of Jersey. While in this situation, he formed an intimate acquaintance with Mr Thomas Cartwright, which nothing but death could dissolve. On his return to Cambridge he was chosen fellow of Sidney college, then newly erected, where he discovered great prudence and piety, and became highly respected. His disposition was sweet, and his conduct, in every respect, so agreeable, that even his enemies were constrained to speak well of him. Upon his settlement at Cambridge, he entered into the ministerial office, and was not particularly urged to strict conformity. He preached at Abington, Bassingborn, and Steeple-Morton, near Cambridge; but did not settle at either of these places.

Having received a pressing invitation from the people of Chatham in Kent, he became their pastor in 1601. Here he had the consolation to see, that his labours were attended with the blessing of God, and the conversion and edification of multitudes of the people, both men and women; so that his fame was spread abroad, and vast numbers flocked to his ministry. His great popularity, however, soon stirred up the spirit of envy, which hitherto had lurked in the breasts of other ministers in the neighbourhood. It being considered necessary to have this settlement confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Francis Hastings wrote a pious and very modest letter for that purpose; when, at this critical juncture, his enemies, and what good man ever wanted such, accused him to the archbishop as a preacher of erroneous doctrine. This, in place of a confirmation, procured for him a citation to appear by nine o'clock next morning before his grace of Canterbury, and the bishop of London at Shorne, a short way from Chatham. Mr Bradshaw appearing at the time and place appointed; the bishop of London, after asking certain questions, charged him with having taught, that no man is bound to love God, unless he be sure that God loves him. Mr Bradshaw positively denied the charge, and offered to produce a whole cloud of respectable witnesses to disprove these false and malicious allegations, and to prove what he had really taught the people. But this reasonable privilege was denied him; and to cut the work short, and secure their victim, to silence his arguments, and get rid of one who eclipsed their fame, and whose labours upbraided their indolence, he

was required to subscribe to the common prayer. This he could not, with a good conscience, and therefore would not subscribe. On his refusal he was suspended, bound over to appear again when called for, and very *humanely* dismissed. This unexpected and melancholy occurrence occasioned much grief and lamentation amongst Mr Bradshaw's congregation at Chatham; while his exulting enemies could not restrain their malicious joy. His numerous flock, who had attended his ministry with peculiar satisfaction, were extremely anxious to have him restored, and therefore drew up a supplication, in name of the parishioners of Chatham, which they presented to the bishop of Rochester, earnestly desiring the restoration of their beloved pastor. In this supplication, after exposing the lying charges brought against him by his adversaries, they declare, "That Mr Bradshaw's doctrine was always sound, holy, learned, and utterly destitute of faction and all manner of contention: That his life was ornamented with such unblemished virtue, that malice itself could not condemn him; and that his whole energies had been exerted in bearing down wickedness, in comforting the faithful, and instructing the ignorant, without at all meddling with the controversies of the day." But all was to no purpose; the decree had gone forth, and the pious Bradshaw was obliged to take farewell of his beloved people. During these adverse-looking dispensations, Providence provided him with an asylum in his forlorn situation, a comfortable retreat under the roof of Mr Alexander Redich of New-hall, near Burton-upon-Trent. This worthy gentleman not only sheltered him in his house, but also provided him with a license, from the bishop of Coventry, to preach wherever he pleased within his diocese; which favour was continued till the death of the bishop. In this retired situation Bradshaw preached for some time in the chapel; but his audience increasing daily, it was soon found too small for containing them; after which he occupied the parish church of Stapenhill. This he continued for about twelve years without receiving any thing from the parish. He was, nevertheless, well supported by his generous patron, in whose family he lived, and had the kindest treatment. He was, after this, chosen lecturer of Christ-church, London; but the bishop refused him his allowance.

Conformity to the established church was now enforced with more than ordinary rigour, which induced several worthy divines to state their grievances, their exceptions, and the grounds and reasons of their dissent, and also to repel the arguments of their persecutors. In this necessary but dangerous enterprise, Mr Bradshaw was the most conspicuous. He replied to Dr. Bilson's celebrated work, said to be the best book that had ever

been written in defence of prelacy. He likewise answered Dr. Downham on the same subject. These two notable champions for episcopalian ceremonies, had treated the puritans with uncommon severity, stigmatized them with the odious appellations of fanatics, schismatics, and enemies both to God and the king. In order to remove these slanders, and give the world a correct statement of their principles, Mr Bradshaw published his "English Puritanism, containing the opinions of the most rigid of those called puritans in the realm of England." In this admired work, Mr Bradshaw states, that the puritans maintain the scriptures to be absolutely perfect, and consequently the only ground of all religious opinion, both concerning faith and manners, and the only legitimate rule and directory for governing the church of Christ: That whatever has been, or may be, introduced into the church as parts of divine worship, not warranted by the scripture, is unlawful, and altogether inconsistent with the character of the New Testament church. "This (says he) is the ground on which the puritans found their opinions and practice; and, corresponding with this sentiment, they further maintain, that the pastors of particular congregations are the highest spiritual officers in the church of Christ, over whom Christ himself is the only superior: That a pastor of pastors is an idea nowhere to be found in the New Testament; and that such as arrogate to themselves this lordly superiority, are led by the spirit of antichrist: That every particular church has power to elect its own officers, and censure its own members; and that to force a congregation to support a person, either unable or unwilling to instruct them, is alike oppressive and unjust."

At this period, all books, published in defence of the puritans, were considered dangerous both to church and state, and were therefore no sooner put into circulation, than the bishop's officers were on the alert to seize them, or their authors, wherever they could be found. Accordingly, Mr Bradshaw being in London, two pursuivants were sent to his lodgings to apprehend him, and search for his books; but Mr Bradshaw was not at home; and though they broke open chests, trunks, boxes, and critically examined every apartment, no books could be found; Mrs Bradshaw having taken the precaution, not more than half-an-hour before their arrival, to throw all the offensive books into a dark hole, between two chimnies. Angry with their disappointment, in neither finding books nor author, they meanly carried Mrs Bradshaw before the high commission, where she underwent a severe examination, with the evident intention to make her betray her husband; but finding their design completely frustrated, after binding her to appear when

called, she was dismissed. In 1617, on returning from a journey, Mr Bradshaw was saluted by the bishop's chancellor, with a suspension from all preaching without his further permission. By the intercession of a worthy friend, however, he withdrew his suspension, and Bradshaw proceeded peaceably in the course of his ministry.

Besides his stated labours as a preacher at Stapenhill, Mr Bradshaw united with his brethren in their associations at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Repton, and Burton-upon-Trent. On these occasions, besides their public preachings for the benefit of the congregations, the ministers had private religious conference amongst themselves, when they proposed subjects of discussion for their mutual edification and advantage; on which occasions Mr Bradshaw is said to have discovered a depth of judgment, and a power of balancing points of controversy, far superior to his brethren. He was well-grounded in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and understood the controversy betwixt the prelates and puritans as well as any man in England; but he was averse to a separation.

Under his last sickness, Mr Bradshaw had very humiliating views of himself, and exalted views of God, and the power of his grace. He exhorted all about him to learn the art of dying, ere death made his approach, and to lay a foundation in the time of life and health, that might stand them instead in a time of sickness and death. He was seized by a malignant fever at Chelsea, in the neighbourhood of London, which baffled the power of medicine, and carried him off in 1618, aged forty-seven years. His remains were interred at Chelsea, and most of the ministers of London attended his funeral solemnity. The funeral sermon was preached by his affectionate friend, Mr Thomas Gataker; who said concerning him, "That he was studious, humble, and affectionate, liberal, upright, and possessed of all the delicate feelings of pity and commiseration: That he was endowed with a sharp wit and a clear judgment, a quick apprehension, a powerful delivery, with a singular dexterity in discovering the turning points of a controversy." The celebrated bishop Hall says, "He had a masculine judgment, and a spirit above taking offence at trifles, or alienating himself from his friends on account of small matters of difference in opinion; and that, notwithstanding his seeming austerity, he was pleasant in conversation, and full of witty urbanity. In argument, he was ardent, cordial in his friendships, regardless of the world, a despiser of compliment and cringing servility, full of digested learning and rare notions, and, withal, a painful and patient labourer in the work of God."

His works are, 1st, A Treatise of Divine Worship, tending

to prove, that the Ceremonies now imposed on the Ministers of the Gospel in England are in their use unlawful.—2d, A Treatise of the nature and use of things indifferent, tending to prove, that the Ceremonies, included in the present Controversy, are neither, in nature or use, indifferent.—3d, Twelve Arguments, proving that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel in England, by our Prelates, are unlawful, and therefore the Ministers who refuse them are very unjustly branded with disloyalty to the King on that account.—4th, A Protestation of the King's Supremacy, made in the name of the afflicted Ministers, in opposition to the shameful Calumniations of the Prelates.—5th, A Proposition concerning kneeling in the very act of receiving.—6th, A short Treatise of the Cross in Baptism.—7th, A consideration of certain Archiepiscopal Positions.—8th, A Preparation to the Lord's Supper.—9th, A Marriage Feast.—10th, A Meditation on Man's Mortality.—11th, Sermons on the 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians.—12th, A Treatise of Christian Reproof.—13th, Of the Sin against the Holy Ghost.—14th, A twofold Catechism.—15th, An Answer to Mr James Powel.—16th, A Defence of the Baptism of Infants.—17th, The unreasonableness of Separation from the Church,

---

### THOMAS WILSON.

THIS faithful servant of Christ was many years minister of St. George's church, Canterbury, chaplain to lord Wotton, and a man of high reputation. He was a hard student, possessed of a strong constitution, and deservedly famous for his assiduity and regularity in performing the different duties of his office. He preached always thrice, and frequently seven times in the course of the week. As his gifts were great, so also were the trials he had to undergo. He had to contend with enemies, both open and secret, false teachers, and false brethren, who endeavoured to compass his ruin; but from them all the Lord vouchsafed to deliver him. He was once complained of to the archbishop Abbot for non-conformity; but through the kind interference of lord Wotton, he escaped the snare. He manifested a great concern for his flock during his life, by his laborious preaching, expounding, and catechising; and, at his death, with his dying breath, he charged Dr. Jackson, his chief patron, as he would answer to the great Shepherd, that he would provide them with an able and a sufficient pastor. The doctor promised to attend to his request; but, said he, it will be a difficult matter to find another qualified to fill your place with so much success and approbation.

His funeral sermon was preached by Mr Swift, who gives the following account of this faithful servant of Christ: "That he was a man called to work in his Master's vineyard, and well qualified for the business committed to his care. A judicious divine, sound in the faith, an excellent interpreter of scripture, and an enemy to all superstition and idolatry; for which he incurred the displeasure of those who were otherwise disposed. That he was richly furnished with excellent gifts, which he wholly employed in the service of the bountiful giver: That he had received ten talents, which were wholly laid out in his Master's service. He preached at Canterbury thirty-six years, during which long period he was always abounding in his Master's work, and had the happiness to know that he had not laboured in vain." He died January 1621.

His works are, 1st, A Commentary on Romans.—2d, Christ's Farewell to Jerusalem.—3d, Theological Rules.—4th, Holy Riddles.—5th, A complete Christian Dictionary.—6th, A Dialogue about Justification.—7th, A Receipt against Heresy.

---

### WALTER TRAVERS, B. D.

THIS celebrated divine was educated at Trinity college, Cambridge. He afterwards travelled to Geneva, where he formed an intimate and a lasting friendship with Beza, and other learned men. On his return to Cambridge, where he remained some time, he took his degree in divinity. In 1572 he was member of the first presbyterian church in England, erected at Wondsworth in Surrey. While the prelates were imposing subscription to the liturgy on ministers with relentless severity, and demanding an exact conformity to all their ceremonies, a great many learned men, who held conscientious scruples against the English form of ordination, went over to the continent, to Middleburg, Antwerp, and other places, and there received ordination according to the manner of the foreign reformed churches, which, in their opinion, was much more agreeable to the word of God. Amongst those who adopted this course was Mr Travers, who travelled to Antwerp, and was there ordained by the presbytery, as appears by his honourable testimonial to that effect, dated May 14th, 1578. Soon after his ordination he became assistant to Mr Cartwright, then preacher to the English company at that place. He was a man highly distinguished for prudence, piety, and learning; and on his return to England, the lord treasurer Burleigh made choice of him for his domestic chaplain, and tutor to his son Robert, afterwards earl of Salisbury. The treasurer was a constant

friend and patron to the non-conformists, and evidenced his affectionate regard for them during his whole life. On the present occasion, in the face of the whole kingdom, he countenanced this excellent man, and received him into his family, notwithstanding of his non-conformity. Mr Travers could not subscribe, and, of course, was incapable of any considerable preferment in the church; which otherwise his noble patron was ready to bestow upon him. The lecturer's place at the temple becoming vacant, the learned gentlemen of that society invited him to take it; and forasmuch as no subscription was required, he accepted the invitation. In 1583, a short time before Dr. Alvey departed this life, the doctor, with the learned gentlemen of that society, recommended Mr Travers for his successor. The doctor and Travers had lived together in great concord and brotherly affection. They united in mutually forwarding the work of reformation in the place, and with much zeal, prudence, and resolution, joined in promoting genuine piety amongst the learned benchers, by whom they were both highly esteemed for their work's sake. The above recommendation and request were presented to the treasurer, who communicated the same to the queen, signifying to her majesty his approbation of their choice. But by the strenuous endeavours, and superior influence of Whitegift, who most vigorously opposed his admission, by signifying to the queen, that he was one of the principal authors of dissention in the church; that he despised the book of common prayer; and, moreover, that he was ordained abroad, and not according to the form of the church of England—Mr Travers was therefore rejected. He justified himself, however, against all these false charges, and proved the validity of his ordination. During the above year, Mr Travers was engaged in a public conference at Lambeth. Archbishop Whitegift and the bishop of Winchester on the one side; and Mr Travers and Dr. Thomas Sparke on the other. The first day's conference was held on the 10th December, in presence of the earl of Leicester, lord Gray, and Sir Francis Walsingham. The subjects of discussion were confined to such things in the book of common prayer as were complained of by the puritans. The conference was opened by the archbishop with the following declaration: "My lord of Leicester having requested, for his own satisfaction, to hear what the ministers could reprove, and how their objections might be answered, I have granted his request. Let us then hear what things in the book of common prayer you think ought to be reformed, altered, or amended. You now appear before me, not in a judicial capacity, or called in question by authority, but merely to discuss the propriety of reviewing the book of common prayer, for the purpose of learn-

ing what alterations or amendments, if any, are necessary. You shall therefore be free to charge the said book with whatever faults it may contain."

The conference was long; however, that we may gratify the inquisitive reader, we give a specimen thereof as follows: The archbishop having ended, Dr. Sparke replied, "We thank God, and your lordship, that after so many years, wherein our cause could never be allowed an impartial hearing, it hath pleased God, in his goodness, so to order matters, that we are now favoured with this desirable privilege, and that before such honourable and learned judges, which, we fondly hope, may be a mean, in the hand of God, to induce her excellent majesty to promote a further reformation in such things as are needful; and we embrace, with heartfelt gratitude, the opportunity thus given us, freely to declare, for the satisfaction of those in authority, what things we humbly conceive ought to be reviewed and reformed in the public service of God; and seeing the favourable issue must depend upon his blessing, I desire, before we proceed farther, that we may implore his merciful and gracious direction." Dr. Sparke accordingly was about to pray, when he was interrupted by the archbishop, who said, "You shall make no prayers here. You shall not turn this place into a conventicle!"

The two chief points urged against the common prayer book by these divines, were the appointment of certain apocryphal writings in the public worship of God, in which were several errors and false doctrines, while many parts of the canonical writings, and the doctrine of the sacraments, were omitted, which, they maintained, made the apocrypha equal, if not superior, to the scriptures.

*Archbishop.* The books called apocrypha are indeed parts of the scriptures; they have been read in the church in ancient times, and ought to be still read amongst us.

*Travers.* The title *holy scripture* is that by which the Holy Ghost distinguisheth the canonical writings from the apocrypha, and all other uncanonical books.

*A.* The apocrypha was given by the inspiration of God, as were also all whatsoever the heathen have written well.

*T.* In the general sense of the word *inspiration*, what your grace has said of the apocrypha is true; for no man can say that Jesus is Lord, but by the spirit. The present question, however, relates to such an inspiration as that which moved and governed the holy men of God in reporting and setting down those things, so that they could not possibly err. In this sense the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and they only, are holy, and given by inspiration of God, and herein they differ exceedingly from the apocrypha, and all other writings.

*Sparke.* Private baptism appears, in several respects, at variance with the word of God; 1st, being done in private; 2d, by laymen; 3d, by women; and 4th, inasmuch as the doctrine implied in all this unnecessary despatch is, that the child dying unbaptized is in danger of damnation; and, on the other hand, that outward baptism secures its salvation; either of which are erroneous.

*A.* The place is not of the substance of the ordinance, it has been administered privately in times of persecution, and may be again.

*T.* That is no part of the present question, we are now speaking of baptism in time of peace.

*A.* The persons, no more than the place, are parts of the ordinance of baptism; and as in times of persecution, as well as in some other cases, private men have baptized, it may be done so again. As for the baptism by women, though I would not allow them to baptize, neither doth the book appoint them to do so, yet will I not deny their baptism to be lawful. I would rather have a child so baptized, than die without baptism. Though I do not affirm that the child dying without it is lost; yet because I should fear and doubt the safety of their state, I would have them baptized by a woman, rather than not at all.—This closed the first day's conference.

On the 12th December they met again, when the archbishop of York and the lord treasurer were added to their number. The archbishop introduced the business of the day, by recapitulating what had been done on the former occasion, and ordered Dr. Sparke and Mr Travers further to enumerate their objections to the book of common prayer. But his grace's recapitulation having been somewhat imperfect, Dr. Sparke took the liberty to subjoin what he had omitted; after which they proceeded as follows:

*A.* Cyprian, and others of the ancient fathers, avouch the apocrypha as part of the scriptures.

*T.* Some of the fathers having alleged that it is part of the scriptures, is not so strong an evidence that it is so, as the total silence of Jesus Christ and his apostles, is that it is not.

*Lord Treasurer.* That is no good argument. You can never form a syllogism of it.

*T.* Whatever our Saviour and his apostles alleged *not*, can be no part of the prophetic writings, if they alleged all the prophets. But our Saviour and his apostles alleged all the prophets, without alleging any part of the apocrypha; therefore the apocrypha can be no part of the prophetic writings. All the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, having foretold the days of Christ.

*S.* Some passages of scripture, introduced into the common prayer, are made to speak the very reverse of the original. Romans, chap. iv. is entirely perverted. For whereas the apostle saith, "Cometh this blessedness upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also?" The book, by law appointed to be used in the service of God, reads quite the contrary. Likewise the cv. Psalm, where, in the original, and in all good translations, the expression is, "They were not *disobedient* to his word;" but in the church's prayer-book it reads, "They were not *obedient*;" which means the very opposite.

*A.* There may be some ambiguity in the Hebrew word. Having no knowledge of the language, I cannot tell; but you can.

*T. and S.* There is not the least ambiguity in the word.

*A.* In baptism there is nothing belonging to the essence of that sacrament, but merely the element and the word; and with regard to the place, you will allow, that in times of persecution it is not unlawful to baptize in private places.

*T.* The question is applicable to a peaceable state of the church, such as the church of England presently enjoys.

*A.* As the place is no part of the sacrament of baptism, so neither is the person; but at some times, and in different cases, laymen, nay, women, may baptize. May not a christian baptize when living in a state of persecution, or supposing he lived in the West Indies?

*T.* Your grace's remarks are not pertinent. We are not now discussing extraordinary cases, but how baptism ought to be administered in the church of Christ under ordinary circumstances. But even in the cases you have supposed, it is not lawful for any one to administer the sacraments without some extraordinary call from God, or some ordinary call from the church; for no man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God.

*Archbishop of York.* I disallow of private baptism altogether, and have forbidden it to be used in any part of my diocese. I have spoken to the queen about it, and I will not suffer it.

*A.* Calvin held that baptism was necessary, and reprov'd the anabaptists for deferring it too long.

*T.* Calvin did not consider baptism necessary, on any other account, than that it might not be omitted by negligence and contempt, no more than did the reformed churches on the continent.

*S.* Circumcision was the same to the Jews that baptism is to us christians; and if it had been so essentially necessary for the salvation of the children of the Jews, no doubt God would have commanded it to be performed at the birth, and that by laymen,

or even by women; which not having been done, seems to destroy the necessity so strenuously contended for.

*A.* The necessity of private baptism is so guarded in the articles, as to clear the church of England of these errors.

*T.* The doctrine of the articles is good and holy; but the necessity of baptism, as laid down in the prayer book, is so great, and so pressing, that it must not be put off till an ordinary opportunity occur, but must be done instantly, if laymen, or even women, should administer it in whatever place this necessity occurs, often where there is not even time to perform the ceremony, and pronounce the words, lest the child be dead amongst their hands. To reconcile this hurried administration of a solemn and divine ordinance with the word of God, I, for one, consider altogether impossible.

*S.* To question the child if it believes, and be answered by another person that it does, must, in spite of every apology that can be made in its defence, be a flagrant untruth, at variance even with the common sense of mankind, and utterly at variance with the scriptures.

*A.* Augustine says, the child may be said to believe, because it receives the sacrament of faith.

*S.* The question in baptism is put before the sacrament is received; but supposing it were not, the sponsor may say the child believes; but what man, in his senses, will believe this same sponsor? How is it possible that any man can credit an assertion labouring under both a moral and physical impossibility? And with regard to the cross in baptism, and other ceremonies therewith connected, were they ever so ancient, or ever so good in their original institution, being unnecessary in themselves, and now abused to idolatry, they ought to be abandoned. Like the brazen serpent, originally appointed by God, and afterwards kept as a monument of his special favour, till abused to idolatry, when it was utterly destroyed, and all this by the will of God; even so the cross in baptism, never having been of any use in the church, but, on the contrary, abused to idolatry as much as ever the brazen serpent had been, ought to be abandoned. To impose the use of the cross in baptism, as necessary to that ordinance, is not only unsupported by scripture, and altogether built on the basis of superstition, but a dangerous appendage added to the all-wise and gracious appointment of God. Neither is this my individual opinion, but that also of all the foreign reformed churches; as you may perceive by perusing the harmony of confessions. As to Beza, he had too much liberality to condemn any church for using the cross, seeing he respected the liberty of sentiment due to all men. Nevertheless, his opinion is, that the using of the cross

ought to be abolished; nay, more, the same Beza recommends it to ministers rather to forego their ministry, than, in opposition to their conviction, subscribe to that unscriptural, and altogether unnecessary ceremony.

*Leicester.* What a pity that so many of our best ministers, and most assiduous preachers, have suffered themselves to be deprived for these unimportant things.

*T.* My lord, we freely acknowledge that the peace of the church of Christ is a matter of singular importance; nevertheless, peace without, or contrary to the truth of the gospel, must necessarily become a sacrifice whenever it comes in competition with the commandments of Jesus Christ. This is the doctrine of the New Testament, and on this ground I rest the positive assertion, that such ministers as have withstood these idle ceremonies, have done well in rejecting the counsel of men, which their consciences informed them was opposed to the will and unerring commandments of infinite wisdom, even at the expence of their ministry. What, in comparison to this, are all the commandments and traditions of men? What, in matters of such unspeakable importance, were the authority of angels? If you love me, says Christ, keep my commandments. These are simple. His yoke is easy, his burden is light; the whole system of his religion unadulterated, is pure, and easily comprehended; but the ceremonies that foolish men have foolishly introduced, are void of meaning, destitute of importance, without use, and without edification.

*A.* From the letter of Dr. Ridley, now read, you see that he approved of the habits.

*S.* Mr Fox, in his book of martyrs, reports, that Ridley, at his degradation, scorned the habits, saying, they were foolish and abominable, too fond for a vice in a play.

*A.* You will call in question also the authority and jurisdiction of the bishops.

*T.* We object to the prayer-book, because it sets up a ministry directly opposite to the authority of scripture, as appears from 1 Tim. iii. and Titus i.

*Treasurer.* What scripture can you produce to prove that he who administers the sacraments should also preach?

*T.* Go ye therefore and *teach* all nations, *baptizing* them, &c.; which things being thus joined together by the command of Christ himself, none but Christ has authority to part them asunder; nor is that merely our opinion, the reformed churches on the continent hold it both in faith and practice.

*A.* The apostolic rule, which you have alleged, is only an idea of a minister.

*T.* To make it merely an idea would overturn the whole

system of revealed religion; because if this commandment of Christ was merely an idea, all the duties commanded by him would fall equally under the appellation of ideas; hence his command, to believe in his mission, to love one another, to do to others as we would be done to; in short, all the law of Moses, and all the requisite duties of society, might, on the very same ground, and with equal propriety, be denominated ideal.

*Treasurer.* It is impossible.

*T.* If the churches, in times of bloody persecution, have invariably observed this order, it can surely be no very difficult matter for us in a state of peace.—Here the conference closed, and the company separated.

Mr Strype has published to the world, that the ministers were convinced on this occasion, and that they conformed; but it is obvious he had not known the men; besides, he acknowledges that he had never seen the debate. Travers continued a non-conformist till the day of his death; and Dr. Sparke appeared at the head of the puritans, before the king at Hampton-court conference, twenty years after this period.

Mr Travers continued lecturer with Mr Hooker, the new master of the Temple, for about the space of two years, but with little peace. Travers being a strict Calvinist, and the other less restricted in his opinions, which occasioned him considerable uneasiness, and finally lost him the situation. Many of their sermons being on points of controversy, respecting the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies of the church; and each maintaining his favourite opinions, it was no uncommon thing to hear the morning sermon controverted in the afternoon, and vindicated next Lord's day. Hooker at last complained; and Whitegift, apparently well pleased at the opportunity, without the least warning, silenced Mr Travers from preaching either at the Temple or any where else in the realm of England. The reasons given for this unmerciful severity of the archbishop are, that Travers was not ordained according to the rites of the church of England: That he had preached without a license: That he had broken through her majesty's orders; and that controversies ought not to be carried on from the pulpit. Mr Travers presented a supplication to the council in vindication of himself. In this paper he complains, that he was condemned without being heard, and that contrary to every thing like honesty and fair dealing; he was silenced before he was examined. He then proceeds to answer the allegations against him. 1st, It is said I am not lawfully called nor qualified to be a minister in England, not being ordained according to the laws of this country. I beseech your lordships to consider, that such is the communion of saints, that every solemn act done in one true

church, corresponding with the word of Christ, is recognized by all other true churches. The making or ordaining of a minister being once lawfully done, ought not to be repeated; because to repeat our ordination, would be to annul and make void our former ordination; and, of consequence, marriages, baptisms, and all such other acts as had been done in virtue thereof, would also naturally become void; and by acting on the same principle, people removing from one kingdom to settle in another, ought to be rebaptized and married again. But why should I urge the inconvenience attending such a mode of procedure, while the plain letter of the law speaks directly to the point in question. By the statute 13th Eliz. those ministers who have been ordained in foreign protestant churches, on subscribing the articles therein specified, are held fully qualified to enjoy all the privileges and immunities that can be claimed by those ordained according to our own laws and regulations; in consequence of which law, many Scotch divines are now enjoying benefices in the church of England.

The lords of the council, to whom Travers had presented his supplication, did not choose to interfere, and so he was left to the mercy of the archbishop, who could never be prevailed upon to remove his suspension, or even license him to preach in any part of the kingdom. Mr Travers had many powerful friends, even the lords of council themselves were much divided on this case; and all who opposed Whitegift's intolerant measures were his friends; but the archbishop's power and influence with the queen were beyond control.

About this time Travers was invited to become professor of divinity in the university of St. Andrews; which he refused, with thankful acknowledgments for the honour intended him. His celebrity being universally known, Dr. Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, who had been his colleague at Cambridge, and knew his abilities, invited him to take the provostship of Trinity college, Dublin; which, having no prospect of a restoration to his beloved ministry, he accepted. In this new situation he was much admired, and had, for one of his pupils, Mr James Usher, afterward the famous archbishop of Armagh, by whom he was held in such high estimation and regard, that neither time, nor the change of circumstances, could ever alter or impair; for when Usher was preferred to a bishoprick, and Travers grown old, and reduced to poverty and obscurity, the pious prelate used frequently to visit him, and would have most cheerfully supplied him with money; for which the good old man was grateful, but never would condescend to accept. He continued provost of the above college several years; but on the commencement of the wars in Ireland,

he was obliged to quit his station; at which period he returned to England, and spent the remainder of his days in silent obscurity. He was living in March 1624; but it does not appear how long he survived this period. He was eminent for learning, a polished preacher, an orator of the first class, and one of the most celebrated divines of the age; but what availed all these excellencies, when weighed in the prelatial balance against the unpardonable and preponderating sin of non-conformity. His name stands enrolled amongst the eminent men of Trinity college, Cambridge.

His works are, A Justification of the Religion now professed in England.—An Answer to the Epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholics.—De Disciplina Ecclesiastica ex Dei verbo Descripta, commonly called the Book of Discipline\*.

---

### JOHN ROBINSON.

THIS celebrated puritan was born in the year 1575, educated at Cambridge, and beneficed near Yarmouth. In 1602, the intolerance of the prelates, in urging the ministers to subscribe to popish ceremonies, which had been retained in the established religion, and their severity in silencing such as had the integrity to reject these antichristian relics, together with the grievous oppressions exercised by their ecclesiastical courts, induced a number of the people, in those parts, to make a total separation from the ecclesiastic establishment, and to organize themselves under a system of church government, consonant to their own views of the New Testament rule, whatever might be the consequences. With this view, they covenanted with one another to walk with God, in the enjoyment of his ordinances, according to the primitive and apostolic pattern. Amongst the ministers who joined this association Mr Robinson was one, and at this time also became pastor to one of their churches.

Having thus renounced the yoke of antichrist, and resolved to worship God, without submitting to the traditions of men, the spirit of intolerance was awakened against them with renovated severity. Besides the trial of cruel mockings, spies were set over them, they were hunted out by officers, and often

\* This Book of Discipline was designed as a form of church government, and subscribed by Mr Travers, and a great part of the non-conformists. It was wrote in Latin, but translated into English, and printed at Cambridge; but the principal part of the impression was seized by the vice-chancellor. In the year 1644, when the book of common prayer was abolished by order of the parliament, this Book of Discipline was republished, and appointed to be observed in all ecclesiastical matters, with the new title, A Directory of Government, anciently contended for, and as far as the times would admit, practised by the first non-conformists in the days of queen Elizabeth, found in the study of that most accomplished divine, Thomas Cartwright, after his decease, and reserved for publication at such a time as this.

imprisoned, or forced to flee from their homes, and their means of subsistence. Under these cruel oppressions they groaned for seven sorrowful years, assembling together, as by stealth, in private houses, or wherever they could find an eligible situation. Thus harassed, and almost ruined in the ecclesiastic courts, they at last resolved to seek an asylum in Holland, where they understood they might enjoy religious freedom. They had raised no disturbance in the state, but acted the part of industrious subjects, and peaceable members of the community; yet because they would not bow to the authority of men's inventions, in matters that concerned their duty to God only, they were loaded with heavy fines and forfeitures, and hunted like partridges on the mountains.

Though Mr Robinson and his flock had resolved to sail for Holland, their enemies, being apprized of their design, watched them so close, that it was scarcely possible to elude their vigilance. Their case was every way deplorable, at home they were not permitted to live in peace, nor suffered to depart where they could find a quiet retreat. The following facts, extracted from the original record belonging to the church of Plymouth, New England, will show the incredible sufferings to which they were subjected at this time.

“A large company, intending to embark at Boston for Holland, hired a ship, and agreed with the master to take them on board on a certain day, and at an appointed place. They were punctual to the engagement; but the ship did not arrive at the time; but at last came and took them on board during the night. But having previously agreed with the searchers, the captain basely betrayed them, by delivering them and their effects into the hands of their persecutors, who instantly put them into boats, rifled and searched them even to their shirts, treating the females with rudeness and indelicacy. They were carried back to the town, where they were made spectacles of public scorn to the multitudes, who flocked from every quarter to see them. They were then carried before the magistrates, and thrown into prison, where they remained for a month, and some of them much longer; while some were bound over to the next assizes.”

In the following spring, however, Mr Robinson and his friends made a second attempt. They made their situation known to a Dutch captain, and agreed with him to carry them to Holland. He was to take them off from a large common between Grunsby and Hull, a place remote from any town. The women, children, and goods, were sent to the place in a small bark, while the men travelled by land; but the bark arriving a day before the ship, the sea being rough, and the women and

children very sick, the seamen put into a small creek. The next morning the ship arrived; but the bark was a-ground, owing to the ebbing tide. That no time might be lost, the captain sent his boat, in which the greater part of the men embarked; but returning for the women and children, he spied a great company of horse and foot coming from the country in arms, on which he weighed anchor with all haste, hoisted sail, and having the wind off shore, was soon out of sight. The men were thus separated from their wives and children, without a change of garments, and generally without their money, their goods being all left with the women. The consideration of the merciless treatment awaiting their helpless families, from the hands of their persecutors, absorbed every feeling for their own situation; tears flowed in abundance, but tears were all in vain. They were soon after overtaken with a terrible storm, and driven on the coast of Norway. For seven days they saw neither sun, moon, nor stars. The mariners themselves were at their wits end; and at one time they imagined the ship was going down, when, with death-boding shrieks, they cried out, *we sink! we sink!* The puritan passengers, amid this dreadful scene of hopeless horror, with much less distraction than might have been expected, were crying, Yet, Lord, thou canst save; thou art a present help in time of trouble; and other similar expressions. The ship at last recovered herself; and the storm abating, they reached their destination in safety.

Mr Robinson, and some others, having prudently remained to see the women and children all safe on board, were left on shore; and owing to the unforeseen turn of affairs, had now a delicate and very difficult task put into their hands. Here was a scene of distress which neither tongue nor pen can adequately describe: A multitude of helpless women, bereft of their protectors and comforters: Children, terrified at the rude voice of the un pitying persecutors, crying with fright, and shivering with cold: No home to shelter them, no father to cheer them, and nothing left to sustain the mother's breaking heart. Charity would have relieved, humanity would have comforted the mourning mothers and their tender offspring; but, alas! charity, humanity, and every feeling of sensibility, were lost in the bigotry of superstition. The tools of prelati cal oppression, to gratify the humour of their employers, hurried these harmless people from one place to another, and from one officer to another, till their triumph grew stale, and their severity disgusting, even to themselves. To have imprisoned so many innocent women and children, would have for ever blasted their fame for gallantry, branded them with the meanest cowardice, and

\*excited the public execration against them. Homes they had none, their un pitying oppressors were therefore glad to get rid of them; so that, by courage and perseverance, they wrought their way through every other difficulty, and at last arrived at Amsterdam, where they joined their friends, with hearts full of joy and gratitude to God. Upon their arrival in Amsterdam, which was in 1608, Mr Robinson's first concern was to arrange their church affairs. But Mr Smyth and his church having arrived some time before them, were now in a state of wrangling and contention, which they maintained with such warmth, that the gentle spirit of Mr Robinson induced him to withdraw from a scene of such animosity. Accordingly, having continued at Amsterdam about one year, he removed, with his friends, to Leyden, where he enjoyed the blessings of religious liberty, and, with the permission of the magistracy, hired a meeting-house, where they worshipped God according to their own convictions, none making them afraid. In this removal they acted on the most disinterested principles; for though they were certain that Leyden would afford them less employment and less profit, they preferred peace and christian liberty to every worldly consideration whatever. Here they engaged in such trades and employments as they could severally execute, and in a short time procured for themselves a comfortable subsistence; and having great comfort in the society of one another, and singular satisfaction in the ordinances of the gospel, under the painful ministry of Mr Robinson, they lived happily together, in peace, love, and holiness of life.

Mr Robinson set out on the most rigid principles of Brownism; but having seen more of the world, and conversed with learned men, particularly with Dr. Ames, he became less rigid in his principles; and having struck out a middle path between the Brownists and presbyterians, he even admitted to occasional communion the members of the Dutch churches, and allowed his own people to join them in prayer, and the hearing of the word, though not in communion. He objected to the imposition of the liturgy, the government by bishops, and the mixed communion of the church of England, and maintained, that every particular church, or society of christians, had complete power within itself, to choose its own officers, to administer all God's ordinances, to exercise all necessary discipline and authority over its own members, and consequently that it is to all intents and purposes independent of all classes, synods, convocations, and councils, or other ecclesiastical authority, by whatever other name it may be distinguished. "This we hold and affirm (says Mr Robinson), that two or three gathered together by a covenant, to walk in all the ways of God, constitute a

church, and as such possess all the power of a church: That neither the smallness of their numbers, nor the meanness of their persons, can prejudice their rights; so that two or three, thus united together, have the self-same powers and privileges as two or three thousand." Mr Robinson, nevertheless, admits, that these grave assemblies are expedient, and often serviceable in reconciling differences amongst churches, by giving them friendly advice; but denies them the power of exercising any act of authority whatever, unless by the consent of the churches whom the matters concern. These are some of the principles by which the independents of the present day are also distinguished.

After settling at Leyden, Mr Robinson's church greatly increased in number. Many families, from various parts of England, joined him; so that his congregation amounted to three hundred communicants; and it is a matter of doubt with many, whether any church, since the first ages of christianity, has made a nearer approach to the apostolic pattern. The candour, simplicity, and integrity of its members, inspired their neighbours with confidence; and though many of them were poor, they could occasionally borrow from the Dutch, who readily took their word. They saw them industrious, and preferred them for customers; they found them honest, and chose them as workmen; and their general good character is honourably attested by the magistrates of Leyden, who, from the seat of justice, on the eve of their departure from that city, say, "These English have lived amongst us now these ten years, during which we never had any suit against *them*, nor *any* of them."

After having sojourned in a land of strangers for more than nine years, Mr Robinson and his people began to turn their attention to America, now that Providence seemed to have provided an asylum for his persecuted people in that distant region. To this they were moved by various considerations. At Leyden, though treated by the inhabitants with the greatest civility, and notwithstanding that they enjoyed religious instruction and fellowship, without the least annoyance, still these precious advantages depended entirely on the courtesy of strangers, they were unwilling therefore to hold them on so precarious a tenure. They were animated, moreover, with the cheering consideration, that they might become instrumental in carrying the joyful sound of gospel grace into the regions of pagan darkness, and be the means of salvation to many precious souls, ready to perish. Their removal was not therefore the effect of a fickle and unsteady disposition, but the result of cool deliberation: It was a fearless perseverance towards the attainment of these important purposes that swallowed up every minor considera-

tion. In their own country they could easily perceive, that reformation, or even a toleration for dissenters from the national church, was not to be expected; so, after much deliberate consultation, and solemn prayer to God for direction, it was at last resolved, that part of the congregation, best qualified for the enterprise, should first transport themselves to America, where they might enjoy liberty of conscience, and where, after all their sufferings, sorrow, and wanderings, they might rest in tranquillity under their own vine and fig-tree, and be the means of encouraging their suffering friends and countrymen to follow their example.

In consequence of this resolution, agents were despatched to England, where, having obtained a patent from the crown, they agreed with several respectable merchants, and other friends, to take part in the enterprise. Several of Mr Robinson's congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank, with which they purchased a small vessel of sixty tons burden, and hired another of one hundred and eighty tons. The agents sailed for Holland, with their own vessel, to take on board as many as were willing to embark; while the other was taking in the necessary stores for the plantation. All things at last being in readiness for their departure, Mr Robinson, with his congregation, held a day of fasting and prayer; on which occasion he preached an excellent sermon from Ezra viii. 21. "I proclaimed a fast there at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance;" which he concluded with the following appropriate christian exhortation:

"BRETHREN,

"We are now about to be separated from one another, and whether I shall ever again see your faces on earth, the God of heaven only knows. But whatever way the Lord has appointed in this, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God, by any other instrument of his, reveal any thing to you that you have not yet received, be as ready to receive it from others as ever you have been to receive any truth by my ministry: For I am verily persuaded, nay, I am confident, that the Lord will yet farther unlock the blessed treasures of his holy word, and exhibit more of his truth than the christian world have yet discovered. For my part, I cannot sufficiently lament the state of the reformed churches, who are come to a point in religion, and seemingly determined to stand still where the instruments of the reformation left them. The Lutherans are not to be moved a step farther than Luther himself had taught them; and whatever part of his will our

good God had farther made known to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. The Calvinists, you see, stick fast at the very point where they were left by that great man of God, to whom, however, the Lord had not discovered all things. This is an evil truly lamentable; for though they were burning and shining lights in their day, they had not penetrated into the whole counsel of God; but would, were they now alive, as willingly embrace further light as they did that which they have declared to the world. I beseech you therefore to remember, that it is an article of your church covenant, that you receive whatever truth may be made known to you from the written word of God; remember this, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewith also exhort you, to take heed what you receive as truth, examine it, consider it impartially, and compare it with other parts of divine truth before you receive it; for it is impossible that the christian world, so lately emerging from the midnight gloom of antichristian darkness, can so soon lay claim to the knowledge of the whole truth.

“I must also advise you, to abandon, avoid, and, by all means, shake off the name of Brownists. It is a mere nickname, a brand for making religion, and the professors thereof, odious to the christian world.”

On the 1st of July 1620, this small band of christian adventurers, in all one hundred and one, removed from Leyden to Delft harbour, whither they were accompanied by Mr Robinson and the elders of the church. They continued together all night; and next morning, after mutual embraces, Mr Robinson, kneeling down on the sandy beach, with fervent prayer, committed them to the blessing and protection of heaven. Mr William Brewster, a man singularly well qualified for the undertaking, was chosen the leader of this new colony. After this painful separation, Mr Robinson wrote a paternal, a most faithful and affectionate letter to the adventurers, which they received at Southampton, where it was read to the whole company, much to their comfort and encouragement. In addressing them, he says, “I am present with you in my best affection, and earnest longings after you. God knows how willingly, and how much rather than remain behind, I would have borne my share in this first brunt, were I not detained by necessity. Account me, therefore, in the meantime, as a man painfully divided in himself, having my better half along with you. Though I doubt not your godly wisdom, I think it my duty to add a few words of advice, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty.” He then proceeds to give them the most affectionate and salutary instruction. He urges them to

repentance for all their known sins; and exhorts them to exercise a holy jealousy over themselves, to watch over their own hearts, to bear with one another in love, to avoid giving offences, to manage all their affairs with discretion, and, by mutual agreement, to have a special regard to the public good, and avoid, as they would a destructive pestilence, all private respect for themselves as individuals; and to learn, that to secure the public prosperity, is the only sure method to promote the interest of the individuals that constitute that public. He forewarns them of the danger attending a disrespectful carriage towards the magistrates they may choose to rule and watch over them and their best interests, but to pay them a cheerful and ready obedience. "I would not (says he) so far wrong your godly minds, as to think you heedless of other things which I could mention;" and concludes, by expressing his earnest desire for their happiness, invoking the Giver of all good things in their behalf.

Mr Robinson intended following them with the remaining part of his congregation; but before he could accomplish his design, it pleased God to remove him to another and a better world. He died March the 1st, 1625, and fiftieth year of his age. The life of this amiable individual, whether considered in his public or private capacity, exhibits a beautiful transcript of the numerous virtues that elevate and adorn the human character. He possessed a vigorous mind, cultivated by an excellent education. In his younger days he was noted for his good sense and solid learning; and as his mind expanded under the influence of divine grace, he procured that moderate and peaceful temper, for which he was esteemed by christians of every persuasion. His rigid probity, and diffusive benevolence, powerfully recommended him to the Dutch people, both ministers and professors, with whom he lived in the greatest harmony. They lamented him as a public loss; and in testimony of their esteem and regard, their magistrates, ministers, professors, and many of the citizens, honoured his funeral procession with their presence.

Mr Robinson was an excellent disputant, as appears from his public disputation in the university at Leyden. At the time when the Arminian controversy distracted the churches in Holland, the famous Episcopius having given a public challenge, that he would defend his Arminian tenets against all opposers, the learned Polydore, and the chief ministers of the city, urged Mr Robinson to take a part in the dispute; but being a stranger, and naturally of a mild and quiet disposition, he refused. By their pressing solicitations, however, he was at last constrained to engage in the discussion; in which he overwhelmed

his antagonist, and nonplused him in three successive disputations; by which he procured himself much honour and respect amongst men of piety and learning.

Such was the reciprocal love and respect between Mr Robinson and the members of his congregation, that it is difficult to judge whether he or they were most delighted with one another. His death was therefore a serious loss to the remaining branch of his church at Leyden. The most of them, however, in the course of a few years, joined their brethren in America, amongst whom were his widow and her children. His son Isaac lived to the great age of ninety years, and left a posterity in the county of Barnstable. Mr Robinson's church at Leyden is said to have been the first independent church after the reformation.

His works are, 1st, A Justification of separation from the Church of England against Bernard.—2d, Remarks on Mr Smyth's Confession of Faith.—3d, A Treatise on Communion.—4th, The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy.—5th, *Apologia Justa et Necessaria Christianorum æque Contumeliose ac Communitæ Dictorum Brownistarum ac Barrowistarum*. This was translated in 1644.—6th, An Appendix to Mr Perkins' Six Principles of the Christian Religion.—It is supposed by some that he wrote books beside these.

---

### JOHN PRESTON, D. D.

THIS famous divine, a descendant of the Prestons of Preston, in Lancashire, was born at Heyford, in Northamptonshire, in 1587. He was educated first at king's, and after at queen's college, Cambridge. In this last situation he was a pupil of the pious and learned Mr Oliver Bowels, with whom he acquired an astonishing proficiency in almost every branch of polite literature, especially in philosophy. But being naturally ambitious, and indulging extravagant expectations of court preferment, he accounted the study of divinity beneath the attention of a great mind. In 1609 he was chosen fellow of his college; and the Lord, who designed him to fill an important place in his church, was pleased to cool the fever of his raging ambition, by means of a sermon preached at St. Mary's church by Mr John Cotton. From this time forward he became remarkable for serious christian piety; and though he had heretofore despised the work of the ministry, he now directed all his studies towards that sacred office.

When king James visited the university of Cambridge, Preston, from his extraordinary learning and talents, was chosen

for one to dispute before his majesty. The subject of dispute was, Whether brutes had reason, and to that degree that they could make syllogisms? Preston maintained the affirmative, and illustrated his argument by the case of a hound, who, when he comes to a place where three ways meet, first tries one, then another, and finding no scent, runs down the third with full cry; having drawn the inference, that as the hare had not gone in either the first or second way, she must necessarily have gone in the third. This argument is said to have had such a wonderful effect on the audience, particularly on the king, that it would have opened a door to his preferment, had not his puritanical opinions stood in the way. Sir Fluke Gravelle, afterwards lord Brook, was so enamoured with his wit and other talents, that, in addition to other demonstrations of his esteem, he settled fifty pounds per annum upon him, and continued his friend for ever after. Having found the treasure hid in the gospel field, Preston wisely sacrificed all his towering hopes, that he might make the invaluable purchase, even the present promising opportunity of obtaining the royal favour, he considered unworthy of his attention, trammelled, as it must have been, with submissions incompatible with his allegiance to the King of kings. Courtiers, and such men as aspired to places of honour and emolument, were astonished to see a young man of such brilliant talents neglect to improve such a golden opportunity of rising in the world; while good men admired him for the same act of indifference, mortification, and self-denial; and their good opinion received additional strength from the following circumstance:

The king, visiting the university a second time, Preston was requested that one of his pupils might support a female character in a comedy, for the entertainment of his majesty; but he politely refused, saying, "I do not like the motion; nor can I believe his friends intended him for a player. I beg therefore to be excused." This instance of his peculiar care for his pupils exceedingly raised his reputation as a prudent and conscientious teacher, so that he soon procured the fame of being the best tutor in the university; which induced many persons of distinguished eminence to commit their sons to his tuition, to whom he was particularly careful to communicate the knowledge of sound religion, as well as good literature. Fuller calls him the greatest pupil-monger ever known in England, having had sixteen fellow-commoners admitted in queen's college in one year. He was, at the same time, so exceedingly intent on his studies, that he deprived himself of necessary rest and sleep. He used to lay his bed-clothes over him in such a manner, that they might drop off at an early hour, on purpose that the cold

might awaken him; which practice had nearly ruined his constitution, though, by the use of suitable means, his health was in a great measure restored. It is natural to expect that so great a man could not fail to be greatly popular. When he delivered his catechetical lectures in the college chapel, the house was usually crowded with strangers before the fellows came; which awakened the malice of such as envied his popularity, who complained to the vice-chancellor, that it was not safe for the church that Preston should be thus adored, unless they intended to erect puritanism on its ruins. An order was therefore forthwith issued from the consistory, that the scholars and townsmen should henceforth confine themselves to their own preachers, as they would not, in future, be allowed, on any pretence whatever, to attend on these lectures. At this time there was very little preaching throughout the university, the two lectures of Trinity church and St. Andrew's having been put down, and the lecturers silenced; which shows the impropriety and malice, but by no means the necessity, of this tyrannical measure. He was at length allowed the use of Botolph's church, belonging to queen's college; but here, as formerly, his uncommon popularity exposed him to the bitter resentment of his envious adversaries. Dr. Newcomb, commissary to the bishop of Ely, was exceedingly offended, on coming to the church, at the mighty crowd of people there assembled; on which occasion he forbade him to preach, commanding that evening prayers only should be read. The earl of Lincoln, and a number of other influential men, and even the minister of the place, entreated the commissary, that he might be allowed, at least on the present occasion, to preach his sermon; but Newcomb was inflexible, and went home in a rage, leaving them to have a sermon at their peril: so Mr Preston was advised to run the hazard, and deliver his sermon. Next morning Newcomb set off for Newmarket, where the court was then held, and lodged his complaint with bishop Andrews and others, asserting that Preston was a non-conformist at heart, and that if some severe measures were not adopted, he would soon also be one in practice. From his great popularity, he assured the bishop, that all order and conformity in the district would be destroyed, and prelatical authority trodden under foot; adding, that Preston was possessed of such cunning, that he must be roughly handled, otherwise all endeavours would prove ineffectual.

At this time the king being in Newmarket, the whole affair was laid before him, who instantly gave orders for his prosecution. Preston was therefore immediately cited before them, where he defended himself with great modesty and firmness. Bishop Andrews told him, that the king had been apprised, that

he held all forms of prayer unlawful; and that, owing to his wonderful popularity, such opinions were likely to prove publicly mischievous to the peace of the church. Preston repelled the charge as a malicious slander, seeing he neither considered forms unlawful, nor had he, at any time, refused to use them. Upon which the bishop promised to be his friend, and have him released from the present prosecution. Many of the courtiers were well affected to Preston, but afraid to undertake his cause. Dr Young, dean of Winchester, had the boldness and honesty, however, to inform him, that bishop Andrews, under the mask of friendship, was hypocritically endeavouring to have him expelled from the university. All which appeared from his future behaviour; for Preston, after waiting on the bishop till almost ashamed, was ordered, on a certain Lord's day, to declare his sentiments on forms of prayer before the congregation, in St. Botolph's church, or undergo a farther prosecution. This circumstance being noised abroad, it was reported that he must preach a recantation sermon; which exceedingly gratified the malice of those who were hurt at his great reputation. To witness his anticipated disgrace, they crowded to church to hear him perform this humiliating service. But Preston preached, from the same text he had last used, a very close and searching sermon; and, in the conclusion, delivered his opinion on the set forms; so that all who went to laugh met with a mortifying disappointment.

Preston having acquitted himself with honour, his friends rejoiced that he had been liberated, and permitted to preach. Soon after this he was appointed to preach before the king; which service he performed to the admiration of his august auditory. He was endowed with an uncommon fluency of speech, a commanding elocution, and a most tenacious memory, which enabled him to preach without notes. At the conclusion, his majesty expressed great satisfaction with the sermon, particularly with an observation respecting the Arminians; namely, that they put God into the same extremity in which Darius found himself involved, when he wished to save Daniel from the lions, and could not. The marquis of Hamilton earnestly recommended to the king to appoint Preston to be one of his chaplains, saying, "This man is none of your pen and ink-horn preachers, but a man that is fully master of his subject, from whom something substantial may be expected." The king acknowledged all this; but said, it was too early. The real cause, however, was, that the king had not as yet forgotten the Newmarket affair.

About this time Preston set out for the continent, where he visited several of the foreign universities, and acquired much

literary improvement, by conversing with the most learned men in those parts where he had travelled. On his return, his popularity at court, as well as throughout the kingdom, became nearly universal; so that he was told he might be chaplain to almost whom he pleased. The duke of Buckingham, in the meantime, not knowing what friends he might stand in need of, persuaded the king to appoint him chaplain, in ordinary, to the prince of Wales. In the year 1622 he was chosen preacher at Lincoln's inn, London; and on the resignation of Dr. Chadderton, made master of Emanuel college, Cambridge; when he took his doctor's degree. The duke of Buckingham highly esteemed him; and being anxious to ingratiate himself with the puritans, who were becoming formidable in parliament, had hoped that by his means he might effect his purpose. Good men now began to hope for more auspicious times, and were rejoiced to see that honest men were not all of them despised and rejected. The earl of Pembroke, and the countess of Bedford, taking much interest in his welfare, he was considered by all as a rising man, and respected as such. In 1624 he was invited to take the lecture at Trinity church, Cambridge; for which there was a strong contest between him and Mr Micklethwait, fellow of Sidney college, and likewise an excellent preacher. The contest, in voting, was so strongly supported on both sides, that the ulterior decision was referred to the king, who was strongly opposed to the doctor's preaching at Cambridge, and had a secret wish to separate him from his puritan friends, and secure him to the church. Accordingly, he was informed, that by giving up the lecture, he might have the bishoprick of Gloucester; which he refused. The duke, who was resolved not to lose him, took care that nothing should be done against his inclination; so when he could not be moved by any consideration of emolument, power, or pre-eminence, the lecture was confirmed to him. This was his last preferment, and here he continued till the day of his death. Thus preferring a situation of eighty pounds a year, collected by six-penny subscriptions, with the prospect of being useful to the souls of perishing sinners, to the bishoprick of Gloucester, or any other preferment in the kingdom.

About this time he was deeply engaged in controversy with some learned Arminians. He was called to take a leading part in two public disputations procured by the earl of Warwick, and held at York-house, in the presence of the duke of Buckingham, and a number of the nobility. The first of these contests was by bishop Buckridge and the dean of Carlisle on the part of the Arminians; and bishop Morton and Dr. Preston on the part of the Calvinists. In the conclusion, the earl of Pembroke observed, that no person returned from this learned dis-

pute with Arminian sentiments, who had not brought them along with them. The second conflict was between Dr. White and Mr. Montague on the one side; and bishop Morton and Dr. Preston on the other. On this occasion, the doctor is said to have displayed his powers of disputation, and matchless erudition, to the astonishment of the auditory, as well as to the honour and signal advantage of the cause he engaged to defend.

By the great interest the doctor had with the duke of Buckingham and the prince of Wales, he was of essential service to many of the silenced ministers. He was in waiting when king James died, and came up with king Charles and the duke in a close coach. The duke offered Dr. Preston the broad seal; but he was too wise to accept of it. Finding, however, that he could neither obtain the confidence of the puritans, nor detach the doctor from their cause, the duke changed his measures, and bade adieu to his chaplain. The doctor, who saw the storm beginning to gather, quietly retired to his college, where it was feared he would feel the effects of the duke's future displeasure. But he had other work on hand, which engaged all his attention till the day of his death. He was assassinated by Felton, August 23d, 1628.

Dr. Preston was originally of a strong constitution, which he had worn down by hard study and constant preaching. The question with him was not, How long have I lived, but what have I done? Apprehending his sickness was unto death, he was desirous of breathing his last in his native country, and amongst his old friends. Accordingly, he removed to Preston, near Heyford; and after revising his will, and settling his worldly concerns, he committed himself to the gracious disposal of his heavenly Father. Observing the symptoms of death approaching, he said, "The time of my departure is at hand; but I shall not change my company, for I shall still converse with God and saints." A few hours before his death, he said, "I feel death approaching my heart, let me go to my Father's house, and to Jesus Christ, who bought me with his blood. I have accompanied saints on earth, and shortly I shall be associated with saints and angels in heaven, where my pains shall be changed to pleasure, and all my sorrowings into joy unspeakable and full of glory." He died in the month of July 1628, being only forty-one years of age. His remains were interred in Fausley church, and Dr. Dodd preached his funeral sermon to an immense crowd of people. Fuller, who has classed him with the learned writers of queen's college, Cambridge, says, "He was all judgment and gravity, and a complete master of his passions, an excellent preacher, a celebrated disputant, and a perfect politician." Echard styles him the most celebrated of

the puritans, an exquisite preacher, a subtile disputant, and a deep politician.

His works are, 1st, *The Saint's Portion*.—2d, *The Breast-plate of Faith and Love*.—3d, *Sermons before the King*.—4th, *Eternal Life*.—5th, *The Lifeless Life*.—6th, *Mortification and Humiliation*.—7th, *Spiritual Life and Death*.—8th, *Judas' Repentance*.—9th, *The Saints' Spiritual Strength*.—10th, *The Saints' Qualifications and Remains*.—11th, *Sermons*.—12th, *The Golden Sceptre, with the Church's Marriage, and the Church's Carriage*.—13th, *The Love of Christ*.

---

### FRANCIS HIGGINSON, A. M.

THIS famous preacher was born in 1587, educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards pastor of one of the churches of Leicester. His sermons were truly evangelical; and the numbers that flocked from all quarters to hear him were astonishing. The great object of his ministry was to produce a change of heart, and a correspondent rectitude of life and manners; and, by the blessing of God on his faithful labours, a remarkable revival of religion was the desirable effect. But in the midst of his usefulness he was silenced, and deprived for his non-conformity. He had been for some years, after his settlement at Leicester, a strict conformist, till becoming acquainted with Messrs Hildersham and Hooker, he was induced to consider the controversy about ceremonies. He searched the scriptures, and consulted the history of the early ages of the church; and the more his inquiries were extended, the more he was satisfied that the inventions of men had been most shamefully introduced into the service of God. After an impartial investigation of these things, he became a decided and conscientious non-conformist, and his influence burst forth so powerfully, that neither ecclesiastical opposition or insinuation could obscure the lustre of his talents, or diminish his unbounded popularity. The pathos, and enchanting eloquence of his discourses, were such, that the people would not be denied the pleasure and edification of his labours. He was to them as a lovely song of one who hath a pleasant voice. They exerted therefore all their influence and ingenuity for his restoration, and were, by some means or other, so far successful, that they obtained permission for him to preach a lecture on one part of the Sabbath, and on the other to assist an aged minister who stood in need of a helper. In this situation he was supported by their own voluntary subscriptions; and such was the general respect for Mr Higginson, that, so long as it could

be safely done, all the conformist ministers of Leicester invited him to their pulpits. He likewise preached to another congregation in the church at Belgrave, a village in the vicinity. The indulgence thus extended to Mr Higginson was chiefly owing to the christian forbearance of the good bishop Williams of Lincoln, who continued to connive at his non-conformity till Laud became bishop of London, and set out with a determination to extirpate non-conformity.

But here, as elsewhere, while one part of the community rejoiced under his godly ministry, another part, finding their walk and deportment condemned by his preaching, became violent opposers, and cruel persecutors. Mr Higginson avowed his opinion, that scandalous and profane persons ought not to be admitted to the Lord's table; and having preached a sermon from the text, "Give not that which is holy to dogs;" and being about to administer the sacrament, he observed a man before him notorious for the sins of drunkenness and profane swearing, whom he publicly addressed, telling him, that he could not admit him to that holy ordinance till he professed his repentance to the satisfaction of the brethren; and, in the meantime, desired him to withdraw. The man went out in such a fit of rage and horror, that he immediately took sick, and soon after expired, crying out, *I am undone!*

During Mr Higginson's residence at Leicester, a clergyman lived in the town, who was a doctor of divinity, a prebendary in a cathedral, and chaplain to his majesty; but seldom preached, and when he did, was but thinly attended, owing to his poverty of sentiment and ostentatious affectation; while Mr Higginson's place of worship was continually crowded. This mightily displeased the doctor, who embraced every opportunity of expressing his resentment, and declared, that he certainly would drive him out of the town. This same doctor was appointed by the sheriff to preach the assize sermon, and had three months notice to prepare himself. Through the whole of this time he never could make a sermon to please himself. About a fortnight before the time was expired, his friends pushed him on to another attempt, signifying, at the same time, that failing, he might still have recourse to Mr Higginson, who was always ready. To this last alternative the doctor was loath to submit, and studied night and day, but could not produce a scholar-like production; so that, on the very night before the assize, he got a friend to prevail on Mr Higginson to take his place; which he did, to the satisfaction of all who heard him. But the matter getting air, soon became a general topic of conversation; and the doctor, ashamed of himself, left the town, in place of driving out his assistant. Mr Higginson was afterwards chosen

by the magistrates to be the town preacher. He thanked them for the kind offer; but seeing he could not conform, he declined the honour; but recommended Mr John Angel, then a conformist, but a good man; whom they accepted. Several rich livings were offered him; which, for the same reason, he modestly refused. Mr Higginson was very useful in the education of young men, among whom were Dr. Seaman, Dr. Brian, and the famous Mr John How, all noted for learning, moderation, and non-conformity. But Laud was translated to London, and the whole face of ecclesiastic affairs was instantly changed. The non-conformists were no longer winked at, and Higginson was reported to the court of high commission as an incurable non-conformist, and in continual expectation of being dragged by pursuivants before that tyrannical bar, where perpetual imprisonment was the least he could expect. A number of wealthy men, merchants and others, about this time, obtained a charter from Charles I. and were incorporated under the title of "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts' Bay in New England." This company had come to the resolution of sending out some ships with settlers and stores to begin the plantation; and learning the dangerous situation in which Mr Higginson's conscientious non-conformity had placed him, they sent two messengers to invite him to join their company, promising to support him on the passage. The messengers, aware that the family were hourly expecting pursuivants from London to carry him before the court of high commission, resolved to have a little amusement; in order to which, they assumed the rough deportment of the pursuivants, approached boldly, and knocking loud, demanded a word with Mr Higginson. We must speak with Mr Higginson, said they. Mrs Higginson was much alarmed, and advised her husband to conceal himself. "No (says he), I shall go down and speak with them, and the will of the Lord be done." As they entered the hall, with an affected roughness of address, they presented him with some papers, saying, "We are come from London, Sir, and our business is to bring you up with us, as you will see by the contents of these papers." I thought so, said Mrs Higginson, and began to weep. On opening the papers, Mr Higginson was agreeably disappointed on finding himself invited to Massachusetts by the governor and company of that intended colony; and Mrs Higginson's joy was inexpressible. He welcomed his guests; they were seated, and had a free conversation with him about the nature of the concern; and after taking proper time to ascertain the path of duty, he resolved to cross the Atlantic. His farewell sermon was preached from Luke xxi. 20, 21. "When you see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, &c. flee

to the mountains." In the course of which, he declared, before a vast assembly, that he was persuaded England would be chastised with war, of which Leicester should have more than a proportionate share \*. He expressed his thankful acknowledgments to the magistrates, and others, for the favourable encouragement they had afforded him. He told them that he was going to New England, which, he believed, God intended for an asylum to persecuted non-conformists. This happened in the year 1629. Mr Higginson, on taking his journey, with his family, for London, in order to embark, found, as he passed along, that the streets of Leicester were crowded with the people, who took their last farewell with prayers and tears.

They sailed from the Isle of Wight in the beginning of May 1629, and landed at Salem the 24th June following. The ships were filled with religious passengers, amongst whom were Mr Samuel Skelton and Mr Ralph Smyth, both non-conformist ministers. Mr Higginson kept a journal of the voyage; a copy of which is still preserved.

They were no sooner arrived at the colony, than they set about the important business for which they had braved the dangers of the ocean, and commenced their new settlement by calling upon the name of the Lord. After consulting the brethren at Plymouth, who sent some of their people to aid and instruct them with regard to the nature of the country, &c., they fixed on the 6th of August as a day of fasting and prayer, and for settling the order of their intended church. On this highly interesting occasion, Mr Higginson drew up a confession of faith, and a covenant; a copy of which was given to each person becoming a member; the number of whom, at first, were only thirty, to which confession and covenant each of these did solemnly and severally declare their consent. Mr Higginson was chosen teacher, Mr Skelton pastor of the church, and Mr Houghton ruling-elder. After this, many others joined the church; but none were admitted without giving some satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God. Thus was the first christian church formed in the Massachusetts' colony.

Some of the passengers, who went out with these settlers, were much chagrined on observing that the book of common prayer was laid aside; that the sacraments were administered without the ceremonies, and that scandalous and profane members were to be rejected, and discipline exercised against them. On this account they began to raise disturbance, and set up a

\* A few years after this, the civil war, between the king and parliament, raged with uncommon violence; and Leicester being strongly fortified, the wealth of the country adjacent was deposited in the fortress as a place of security; but the town was besieged, taken by storm, given up to plunder, and more than one thousand of its inhabitants killed on the streets.

separate assembly according to the English church. The principal promoters of this breach were Mr Samuel Brown and his brother, the one a lawyer, and the other a merchant. The governor, observing this disturbance, sent for these two men, who accused the ministers for breaking through the orders of the church of England; adding, that they were schismatics, and ere long would turn out anabaptists; but with regard to themselves, they were determined to adhere to the church of England. To these accusations the ministers replied, "That they were no schismatics, neither were they anabaptists: That they had not separated from the church of England, but from the *corruptions* of that church, amongst which they considered the common prayer and the ceremonies, to which therefore they could not conform with a good conscience; but had suffered incredible hardships, and unmerited persecution. But now, that by the good providence of God they had found a place of refuge, where they might act according to the dictates of their own consciences, they neither could, nor would they defile themselves with these relics of antichristian superstition." The governor, the council, and people in general, approved this answer. The two brothers, however, were far from being satisfied; and attempting to raise a mutiny in the colony, they were sent home in the same vessel that had brought them out.

But the faith and patience of these religious adventurers were soon exercised with other trials besides these. Their first winter proved very calamitous. The mortality amongst them was such, that it carried off almost one hundred of their company, among whom was Mr Houghton, the elder of the church; and Mr Higginson not being able to undergo the fatigues of a new settlement, was seized with a hectic fever, under which he languished till August following. The last sermon he preached was to several hundreds of people just landed from England, from Matt. xi. 7. "What went you out to the wilderness to see;" whom he reminded, that their design in transporting themselves was to promote true religion, undefiled with the superstitions of Rome, to spread the same amongst their pagan neighbours, and transmit it to their posterity, and thus lend their feeble efforts to perpetuate the kingdom and glory of the Redeemer. He pressed upon them the duty of christian forbearance, and cautioned them against all manner of intolerance and persecution, from the recollection of their own former sufferings. "You exult (said he), and justly, in having got beyond the prelatial jurisdiction, and seeing other christians may land amongst you, who hold, on some points, opinions different from yours, do to them as you were desirous the bishops of England should have done to you. *Let them alone*, to their own

Master they are only accountable. This is the path of peace; you will also find it the path of prosperity. Soon after this he was confined to his bed, and frequently visited, till his dying day, by the principal men of the colony. He was deeply humbled under a sense of his own unworthiness, and when his friends endeavoured to comfort him, by reminding him of his usefulness and fidelity in the cause of Christ—"Alas! (he replied) I have been an unprofitable servant; all my doings I count but loss and dung, my great desire is to win Christ, and be found in him, not having my own righteousness." He died in the month of August 1630, aged forty-three years. His funeral was attended with all the solemnity the colony could possibly display.

He was a man richly furnished with all Christian graces; a celebrated linguist, and one of the first preachers of his time. His delivery was so charming, that he captivated the hearts of the people; and his memory was dear even to posterity. He had two sons, Francis and John, who afterwards became ministers: Francis at Kirkby Stephen in Westmoreland, England; John was chosen pastor to his father's church in 1659, and was still labouring there in 1696, in the eightieth year of his age, and sixtieth of his ministry; and Mr Higginson's posterity still remain in New England, and are amongst the most respectable citizens of the Union.



### ROBERT BOLTON, D. D.

THIS pious and diligent labourer in his Master's vineyard was born at Blackburn, in Lancashire, in 1572, and educated at Brazen-nose college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He made an uncommonly rapid progress in philosophy, logic, and the learned languages. His means of support being extremely limited, he borrowed books of his tutor and others, and besides reading them with peculiar attention, he transcribed the substance of them into his common-place-book. With the view of acquiring a more distinct knowledge of the Greek language, he transcribed the whole of Homer with great care, and in a very fair character. He was famed for his lectures on natural and moral philosophy. He was likewise deeply learned in metaphysics, mathematics, and school divinity; and having most brilliantly displayed his learning and talents in the public disputations in the schools, he was chosen by the vice-chancellor to be one of the disputants before king James, when he first visited the university. But notwithstanding all these useful and ornamental accomplishments, he was still destitute of the

one thing needful; he had as yet no serious concern for his soul, he was even destitute, in a great measure, of moral propriety; he greatly delighted in plays and cards; he was, moreover, a horrible swearer and Sabbath breaker, who despised the counsel and company of the wise and serious, and associated with the wicked and profane; particularly he could not endure those men stigmatized with the appellation of puritans. His views, however, were afterwards quite changed. During his residence at Oxford he fell in with one Anderton, formerly his school-fellow, but now a learned popish priest, who, taking advantage of his mean circumstances, persuaded him into a reconciliation with the Romish church, and to accompany him to one of the seminaries in Flanders, where, he told him, he should have gold in abundance. The time and place of embarkation were accordingly appointed; but Anderton failing in his promise, Bolton renounced the object in view, and returned to his college. Here, by the pious instructions of Mr Thomas Peacock, he was brought to a deep sense of his sin, which, for many months, deprived him of all peace of mind; his appetite failed him, and sleep, in a great measure, had departed from his eyes; but the grace of God at last restored him to peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. This memorable change took place in the thirty-fifth year of his age; upon which he resolved to enter on the work of the ministry. Having, for the space of about two years, preached at various places, Sir Augustine Nicols, a justice of the common pleas, a learned man, an impartial judge, and a sincere christian, presented him to the rectory of Broughton in Northamptonshire, at which place he continued till his death. Upon his presentation to Broughton, which took place in 1609, bishop King thanked the worthy judge; but observed, that he had deprived the university of Oxford of one of its brightest ornaments.

Mr Bolton being endowed with a commanding and energetic eloquence, he was a most awakening preacher. He delivered two sermons every Lord's day, and catechised the youth of his congregation. On every holiday, and every Friday before the sacrament, he expounded a portion of scripture; and in his domestic and secret devotions, he invariably prayed six times every day; twice with his family, twice with his wife, and twice in secret. He was of a comely person, with a grave and commanding exterior, ever zealous in the cause of Christ, yet prudent to avoid being called in question concerning those things in which he could not conform to the national requisitions in religious matters. In his last sickness, which was a quartan ague, observing that his complaint was daily gaining ground, Mr Bolton revised his will, and retired from the bustling de-

partments of life, and employed the residue of his days in meditating on the joys of heaven. His sickness was tedious and painful; yet he bore up under his sufferings with admirable patience, often exclaiming, during the intervals of his fits, "Oh! when shall the happy hour arrive when I shall be dissolved? When shall I be with Christ, and see him as he is?" Some of his friends observing, that though better for himself, his dissolution would be a heavy loss to the church, in depriving them of the benefit of his ministry; to which he replied, "If my Lord and Redeemer has further work for me in his church on earth, he will restore me again, and show me his holy habitation; if otherwise, lo! here am I, let him do what seemeth him good." Being asked by one, Whether he should not be content to live if it were the will of God? He readily replied, "I grant that life is the great blessing of God, neither will I neglect any means to preserve it; but though I heartily desire to be submissive to the will of God, of the two alternatives, I infinitely prefer being absent from the body, that I may be present with the Lord." During the progress of his complaint, though his body was wasted, his mind was lively and vigorous as ever. The ministers who visited him he exhorted and encouraged to be strong in the Lord, and in the confidence of his power and goodness, not to let their spirits sink under the apprehensions of any danger or difficulty that might stand in the way, but to be diligent and faithful in the work whereunto they had been called, and leave the result to him who does all things well. All his visitors he warmly exhorted to improve the acceptable time and day of salvation, and not put off the most important business of their lives till the days of sickness and of death should come upon them, expressing, in the language of joy and praise, his gratitude to God, who had plucked him as a brand from the fire, and had, in his wonderful mercy and condescension, blessed his ministry to the conversion of many souls to himself. About a week before his departure, he admonished his wife not to be troubled at his dissolution, but to bear it with christian fortitude, assuring her they should meet again in heaven. Then turning towards his weeping children, he said, "My dear children, you must not now expect me to say any thing more to you, seeing my strength is quite gone. I have told you enough in time past, which, I trust, you will remember, and reduce to practice when I am gone." In the course of his ministry he had dwelt on the consolations of the gospel; and his people, in their turn, were anxious to know how he felt them in his own soul. "Alas! (said Mr Bolton) do they expect that of me now, when I have neither breath nor strength to speak. I have said a great deal on that subject in my ministry;

but, for their satisfaction, tell them, that I am, by the wonderful mercy of God, as full of comfort as my soul can contain, and feel nothing within me but Christ, with whom I earnestly desire to be." And looking on those who were weeping near him, he said, "Oh! how much ado there is before one can die."

A little before his departure, being told that some of his best friends were about to take their last farewell, he caused himself to be raised up on the bed; and after struggling for breath, he said, "I am now drawing on apace to my dissolution, hold out faith and patience, your work is nearly over." Then, shaking them all by the hand, he said, "Make sure of heaven; keep in mind what I have formerly delivered to you. The doctrines I have preached amongst you these twenty years is the truth of God, as I shall answer at the tribunal of Christ, before whom I am on the point of appearing." This he spoke while the very pangs of death were upon him. A dear friend, taking him by the hand, asked if he felt much pain. "Truly no (said he), not so much as I feel from the coldness of your hand;" and instantly expired, December 16th, 1631, aged fifty-nine years.

Mr Nicholas Estwick, who preached his funeral sermon, says, "That the Lord had enriched him with a great measure of grace, and that his life was a copy of the doctrines he taught: That he was sober, righteous, and godly, and, in every respect, irreprouceable in all the various relations, of a minister, a father, a husband, a brother, or as a member of the community: That he was a hard student and faithful labourer in the work of the gospel. A great man, says he, has fallen in our Israel, whose loss will be severely felt, and long lamented. His wife has lost a gracious husband; his children, a loving father and gracious guardian; ministers, a grave and learned brother; the poor, a liberal benefactor, a wise instructor, and a gracious friend; and the whole land will feel the loss of a zealous wrestler with God for the continuation and promotion of their happiness."

The Oxford historian styles him a most religious and learned puritan, a painful preacher, and full of good works. He was so expert in the Greek language, that he could dispute or write in it with the same ease as in Latin or English. Fuller says, he was one of a thousand for piety, wisdom, and stedfastness; while Echard denominates him a great and shining light of the puritan party, justly celebrated for his singular learning and piety. His eloquent and invaluable writings will be read with pleasure and advantage, and perpetuate his memory so long as the English language is understood. His style is lofty, in some instances rather approaching the bombast; but, generally speaking, his expressions are magnificent, and often sublime. The

beauties of imagination are, however, most apparent in his *Four Last Things*. There never had been a minister in the county of Northampton who either lived more beloved, or died more lamented than Mr Bolton. His remains were interred in the chancel of Broughton church, and a flood of tears shed over his grave, where his half length figure is erected, with his hands raised in the attitude of prayer, and underneath a monumental inscription upon black marble.

---

### NATHANIEL BERNARD, A. M.

THIS courageous and much persecuted puritan divine was educated at Emanuel college, Cambridge; after which he was lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, where he was subjected to peculiar sufferings under the prelatical tyranny of bishop Laud. In preaching at St. Atholin's church, May 3d, 1629, having used the following expression in his prayer before sermon: "Oh! open the eyes of the queen's majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ whom she hath pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry;" for which expression he was summoned by Laud to appear before the high commission at Lambeth, where, after long attendance, and having made his humble submission, he was dismissed; which, however, was considered an act of great mercy and moderation in that imperious court. Again, in the month of May 1632, in a sermon, preached at St. Mary's church, Cambridge, he spoke in favour of maintaining purity in the worship of God, and deprecated the introduction of Arminianism and popish superstitions into the church of Christ. Here again the active Laud had him cited before the commission. On Mr Bernard's appearance, he was constrained to produce, before the court, a copy of his sermon, who objected to the following passages: "God's ordinances, for his public worship, are the glory of any nation. By God's ordinances here, said Mr Bernard, I understand chiefly the word, sacraments, and prayer, which, when blended with any adulterous innovations, cease to be the ordinances of Christ, or recognized by him. It is not the nominal possession of the ordinances of Christ, but their possession in purity and reality, that constitutes the glory of a nation. The possession of the ordinances of God, in their purity, are a shield and buckler, and a rock of defence against public ruin and desolation. For the proof of this, I challenge all records, ancient or modern, human or divine, to produce one instance wherein God has punished any part of his church with national ruin till they had first departed from, or corrupted his ordinances. And if so, how

foolish must it be for some men to think so meanly of the ordinances of their omnipotent Lord and lawgiver, who has announced himself also as the universal judge. Such men turn their own, and the glory of their nation and church into infamy and disgrace; and yet there is amongst us a generation of profane men, who seem to despise these holy ordinances. Men who are afraid or ashamed to preach twice on a Lord's day; ashamed to preach plainly, powerfully, or spiritually, lest, forsooth, they should be branded with the name of puritans." But Laud's principal objection was to the following conclusion of Mr Bernard's sermon: "It is impossible, I say impossible, for any, who live in the faith and practice of the popish church, and die without repentance, to be saved, as the late Tridentine Council have decreed. My reason is, that whoever imagines he may enter heaven by any other gate than by faith in the merit of Christ only, must, and will assuredly be disappointed; and that the popish devotee, who rests his salvation on the merit of alms, pilgrimages, and penances, will find he has trusted to a broken reed. Furthermore, if God's ordinances of public worship, in their divine purity, be the glory of a nation; then it follows, as a necessary consequence, that whoever goes about either to rob a nation of these ordinances, or defile them by mixtures of human invention, do what they can to render the nation base and inglorious, and, by so doing, to expose it to the displeasure of God, and consequently either to his Fatherly chastisement, or to that sweeping destruction, ruin, and desolation, which he has threatened, and which he has invariably executed upon these nations who despise, reject, or corrupt his divine institutions. In what light then are we to consider these corrupters? As patriots or friends to their native country? No, surely, but as enemies of God, and traitors to the community in which they live. Hereby we may learn how to account of those amongst ourselves (if any such there be), who endeavour to quench the light, and diminish the glory of our Israel, by intermingling their pelagian errors with the doctrines of our church established by law, and their antichristian superstitions with our christian worship. Such as high altars, crucifixes, bowing down to them and worshipping them, whereby they shamefully symbolize with the church of Rome, to the irreparable shipwreck of many precious souls. How can we think such men are not the enemies of this church and nation? I say, enemies they are, and as such let us take up arms against them. But what arms? The prayers of the church are the arms of the church; let us therefore pray these men either to conversion, if it be the will of God, or to destruction; and let us use that prayer against them that David used against Ahitophel, with

which I shall conclude. O Lord, turn the counsel of all these Ahitophels into folly, who labour to lay the honour and glory of this church and nation in the dust, by depriving us of the purity of thine ordinances of public worship, which are the bulwarks of our security, and the glory of our national strength."

For these expressions in his sermon, Mr Bernard was sentenced, by the high commission, to be suspended, excommunicated, fined one thousand pounds, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to new prison; where, for six months, he was most barbarously used, and nearly starved. It was in vain that he remonstrated with the bishop in several letters. This honest, but injured individual, could obtain no redress unless he would defile his conscience with a public and most debasing recantation, which he was commanded to make before the same congregation to whom he delivered the objectionable sermon. This he absolutely refused. He would not sacrifice the testimony of a good conscience, deny the most glaring matters of fact, and reject the counsel of God against himself, whatever might be the consequences. In his letters to Laud, though he expressed his sorrow for any unbecoming expressions in his sermon, he was told he had no favour to expect, nothing would appease the wrath of the angry prelate but a recantation agreeable to the contemptible form prescribed; which must for ever have degraded the man beneath the basest of the brute creation. He was therefore detained in prison, where, after languishing a long time, he died, and, by his death, has consigned the memory of this prelatical monster to an immortality of execration.

#### LAURENCE CHADDERTON, D. D.

MR CHADDERTON was born in Lancashire, 1537, a descendant of a very wealthy family. He was brought up in the popish religion; and his father, intending him for the law, sent him to the inns of court; but he soon renounced the religion of his father, became a protestant, forsook the study of the law, and entered at Christ-college, Cambridge, 1564. Having thus changed his religion, and fixed himself in the university, he acquainted his father with these circumstances, and requested some pecuniary support. But his father, indignant at his religious choice, not only refused him any support, but also disinherited him of considerable estates; and, as a farther demonstration of the strength of his resentment, sent him a pock, with a groat in it, that he might go a-begging. Though thus unfeelingly abandoned by his parents, he was much comforted by these words

of the Psalmist, "When my father and mother forsake me, then will the Lord take me up." Young Chadderton, though cast off by his unnatural parents, still continued at the university, with the most inflexible adherence to his studies, and became so eminent a scholar, that, in three years, he was chosen fellow of his college. In 1576 he had a public dispute with Dr. Baro, the Margaret professor, upon his Arminian tenets; on which occasion he displayed great learning, piety, and moderation. He afterwards took an active part in the proceedings of the university against Baro and Baret, and united with others in addressing certain letters to the chancellor of the university. For the space of sixteen years he continued lecturer to one of the churches in Cambridge, in which his holy, learned, and judicious sermons became a blessing to the place. October 26th, 1578, he preached the sermon at Paul's cross; which, it appears, was the only article he ever published. About this time he was appointed, by parliament, to be preacher at the middle Temple, and have a salary of twenty pounds a year, to be raised by the contributions of the house. In 1584, when Sir Walter Mildmay founded Emanuel college, he made choice of Mr Chadderton to be the first master. But his modesty made him reluctant in undertaking the charge. Sir Walter, however, told him, that unless he would acquiesce with his wishes, he would not proceed. If you will not condescend to be master, said he, I will not be the founder; on which he complied, and continued in the office thirty-eight years. Amongst many distinguished characters, who had been Chadderton's pupils, William Bedell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, was one. This learned prelate always paid the highest respect for his venerable tutor. After Bedell was made provost of Dublin college, and introduced to a friendly correspondence with the celebrated Usher, he could not make mention of his name without sensations of pleasure and esteem. "The arts of dutiful obedience, and also of just ruling, in part (says he), I did, for seventeen years, endeavour to learn under the good father Chadderton, in a well tempered society. Of the cunning tricks of packing, siding, bandying, and skirmishing with and between great men, I confess myself ignorant, and now I am too old to be taught."

In 1622 the doctor resigned his mastership to the famous Dr. Preston, lest his successor should be a man of Arminian principles. He lived, however, to see Dr. Sancroft, and after him Dr. Howldsworth, in the same office. Dr. Chadderton was a decided puritan, though a man of great moderation. He joined the classical associations, and subscribed the book of discipline. In 1603 he was nominated by king James to attend the conference at Hampton court; and, on account of his great

learning, he was also nominated by his majesty for one of the *translators* of the *present version* of the Bible. He died Nov. 13th, 1640, in the hundred and third year of his age. His remains were interred in St. Andrew's church, Cambridge, when Dr. Howldsworth preached his funeral sermon, in which he gives him a very large and deserved commendation.

---

### HENRY BURTON, D. B.

THIS very extraordinary sufferer, in the cause of non-conformity, was born at Birdsall in Yorkshire, 1579, and educated at Cambridge. His first employment, after leaving the university, was that of tutor to the sons of lord Carey, at Leppington. He was afterwards clerk of the closet to prince Henry; and after his death, to prince Charles, whom he was appointed to accompany in his visit to the court of Spain; but, for reasons unknown, he was set aside, even after some of his travelling equipage had been put on board for the voyage. On the accession of Charles to the throne, Burton expected to have been continued in his office. Here, however, he was disappointed, and his place bestowed on Neile, bishop of Durham. Burton was highly offended at being thus supplanted; and, in April 1623, presented a letter to king Charles, remonstrating against Neile and Laud, his majesty's constant attendants, as being strongly inclined to popery; which was certainly lamentably true. Nevertheless, Burton's remonstrance was considered as the malevolent effects of disappointed hopes by his enemies; while he, on the other hand, charges the bishop with supplanting him by hypocrisy and envy. "But (says he) it was thus happily ordered by the good providence of God, who would not suffer me to rise at court, lest I should have been corrupted by its preferments." Mr Burton, being a man who feared no antagonist, when cited before Laud, treated him more like a school-boy than a learned bishop. He was convened before the high commission for his book, entitled, *Babel no Bethel*. Harsnet, archbishop of York, railed himself out of breath against it and its author. But Burton confounded him with the sharpness of his reply. Becoming more and more disgusted with the increasing usurpations, and tyrannical government of the prelates, and their attempts to restore the antichristian superstitions of Rome, he purposely preached, from the second chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians, and fearlessly attacked the ceremonies of the church, denouncing all will-worship, and every species of human invention in the service of God. "I began (says he) to fall off from the ceremonies by degrees, watching for an oppor-

tunity to try it out, either by dint of argument, or by law; and, in case of failing in these, I had resolved to appeal to the king and his council, determined either to foil my adversaries, though I had but small hopes of this, or at least to discover the mystery of iniquity and hypocrisy, which, like a veil of piety, they had hung over their tyrannical proceedings. I saw, with sorrow, how they were daily gaining ground on the hearts of the credulous and simple, by their subtle pretensions that all their measures were for the protection of the protestant religion, while they were labouring to undermine and overturn it, and while the withered whore of Babylon, who at first made her appearance in a protestant garb, began to show her painted face in all the superstitious services of the altar. Not satisfied with the mere introduction of popery, their endeavours were also directed to the overthrow of the good laws and liberties of the nation, and the introduction of arbitrary and despotic government." How truly Mr Burton has characterised the leading ecclesiastics of that period, the History of England will sufficiently attest.

But Mr Burton, in proportion to the boldness and truth of his strictures on the measures adopted by the prelates, felt the weight of their implacable resentment, but especially that of bishop Laud. In 1626 he was convened before the high commission; but, on this occasion, the judges interposed, and granted a prohibition; in consequence of which, he, for this time, escaped from the fangs of these devouring beasts of prey. Having published a book, entitled, *The Baiting of the Pope's Bull, or the Unmasking of the Mystery of Iniquity*, folded up in a most pernicious Bull, lately arrived from Rome, with the design of causing a rent in England, by which his holiness might re-enter. Notwithstanding that this book was wholly directed against the pope, and licensed by Dr. Goad, Mr Burton, the author, was cited before the council, by the instigation of Laud, who spoke with vehemence against it, and denounced it a libel. After this Burton published another book, entitled, *The Pouring out of the Seven Vials*; for which this bloody prelate had him prosecuted in the high commission, and had the book suppressed; and when he published his book, entitled, *Babel no Bethel*, which was also wholly directed against the church of Rome, bishop Laud ordered his pursuivant to apprehend and commit him to the Fleet; where, contrary to the petition of rights, he refused bail when offered, suspended him from his benefice, and suppressed the publication; notwithstanding that one Chowney, who had published a defence of popery, and, in place of being punished, was not even questioned respecting the publication; which, instead of being suppressed, he

was permitted to dedicate to Laud, who favoured it with his prelatical patronage. Such was the conduct of this protestant bishop, who pretended be a pillar of the reformation from popery! The puritans, however, were not ignorant of his devices. Mr Burton, about the same time, also published his Trial of Private Devotions, and his Refutation of divers Arminian and Popish Errors, which had been broached by Montague, in his *Appello Cæsarem*; which were both called in, and suppressed by the severity of this papistical intolerant.

How long Mr Burton remained in the Fleet, under the bishop's suspension, we are unable to state. He was afterwards set at liberty; but this was only the commencement of his sufferings, a small earnest of what was yet in reserve for the trial of his patience and fortitude. For having preached two sermons at his own church, in Friday Street, on the 5th November 1636, from Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change," &c.; in which discourses he exhibited, in their natural colours, the late innovations in doctrine, worship, and ceremonies, and warned his people against being tainted with their antichristian leaven. Dr. Laud, now the archbishop of Canterbury, being apprised of the nature of these sermons, caused articles to be exhibited against Mr Burton in the high commission court, and summoned him to answer them, before Dr. Duck, without waiting till term time. On his appearance, he was charged with having spoken against turning communion tables into altars, against bowing to the altar, against setting up crucifixes, against saying the second service at the altar, and against prohibiting the afternoon sermon on the Lord's day. In addition to these *dreadful enormities*, he was also charged with having said, that ministers could not preach the doctrines of free grace but at the risk of the severest censures; and that the ministers in Norfolk and Suffolk were suspended for their non-conformity to the rites and ceremonies, which had been imposed upon them contrary to the laws of the land. These charges having been declared sedition by the court, Mr Burton was required to answer, upon his oath, and so become his own accuser; which he positively refused, and appealed to the king. His appeal, however, availed him nothing. In fifteen days after, he was summoned, by Laud's authority, to appear before a special court of commission, where, in his absence, he was suspended from his office and benefice, and a warrant issued out for his apprehension. Thus oppressed on every side, Mr Burton formed the bold resolution of shutting himself up in his house; and, in the meantime, that the impartial world might have an opportunity of deciding on the merits of the whole case, he published

his two objected sermons, under the title, "For God and the King, the sum of two sermons, preached on the 5th of November last, in St. Matthew's, Friday Street, London, with an apology for an appeal addressed to the king, the lords of council, and the learned Judges." But the pursuivants of the commission, not daring to break open Mr Burton's doors, the archbishop, with the bishop of London, and several others, drew up a warrant, and put it into the hands of one Dandy, a serjeant at arms, who, accompanied by the sheriff of London, and a number of other armed officers, went the same evening to Burton's house, in Friday Street, and, between the hours of ten and eleven at night, forcibly broke open his doors, and, taking him into custody, seized on whatever books or papers they pleased. In place, however, of being taken before the lords, as the warrant expressed, he was next day committed close prisoner in the Fleet, by virtue of a different warrant, without assigning any cause for such illegal procedure.

During the time of Burton's confinement in the Fleet, two anonymous publications were put into circulation; one of them, entitled, *A Divine Tragedy*, exhibiting a catalogue of God's judgments upon Sabbath breakers; the other, *News from Ipswich*; in which the innovations and merciless severity of the prelates were held up to public indignation, particularly the intolerant measures of bishop Wren of Norwich. These were supposed to have been written by Mr William Prynne, the lawyer. Dr. John Bastwick having also published a book, entitled, *Apologeticus ad Præsules Anglicanos*, and a pamphlet, called, *The New Litany*. These three prisoners, Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, were prosecuted in the star-chamber for writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books against the hierarchy, and to the scandal of the government. This is the substance of their indictment. These writers had taxed the bishops with a perpetual itching after the gaudy ceremonies, and an incurable inclination to return to the exploded absurdities of the Roman church, with bitter exclamations against the severity, partiality, and injustice of the high commission court. And the impatience and resentment of these dignitaries would not suffer such invectives to go for nothing.

When these three defendants had prepared their several answers to their indictments, no counsel could be obtained to sign them, for fear of the wrath of these domineering prelates. This being the case, they presented a petition to the court, praying to receive them with their own signatures; which was most inhumanely refused them. Mr Prynne and Dr. Bastwick having no other alternative, left their answers at the office,

signed by their own hands; which availed them nothing, they being proceeded against *pro confessio*. Mr Burton prevailed upon Mr Holt, a learned and aged bencher of Gray's inn, to sign his answer; but the court ordered every thing deemed unfit to be brought into court to be expunged; accordingly, they struck out the whole answer, consisting of forty sheets of paper, with the exception of a few lines at the beginning, and a few more at the end; and because Mr Burton would not acknowledge it in this mutilated form, they proceeded against him also *pro confessio*.

These three prisoners being brought to the bar, June 14th, 1637, they offered to defend their answers at the peril of their lives; but the court, finding they were not filed on the record, refused to admit them. They cried aloud for justice, and demanded, as free-born Englishmen, that their answers should be read. This was peremptorily refused. After Prynne and Blastwick had been examined, the judges proceeded next to the case of Mr Burton, as follows:

*Lord Keeper.* Mr Burton, What say you?

*Mr Burton.* My good lords, notwithstanding that we have laboured to give your honours all possible satisfaction, it appears you are determined to censure us, and to take our cause *pro confessio*. What, my lords, have you to say against my book? I frankly acknowledge it is mine; I wrote it, but by no means with the intention of raising a commotion, or stirring up sedition in the country, as charged against me. I have delivered nothing in these sermons but what arose from my text, which was chosen to suit the day on which it was delivered, being the 5th of November; and I stand here ready to vindicate every sentence delivered on that occasion.

*L. K.* Mr Burton, I pray you do not stand upon naming texts of scripture at present; we did not send for you to preach, but to answer to those things that are objected against you.

*B.* I have drawn up my answer with much pains and considerable expence; which answer was signed by my counsel's hand, and received into this court agreeable to the rule and order thereof; so that I had no reason to expect that I should be thus called to a censure, but to a legal proceeding by bill and answer.

*L. K.* Your answer was impertinent.

*B.* The matter is truly astonishing, my lord. My answer was legally entered in the court, and I should like to know on what ground it was thrown out, and by what authority my defence against groundless charges, maliciously brought against me, was thus unjustly set aside. It was first approved, Why was it afterwards pronounced impertinent? And, being ap-

proved of, it was received into the court—Why was it afterwards rejected? Justice requires that I should be apprised of the cause of such preposterous procedure.

*Lord Finch.* The judges did you a good turn to make it impertinent, for your answer was as libellous as your book.

*L. K.* What say you, Mr Burton? Are you guilty or not?

*B.* My lord, I desire you to peruse the whole of my book, not a passage here and there, but throughout.

*L. K.* Time is short, Mr Burton. Are you guilty, or not guilty? What say you to that which has been read? Does it become a minister to deliver himself in such a railing and scandalous manner?

*B.* It is highly becoming a minister of Christ to deliver the truths of his holy word. It is highly becoming a watchman to blow the trumpet of alarm when he sees the enemy approaching; and it well becomes the physician to prescribe bitter potions to his patient when mild ones are found utterly inefficient. Spiritually considered, a minister is the instructor, the watchman, and physician of his flock, and responsible for the faithful discharge of his duty in these various capacities. If, therefore, my sermons correspond with the word of God, and the ministerial duties therein prescribed, as I humbly presume, and I am ready to prove they do—Then what censure becomes necessary? Surely none. In these days of reviving superstition and increasing heresy, it were more becoming the dignitaries of the church to encourage the preachers of the gospel, than thus to harass and discourage them in the discharge of these important duties. With respect to my answer to your allegations, you have very unjustly blotted out every sentence that you considered available to my exculpation, and retained merely what you found less opposed to your tyrannical proceedings; and now you require me to relinquish all that bears against your intolerance, and recognise that alone which answers your own ends and purposes; but, be assured, my lord, before I will thus meanly desert either my cause or my conscience, I will sooner desert this mortal body of mine, and consign it to the arbitrary disposal of your lordships.

*L. K.* This is a place where you ought to crave mercy and favour, Mr Burton, and not stand on such bold terms.

*B.* Wherein I have offended, in human frailty, I crave pardon, both of God and man; and I pray God, that in deciding on this case, you may so conduct yourselves as not to sin against your own souls.—Mr Burton was proceeding farther to defend himself, when he was interrupted, and commanded to be silent; while the following horrible sentence was pronounced against him and his injured associates:

“That Burton shall be deprived of his ecclesiastical benefice, degraded from his ministerial functions and degrees in the university, as Prynne and Bastwick have been from their degrees of law and physic. They shall be fined each *five thousand pounds*. They shall stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off; and because Prynne has already lost his ears, by sentence of the court in 1633, the remainder of the stumps shall be cut off, and he shall be stigmatized on both his cheeks with the letters S. L. for a Seditious Libeller; and they shall suffer perpetual imprisonment in three of the remotest prisons of the kingdom, namely, in Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster castles.”

Prior to the execution of this barbarous sentence, Burton's parishioners presented a petition to the king, subscribed by a great number of respectable individuals, earnestly entreating his majesty to pardon and liberate their beloved minister. It was presented by two of their number, who were instantly imprisoned for their officiousness. The sentence of court was executed on these three men on the 30th June, with evident marks of unfeeling brutality. The hangman, sawing off the remainder of Prynne's ears, rather than cutting them. The sufferers belonged to the three most reputable professions; and their characters, in their several faculties, were none of the meanest; yet have they been traduced, and meanly insulted by some bigoted historians, with the unworthy epithets of *fellows, pillory-men, stigmatized scoundrels, &c.* These victims of prelatical vengeance had, nevertheless, the pleasure of living to see, that the cruel inflictions of their enemies procured them more honour than falls to the share of the boasted ensignia of the star and garter. These honourable scars, obtained in defending the noble cause of religious liberty, pointed them out to the admiration of mankind, as heroes of the most inflexible integrity and unperishable renown; while their enemies, and merciless persecutors, have exposed themselves to the unqualified reprobation of every person of ordinary sensibility.

On passing this unchristian sentence, archbishop Laud made a long and laboured speech, with the design of vindicating himself from the charge of innovation, with which he was universally branded by the puritans. In this speech, which was addressed to the lords constituting the court, he says, “I can clearly and truly aver, as in the presence of God, that I have done nothing as a prelate, but with a single heart, and with a sincere intention for the good government and honour of the church, and also for the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Christ, professed, established, and maintained in this church of England.” Here the reader will judge for himself

how far the declaration and the practice of this unmerciful and domineering churchman are consistent with one another, and whether the archbishop has not added to his relentless cruelty the most shameful hypocrisy. "I heartily thank you all (continues he) for your just and honourable censure upon these men, and your unanimous dislike to them." These suffering individuals were charged with writing seditious libels, although their writings are wholly directed against popery, and the prelatial leaders, who were aiming at its restoration; which renders themselves the only seditious persons concerned in the affair; and therefore to pronounce a sentence so disproportioned to the supposed offence against others, while they alone were the transgressors, stands a lasting disgrace on their characters, as ministers of Christ, and even as men.

On the morning appointed for executing this terrible sentence, Mr Burton, being brought to Westminster, and beholding the pillory erected in palace yard, he said, "My wedding day was not half so welcome to me as this. What makes it more peculiarly joyful, is the cheering thought that the Captain of my salvation has led the way. He gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; nor hid himself from shame and spitting. The Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded. If Christ was not ashamed of a cross for me, shall I be ashamed of a pillory for him—Never!" Being fastened in the pillory, he addressed the immense crowd of spectators to the following import: "Men of England, I am brought here for a spectacle to men and angels, and notwithstanding that I am doomed thus to suffer the punishment of a rogue, yet, unless it be a faithful service to Christ, and a loyal subjection to the king, that constitutes a rogue, I am clear from the malevolent charge. If, however, to be Christ's faithful servant, and the king's loyal subject, deserve such punishment as this, I glory in it, and bless God that I have a clear and approving conscience. I rejoice that he hath accounted me worthy of these sufferings; and in his loving-kindness, and tender mercy, has filled my soul with comfort and great consolation." With a grave and cheerful countenance he added, "I have never been in such a pulpit before; but who knows what fruit God is able to produce from this dry tree. Through these holes (meaning the pillory) God can give light to his church. The conscientious discharge of my ministerial duty, in admonishing my people against the creeping in of popery, and in exhorting them to a dutiful obedience to God and the king, constitutes the crime for which I now suffer. The truths which I have preached, however, I am ready to seal with my blood; and this is my crown of rejoicing

here, and shall be hereafter." When taken from the pillory, he was again brought on the scaffold, where the executioner cut off his ears in a very coarse and barbarous manner. They were paired so close, that, the temporal artery being cut, the blood gushed in torrents from the wounds; the sight of which awakened the sensibility, as well as the indignation and the cries of an immense crowd of spectators. While his blood was thus streaming in every direction, Mr Burton manifested the greatest coolness and composure, saying, "Blessed be God, it is well; be content, my soul, and suffer all with patience. Pain is the harbinger of pleasure; and sorrow, like the night, precedes the joys of morning; all shall yet be well." Mr Prynne and Dr. Bastwick had this bloody part of their sentences executed at the same time and place. The day preceding this execution, it was decreed, in the star-chamber, that Henry Burton shall be carried to Lancaster castle, William Prynne to Carnarvon castle, and John Bastwick to Launceston castle, and there suffer perpetual imprisonment, without being allowed any use of pen, ink, or paper, or any other book but the bible, the book of common prayer, and certain other books of devotion agreeable to the form of the church of England; and that no person have access to them. In consequence of this order, Dr. Bastwick was taken from the Gatehouse on the 26th July; the day following Mr Prynne was taken from the Tower; and, on the next day, Mr Burton from the Fleet—and, with their sores not yet cured, conveyed to their several places of confinement. As they passed out of the city, vast multitudes of people came forth to witness their departure, and take their last and sorrowful farewell. As Mr Burton passed from Smithfield to Brown's hill, a little beyond Highgate, it was calculated that not less than one hundred thousand persons were collected to witness his departure. His wife, attending him in a carriage, had great sums of money thrown to her as she passed along. But the liberty given to Burton and his fellow-sufferers to speak in the pillory, and the affection and compassion manifested by the populace, were extremely mortifying to the revengeful spirit of the malicious Laud; as appears from his letter to Wentworth, dated August 28th, 1637. "What say you to it (says the angry prelate), that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk whatever they pleased while standing in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of their speeches, and these notes circulated in written copies about the city; besides, when departing to their several imprisonments, that thousands were suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else. And I hear that Prynne was very much welcomed, both at Coventry

and West Chester, as he passed to Carnarvon." The tyrannical archbishop, not satisfied with the severities already inflicted and decreed to these unhappy sufferers, while they were yet on the way to their prisons, procured a fresh order, which he sent after them, containing a more rigorous imprisonment than the former; with a clause, however, in favour of the prisoners, namely, that his majesty will give allowance for their diet; which clause was over-ruled by the influence of these *pious* prelates, so that none of the prisoners ever received a penny of the royal allowance; and had not their friends, and even their keepers, been more humane than their lordships, they had starved in their cells. But numbers of generous and sympathising individuals having resorted to the places of their confinement, the relentless archbishop, that he might add affliction to their bonds, and preclude all possibility of their receiving comfort or relief from their wives or other relatives, procured yet another order; by virtue of which they were banished to the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly, there to be kept in close and perpetual imprisonment. Burton was accordingly removed from Lancaster castle to castle Cornet, in the island of Guernsey, where he arrived on the 15th December 1637. He was shut up in a low narrow dark room, and almost suffocated for want of air, and no person permitted to see or speak with him. Dr. Bastwick was likewise removed to the castle in the island of Scilly, and Prynne to the castle of Montorguill, in the island of Jersey, and made close prisoners. Independent of all the numerous acts of tyranny, and unrelenting cruelty, exercised by this prelate, his cool, deliberate, persevering, and implacable vengeance, and the ingenuity by which it was exercised against these three respectable gentlemen, seems to demonstrate that he possessed the malignity of a devil, but wanted the feelings of a man. He not only rejoiced over his victims, but grudged them even the pity and sympathising commiseration of their friends and neighbours. To find a more hateful character, all things considered, would be a task of uncommon difficulty. The annals of the Spanish Inquisition cannot produce his superior, nor those of the veriest barbarians his equal; so that his memory must, of necessity, be associated with perpetual execration.

These three prisoners remained in the foresaid remote islands till the year 1640. During this period Mrs Bastwick and Mrs Burton had often petitioned his majesty and the lords of council for liberty to visit them, or to live on the islands, or even to be close confined along with them; but by the influence of Laud, their petitions were always rejected. Though Laud could never be prevailed upon to forgive these men, the holy

tyrant said, "He humbly besought God to forgive them!" Mr Prynne, however, obtained some small mitigation of his afflictions, in consequence of a petition presented to the king by Sir Thomas Jermin, the governor of Jersey. He was therefore allowed to attend divine service, and walk in the garden along with his keeper; but the implacable Laud, on hearing of this royal indulgence, was enraged even to madness; and sending for Hungerford, who had been the means of procuring it, had him convened before the council.

This same year, 1640, in consequence of a petition from Mrs Burton and Mrs Bastwick, the prisoners were called home by an order of parliament, that the complaints of the petitioners might be investigated. Agreeable to the order of the house they returned. Burton and Prynne arrived at Dartmouth in the same vessel, on the 22d November, where they were received and entertained with every demonstration of enthusiastic regard. On their journey they were attended with a prodigious concourse of people, and not only treated with great magnificence, but had liberal presents bestowed on them. The inhabitants of every town, through which they passed, came out in multitudes to meet them, and rent the air with acclamations of joy, attending them till met by the inhabitants of the next town. As they approached the metropolis, the inhabitants came forth to meet them, and congratulate them on their safe return, in astonishing multitudes. The road betwixt Brentford and London was so choked up with coaches, horses, and pedestrians, that they could, with great difficulty, advance one mile in the hour. On entering London, the streets were wedged up with such an amazing conflux of the people, that they were almost three hours in passing from Charing-cross to their lodgings within Temple-bar. The populace carried lighted torches before them, strewed the way with flowers, put rosemary and bays in their hats, and, as they went along, with joyful acclamations, shouted, *Welcome home! Welcome home!!* On the 30th Nov. being two days after their arrival in London, Burton appeared before the house of commons, and, on the fifth of the same month, presented his petition, entitled, "The Humble Petition of Henry Burton, late exile, and close prisoner in Castle Cornet, in the island of Jersey." In this petition he enumerates the merciless sufferings to which he was subjected, and concludes by recommending his case to the impartial consideration of the house. On the presentation of this petition, together with numbers of similar import, a committee was appointed to investigate and decide upon their authenticity, and to report. Accordingly, on the 12th March following, Mr Rigby delivered the report of the committee; upon which the house passed the

following resolutions: "That the four commissioners, Dick, Worrel, Sams, and Wood, proceeded unjustly and illegally when they suspended Mr Burton from his office and benefice for not appearing on the summons of the first process: That the breaking up of Mr Burton's house, and arresting his person without any cause shewed, and before any suit depended in the star-chamber against him, and his close imprisonment thereupon, are against the law and the liberty of the subject: That John Wragg hath offended, in searching the books and papers of Mr Burton, under colour of a general warrant dormant from the high commissioners; and that the warrant is against the law and the liberty of the subject: That serjeant Dandy and Alderman Abel have offended in breaking up the house of Mr Burton, and ought to make reparation respectively for the same: That Mr Burton ought to have reparation and recompense for the damages sustained for the foresaid proceedings of Mr Dick and others, who suspended him from his office and benefice: That the warrant from the council-board, dated Whitehall, February 2d, 1637, for committing Mr Burton close prisoner, and the commitment thereupon, is illegal and contrary to the liberty of the subject: That the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the earl of Arundel and Surrey, the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Sir H. Vane, Sir J. Coke, Sir Francis Windebank, do make reparations to Mr Burton for the damages sustained by this imprisonment." On the 24th of the same month, Mr Burton's case was again brought before the house, when it was farther resolved, "That the sentence in the star-chamber is illegal, and without any just ground, and ought to be reversed; and that he ought to be freed from the fine of five thousand pounds, and the imprisonment imposed upon him by said sentence, and he restored to his degrees in the university, orders in the ministry, and to his ecclesiastical benefice in Friday Street, London: That the order of the council-board, for transferring Mr Burton from Lancaster to the island of Guernsey, and his imprisonment there, are against the law and the liberty of the subject; and therefore that the said Mr Burton ought to have reparation and recompense for the damages thereby sustained, the loss of his ears, and his other sufferings." On the 20th April, the house of commons voted, that Mr Burton should receive six thousand pounds for the damages he had sustained; but the confusion of the times prevented him from receiving the money. On the 8th of June following, by an order of the house, he was restored to his former ministry and benefice in Friday Street. Bastwick and Mr Prynne had similar resolutions passed in their favour.

On Mr Burton's restoration, he formed a church after the

model of the Independents; and it appears he had greatly prospered in his ministry. He is said to have been a severe disciplinarian, who prohibited all immoral characters from communicating; but toward the close of his life, he became more moderate. He died in January 1647, aged sixty-eight years.

Most of our historians, of high church principles, have not ceased to calumniate the labours, and deride the sufferings, of this zealous and determined puritan divine. Some of them have not been ashamed to assert, that the merciless and inhuman inflictions, and cruel imprisonments, that he and his fellow-sufferers received, were both just and necessary; but the general feelings of sorrow and regret at their departure from London, and the triumphant rejoicings of the people on their return from exile, as narrated above, show that their sufferings were considered both unjust and unnecessary by the great body of the people: That the indignity and severity of their sentence gave general offence; insomuch that they were no longer regarded as criminals, but as martyrs to the cause of truth and the liberty of conscience; while the sufferings of these, and an incredible number of other good and loyal subjects, all for their non-conformity to the useless and idolatrous ceremonies, pressed upon the consciences of men by the despotic power and bigotry of the prelatical dignitaries, stands an imperishable monument of disgrace to the rulers of that period, both in church and state. Mr Hume has laboured to whitewash the character of Charles I. He extols him for sincerity, humanity, and almost every species of princely virtue; but his great talents have been thrown away on a subject where irreversible facts negative his assertions, and demonstrate, that the subject of his panegyric was neither a man of prudence nor a man of feeling. With regard to Laud \*, his character is any thing but what we are taught to expect from a minister of the Prince of Peace—proud and overbearing, cruel and vindictive. After influencing the court to pass a cruel and unmerited sentence on one of the ministers who had fearlessly and successfully opposed him in his career of cruelty, he took off his hat, and, in open court, thanked almighty God, who had given him satisfaction on his enemy. In forwarding the arbitrary measures of his Master, he trampled down every law, both human and divine; and his name will occupy a prominent place in the annals of cruelty, hypocrisy, and lordly oppression, to the end of time.

Mr Burton's works, in addition to those already mentioned, are, 1. Censure of Simony—2. Israel's Fast—3. Truth's Triumph

\* Whole length portraits of archbishop Laud and Mr Burton were published in one print; in which the prelate is represented as vomiting up his own works, while Burton is holding his head. The print is extremely scarce and curious.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.*

over Trent—4. The Law and the Gospel Reconciled—5. The Christian's Bulwark—6. Exceptions against Dr. Jackson's Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes—7. Jesu Worship, or the bowing to the name of Jesus confuted—8. The Sounding of the Last Trumpets—9. The Protestation Protested—10. England's Bondage, and her hopes of deliverance, a Sermon, preached before the Parliament—11. Narration of his own Life—12. A Vindication of Independent Churches—13. Parliament's Power for making Laws in Religion—14. Truth shut out of doors—15. Truth still Truth, although shut out of doors—16. Conformity Deformity—17. Relation of Mr Chilingworth.

---

### THOMAS HOOKER.

THIS devout puritan divine was born at Marfield, Leicestershire, in 1586, and received academical education in Emanuel college, Cambridge, of which he soon became a fellow, and acquitted himself, in discharging the duties of this office, with so much ability and faithfulness, that his services were crowned with universal admiration and applause. During his abode at Cambridge, he was brought under such serious reflections on his sinful and miserable estate, and to such a deep sense of his unworthiness, that he was forced frequently to exclaim with the Psalmist, "While I suffer thy terrors, O Lord, I am distracted." Having laboured under the spirit of bondage for a considerable time, the light and consolations of the gospel shone into his troubled soul, and he became powerfully disposed to heavenly meditations. In consequence of this happy change, he addicted himself to select some particular promise of scripture on which to meditate when he retired to rest; and found so much spiritual improvement and satisfaction thereby, that he strongly recommended the adoption of a similar practice.

Mr Hooker having experienced, that the path of wisdom is also the path of pleasure and peace, resolved to devote his time and talents to the work of the gospel, and forthwith commenced preaching in London and its vicinity. He soon became admired for his ministerial endowments, particularly in comforting the disconsolate who laboured under mental discouragement. In 1626, having been disappointed of a settlement much to his wishes at Colchester, he was chosen lecturer at Chelmsford, one Mr Mitchell being the incumbent. His lectures were very numerous attended; and the blessing of God accompanying his preaching, a remarkable reformation was soon apparent both in town and country. By the many public houses in the town, and the abominable custom of keeping the shops open on

the Lord's day, the inhabitants of Chelmsford were become notorious for dissipation and Sabbath-breaking; but Mr Hooker attacked these vices with so much pious and solemn severity, that in a short time Sabbath profanation, and habits of intemperance, gradually disappeared, and order and sobriety became so general, that it was accounted a disgrace to be seen either intoxicated on the streets, or yet to open their shops on the day appointed for religious services. His useful labours, however, were not long continued. About four years after commencing his lecture in this place, he found it impossible, without conforming to the national church, to continue his labours; he therefore gave up his pulpit and kept a school. But although the best and most delightful employment of this eminent servant of Christ was now gone, his influence was still employed in promoting the cause of his divine Master. He engaged the various ministers in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford to establish a monthly meeting, for fasting, prayer, and religious conference. By his influence several pious young ministers were also settled in the neighbourhood, and many others became more established in the doctrines of justification by faith in Christ Jesus. So very great was his popularity, that no less than forty-seven, even of the conforming ministers of his acquaintance, presented a petition to the bishop of London, testifying that Mr Hooker was a man whom they highly esteemed for his usefulness, his orthodox doctrine, and his blameless conversation; that he was of a quiet and peaceable disposition, and in no ways factious or turbulent—But all to no purpose, Mr Hooker being a conscientious puritan, the prelates could not be satisfied till his lamp was extinguished, and his voice condemned to silence. In the year 1630, he was bound, in a bond of fifty pounds, to appear before the high commission; which bond he forfeited rather than fall into the hands of the prelates, whose tender mercies were known to be cruelty.

To avoid the storm of persecution, then raging in the kingdom, Mr Hooker fled to Holland. He had scarcely got aboard the vessel, and under sail, when the enraged pursuivants arrived on the shore; but providentially too late to apprehend him. After arriving in Holland, he preached about two years at Delft, as assistant to Mr Forbes, an aged Scotch minister of great reputation. He was next called to Amsterdam, where he was employed for some time as colleague to the celebrated Dr. Ames. The greatest friendship subsisted between these learned divines. The doctor declared, that notwithstanding his acquaintance with many learned men of different nations, he had never found one like Mr Hooker, either as a preacher or a learned disputant. He assisted Dr. Ames in composing his

celebrated work, entitled, *A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in the Worship of God*. About this period a number of Hooker's friends in England warmly invited him to accompany them to America; and not finding Holland altogether to his wishes, he returned to his native country to prepare himself for the voyage. He was no sooner come to England, than the bishop's pursuivants were sent in search of him. At one time they knocked at the door of the very chamber in which he and Mr Samuel Stone were sitting in friendly conversation. Mr Stone came to the door, and the officers demanding, Whether Mr Hooker was not there? What Hooker? said Stone—Do you mean Hooker that was once at Chelmsford? Yes, replied the officers, that is the man. "If it be him you want (said Stone), I saw him about an hour ago at such a house in town." The officers went off in all haste, and Hooker concealed himself more cautiously, till he found an opportunity of getting on board in the Downs. He sailed for New England in 1633, and Mr Stone and Mr Cotton, both celebrated puritans, accompanied him in the same ship. Mr Hooker, on his arrival at Newton, afterwards called Cambridge, being most affectionately received by his old friends, who went over the preceding year, said, "Now I live, if ye stand fast in the faith of Christ."

Great numbers from England soon followed after these adventurers, so that Newton became too narrow for them; on which account Mr Hooker, in 1636, with many of his friends, removed to a delectable spot on the banks of the Connecticut river, which they called Hartford, where he lived the remainder of his days, and was respected as the father, the pillar, and the oracle of the new settlement. He was an animated and impressive preacher, not only his voice, but every feature spoke the ardour of his soul. In his descriptions, every thing was life and reality. His pulpit oratory was not that theatrical affectation which some men exhibit, who labour to catch the admiration of their audience. His impassioned addresses flowed from a heart captivated by the excellency of divine things, and an earnest desire to fix their importance on the hearts of others, and his faithful services were pre-eminently successful.

Some time after his settlement at Hartford, having to preach amongst his old friends at Newton, on a Lord's day, in the afternoon, his great celebrity had drawn together a vast concourse of people. When he began to preach, he found himself entirely at a loss what to say. He made several attempts to proceed, but found it impossible. He was therefore obliged to stop, and tell the congregation, that what he had prepared was taken from him; and requesting the audience to sing a psalm, he retired. On his return, he preached an admirable sermon,

and, with the most animating address, charmed his attentive audience for more than two hours. After sermon, some of his friends took notice of the circumstance, saying, "The Lord had withheld his assistance." To which Mr Hooker meekly replied, "We daily confess that we are nothing, and can do nothing without Christ; and if it please him sometimes to make this manifest before our congregations, must not we be humbly contented."

Mr Hooker considered outward ease and prosperity as the likeliest thing on earth for bringing the people of God into spiritual adversity. When at the Land's End, about to take a final leave of his native country, he said, "Farewell England, I no more expect to hear of that religious zeal and power of godliness which I have witnessed in thee heretofore. Adversity slays its thousands, but prosperity its ten thousands. I am much afraid, that those who have been zealous christians in the fire of persecution, will become luke-warm and cold in the lap of peace." He was a man of prayer, which he considered the principal work of a minister of the gospel. His public prayers were short, but fervent, and singularly adapted to the occasion. As he proceeded, his ardour usually increased, and closed in a rapture of devotion. Though Mr Hooker's natural temper was irascible, he acquired an astonishing command of his passions. The meanest of his brethren, even children, he treated with endearing kindness and condescension. A neighbour of his one time had sustained some damage, and Mr Hooker, meeting with a boy who was known to be mischievous, accused him, and warmly censured him for the transaction. The boy denied the charge; but still Mr Hooker continued his angry lecture. "Sir (said the boy), I see you are in a passion; I shall say no more till you have more patience to hear me;" and so ran off. But finding that the boy was not the aggressor, Mr Hooker sent for him, and acknowledged his fault. But notwithstanding of his condescension, he did not in the least degrade his ministerial function. When he entered the pulpit, he appeared with so much majesty and independence, that it was humourously said, he could put a king in his pocket. Judges, princes, or peasants, equally shared his pointed reproofs and solemn admonitions.

This heavenly-minded divine desired not to outlive his usefulness; and this desire was granted him. His last sickness was short; during which, when his opinion concerning certain points was asked, he replied, "I have not that work now to perform, I have declared the counsel of God." One of his brethren observing, that he was going to receive his reward; "Brother (said he), I am going to receive *mercy*;" afterwards he closed his eyes with his own hands, and, with a smile on his

countenance, expired, July. 7th, 1647, aged sixty-one years. He was, with much propriety, stiled the grave, the godly, faithful, judicious, and laborious Hooker. That peace of mind, which arose out of his faith in Christ, encouraged and supported him, for thirty years, in the ardent and indefatigable exercise of his ministerial duties, nor forsook him in the last mortal conflict.

Mr Henry Whitefield says concerning him, "I did not think there had been on earth a man in whom there shone forth so many incomparable excellencies, and in whom learning and genuine wisdom were so beautifully tempered, with purity, watchfulness, and zeal, according to knowledge." "For his pre-eminent abilities, and the glorious services he performed in both Englands (says Mr Ashe), he merits a place in the first rank of those worthies, Memoirs of whose lives and labours have perpetuated their memory." Fuller has honoured him with a place amongst the learned writers and fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge.

His works are, 1. The Soul's Implantation into Christ—2. The Unbeliever's Preparing for Christ—3. The Soul's Effectual Calling to Christ—4. The Soul's Humiliation—5. A Survey of the Sum of Christian Discipline—6. The Doubting Christian drawn to Christ—7. The Application of Redemption by the Word—8. The Spiritual Rule of Christ's Kingdom—9. Farewell Sermon, from Jer. xiv. 9. published in Mr Fenner's works; and perhaps some others.

---

### ROBERT BALSOM.

THIS pious and very courageous puritan divine was born at Shipton Montague in Somersetshire, and educated at New Inn Hall, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he was appointed assistant to Mr Richard Bernard of Batcombe, in his native county; and upon the death of this venerable divine, removed to Stoke, a village in the same neighbourhood; where, having laboured about two years, with much apparent advantage to the morality and religious feelings of the inhabitants, the confusion occasioned by the civil war obliged him to flee for safety, and take shelter in Warder castle, which, some short time after this, was besieged by the king's troops. At the solicitation of Colonel Ludlow he remained during the siege. Upon the capitulation of the place, Balsom, walking on the roof of the castle, overheard three soldiers say, "We have sworn on the bible to take the life of one in the castle." He asked them who they meant, if it was the minister? "Yes (said they), for he is a wizard, who, by his hellish art, has pro-

tracted the siege, by frequently supplying the castle with provision." This they told him, not knowing him to be the man.

The treaty concluded, and the enemy having entered, Mr Balsom was shut up in close prison, along with a soldier who was hanged the next morning. At midnight the key of the prison was put into the hands of these intended assassins, who entered the room, and (taking off their hats) stood at some distance, seemingly doubtful and undetermined; but said nothing. Mr Balsom, strongly suspecting their design, thus addressed them: "Friends, What is your business at this unseasonable hour? Are not you the men who have sworn to assassinate me?" With great agitation, one of them replied, "We have taken a wicked oath, God forgive us; but be not alarmed, for we will do you no harm." When Mr Balsom desired them to come forward, they urged him to make his escape, kindly offering him all the assistance in their power. But suspecting they might have some other evil design, he refused; and even after they had convinced him of their integrity, he still refused, saying, "I will rather endure all that God will permit them to inflict, than hazard your lives, who have thus befriended me." And so, to testify their esteem and their integrity, they conducted him into the fresh air; and having cleaned his room, departed.

Next morning a council was called to consider how they should dispose of their prisoner; and while they were debating about the propriety of putting him to death, one of the council stood up, and after pointing out the impolicy, and the gross injustice of the measure proposed, declared, that whatever might be the result of their deliberations, he, for one, was determined to keep his hands clean, and his conscience clear, of such wicked policy and unnecessary severity, and so left the room; so that the council came to no decisive result. Balsom was then removed to Salisbury, where, the same night, another council, picked for the occasion, were summoned; by whose sentence he was condemned to be hanged. Having thus received sentence of death, the sheriff of the county waited on him in prison, and, after a great deal of abusive language, told him to prepare for his execution at six o'clock next morning; assuring him, however, that provided he would ask pardon of the king, and attach himself to his service, he would not only be relieved from the sentence that hung over him, but that he might also have almost any preferment he had a mind to request. Mr Balsom, being a man of inflexible fortitude, replied, "To ask pardon, without being conscious of any offence, were to act the part of a fool; and to violate my conscience, were to make myself a knave; and if I had neither the hope of heaven, nor the fear of

hell, I would sooner die an honest man, than live either the one or the other." In the full expectation of execution, he rose next morning to prepare himself for his solemn exit. At six o'clock the officers arrived at the prison to bring him to the fatal gibbet; when suddenly the post arrived, just as he was preparing to come forth, with a reprieve from Sir Ralph Hopton; when, instead of death, he was forthwith carried to Winchester, where Sir Ralph resided. On entering the city, Sir William Ogle, the governor, said to Balsom, "I shall feed you with bread and water for two or three days, and then have you hanged;" but he fell into better hands. Being brought before Sir Ralph, after some familiar conversation relative to his espousing the cause of the parliament, and the principles on which he had acted, he was committed to prison, with this charge, "Keep this man safe; but use him well."

Mr Balsom, after having for some time remained in a state of confinement, was, by an express order, removed to Oxford, and committed prisoner to the castle, where he set up a lecture, preached twice every day, and was numerously attended, not only by the prisoners and soldiers, but by courtiers and townsmen. After having been once or twice prohibited, he told them, that if they were weary of him, and did not wish to be longer troubled with him, they might turn him out of doors whenever they had a mind; "for (said he), so long as I have a tongue to speak, and people to hear, I will not hold my peace." At length, by an exchange of prisoners, he recovered his liberty; and being sent for by the earl of Essex, he became chaplain in his army, and continued so during his command.

Mr Balsom was, after this, settled at Berwick, where he was regularly employed in his favourite work of preaching. In this situation he had the cordial affection of his people; and, by the blessing of heaven on his ministry, he had also the satisfaction of observing, that an important reformation in the manners and habits of the people had been effected by means of his labours amongst them. But having occasion to visit his own county, where he was seized with sickness, and died, in 1647, to the inexpressible grief of his beloved and loving flock at Berwick. Some short time before his death, he wrote from Berwick to a friend in London, giving him some account of the affairs in the north; which it may not be improper to insert.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Yours was not a little welcome to me, nor am I backward to requite the favour. The news here are so good, that I can hardly hold my pen for joy. The king's coming to the Scotch army, will, in all probability, prove one of the greatest mercies conferred upon us since the commencement of the war. Never

did I hear of any christians carrying themselves so boldly, and so faithfully in reprovng their prince, so humbly before their God, so innocently towards their brethren, and so seriously desirous of a settled and well-grounded peace, as the Scotch at this time do. They labour with much earnestness for the king's conversion. They tell him plainly of the blood which he has unjustly shed in the course of his government; and, by proclamation, have banished all malignants six miles from his person. They have told him, that for his transgressions against God and his people, he must give satisfaction to both kingdoms; and, moreover, they have sent to Scotland for some of their ablest divines to converse with him. The malignants, who were gathering around him from both kingdoms, in consequence of these measures, droop; and the French agent, whose activity has been displayed in attempting to make a breach, is greatly discountenanced. The nobles and ministers of the church profess an earnest longing for a happy union, and the settled government of Christ in his church; which being once done, they will immediately return to the paths of peace. The Independents themselves stand amazed at the wisdom, resolution, and fidelity, the humility and zeal that accompany their resolutions. The malignant party, which was much feared, are borne down. The mouths which were so wide, both of independents and malignants, are closed up, that they have not a word to say, observing how the Lord hath blessed them; so that all their enemies in Scotland are routed and brought to nothing. The king still refuses to proclaim Montrose and his adherents rebels; but the King of kings has taken the work into his own hands, and utterly dispersed them. I have not time to write the particulars; but only to let you know, that I am,

“Your assured friend,

“R. BALSOM.”

---

#### PETER SMART, A. M.

THIS great sufferer in the cause of non-conformity was born in Warwickshire, 1569, and educated first at Westminster school, and afterwards at Broadgate's Hall, Oxford; after which he was elected student of Christ-church, in the same university. Having taken his degrees, he entered into the ministry, and Dr. William James Dean, of Durham, presented him first to the grammar school at Durham, then made him one of his chaplains, and, in 1609, presented him to the sixth prebend of the same cathedral, and the rectory of Boldovers. In 1614 he was removed from the sixth to the fourth prebend; but his

patron, the bishop, dying about three years after, he received no farther preferment.

The first public business that Mr Smart seems to have been engaged in, was his appointment to the high commission for the province of York; and though, at their second assembly, he qualified himself according to law, he seldom honoured the court with his presence, and never subscribed more than one sentence of that court. Upon renewal of the commission, in 1627, he again qualified, but rarely attended; this was about ten months prior to the commencement of his troubles, occasioned by a sermon which he delivered in the cathedral at Durham. In this sermon, preached on the 27th July 1628, he spoke against the superstitions and popish innovations, which Dr. Cosins \* and others had introduced into that church, with little caution or reserve. His text was, "I hate all those that love superstitious vanities; but thy law do I love." For the satisfaction of the reader, we have extracted some of the most objectionable parts of that sermon. He said, "That the whore of Babylon's bastardly brood, doating on their mother's beauty, that painted harlot (the church of Rome) had laboured to restore all her robes and jewels, especially her looking-glass (the mass), in which she may behold all her bravery. Despising the plain simplicity of that modest matron (the spouse of Christ), they have turned out of doors all her offices, with all her household stuff, her tables, her books, her cups, her communions, even the very names of her office-bearers they have discarded. In the room and place of these they have substituted the word *priest* and *altar*; because, without a priest, there can be no sacrifice; without a priest and a sacrifice, there can be no use for an altar; and without both these, there can be no mass. But the priest, the sacrifice, and the altar, introduces an inundation of other ceremonies—crosses, crucifixes, chalices, images, copes, candlesticks, tapers, basons, and a thousand such trinkets which accompany the mass.

"Formerly we had ministers, we had communion tables, we had sacraments; but now we have priests, sacrifices, and altars, with immense altar furniture, and every species of massing implements; nay, What want we more? For if religion con-

\* Dr. Cosins removed the communion table in the church of Durham, and erected it altar-ways. In ornamenting it, he expended two hundred pounds; at which he used to officiate with his back to the people, bowing to it in an extraordinary manner, and compelling the people also to do the same. He abolished the singing of psalms; and, on candlemas-day, in the evening, caused three hundred wax candles to be lighted up in the church for the honour of the Virgin. He caused divers images, most richly painted, to be set up in the church; for which, and other superstitious innovations, two thousand pounds were expended. He even caused the holy knife, for cutting the sacramental bread, to be consecrated; and to crown the whole of his absurdities, he set up a splendid picture of our Saviour, with a golden beard, and a blue cap on his head.—See *Rushworth's Collec.* vol. v. page 208—210.

sists in altar-decking and copes wearing, organ playing, piping and singing, crossing of cushions and kissing of clouts, oft starting up, then squatting down, nodding of heads, and whirling about till our noses point to the rising sun; in candlesticks, crucifixes, burning of candles, and, what is worst of all, gilding of angels, garnishing of images, and setting them up. If religion consists in these, and such like superstitious vanities, ceremonial fooleries, apish toys, and popish trinkets—then it must be allowed, we never had more religion than we have at this present time. But they are whoremongers, guilty of spiritual fornication, who thus bow down to these idols.” These were the most exceptionable passages in Mr Smart’s sermon; and on the self-same day on which it was delivered, a letter missive was issued for apprehending him, and for bringing him before the dean and the high commission. Upon his appearing before them, he gave up his sermon to be copied, declaring he would vindicate every sentence it contained. On giving a bond, however, of one hundred pounds for his after appearance, he was dismissed.

From July 28th till January 29th, Mr Smart was eight times before his spiritual judges. In the meantime, articles were exhibited against him, to which he gave written answers; and at length he was delivered over to the high commission at Lambeth, after having been confined by the commission at York at least four months before any articles were exhibited against him, and five months before any proctor was allowed him. After suffering great trouble from the high commission at Lambeth, he was remanded to York, fined in five hundred pounds, and ordered to recant. Which refusing to do, he was fined a second time, excommunicated, degraded, deprived, and committed to prison, having sustained the damage of many thousand pounds, and all this without the sanction of any law, but in the face of the very letter of the law, and the plain words of the book of common prayer, and the homily against idolatry, sanctioned by act of parliament. He, nevertheless, remained in prison for eleven or twelve years, till released by the long parliament. The puritans had so much esteem and compassion for this maltreated individual, that they raised him, during his imprisonment, the sum of four hundred pounds yearly. It ought to be observed, that bishop Laud was the leader in all this matchless cruelty. On the 12th November 1640, Smart petitioned the House of Commons to take his numerous complaints into their serious consideration. It was referred to a committee which had been appointed to examine into the case of Dr. Leighton and other injured individuals. The House ordered, that Mr Smart should have gratis copies of the records in the king’s bench and the

court of high commission, and, in every respect, have the privileges formerly granted to Dr. Leighton. On January 12th following, an order passed the House, that Dr. Easdale, Roger Blanchard, and Phineas Hodson, D. D. shall shew cause to this House why they do not pay the monies adjudged to be paid to Peter Smart, upon a judgment in the king's bench against Easdale, Blanchard, and Hodson, at the suit of the said Peter Smart, about ten years ago. On January 22d, Mr Rouse presented the report of the committee on Mr Smart's case; when the House came to the following resolutions: "1st, That the several proceedings of the high commission courts of York and Canterbury against Mr Smart, and the several fines by them imposed upon him, are illegal, and ought not to bind. 2d, That the degradation of Mr Smart, and his deprivation from his prebend and other ecclesiastical livings, are unjust and illegal, and that he ought to be restored to all of them, together with the mean profits. 3d, That Dr. Cosins and others, the prosecutors of Mr Smart, ought to make him satisfaction for his damages sustained. 4th, That Dr. Cosins, a principal actor in Smart's prosecution, is guilty of bringing superstitious innovations into the church, tending to idolatry, and of speaking scandalous and malicious words against his majesty's supremacy and the religion established. 5th, That Dr. Cosins is, in the opinion of this House, unfit and unworthy to be a governor in either of the universities, or to continue any longer head or governor of any college, or to hold or enjoy any ecclesiastical promotion."

The House then referred to the committee to prepare a statement fit to be transmitted to the Lords concerning Dr. Cosins, and what they consider the most eligible method of making reparation to Mr Smart for the damages he had sustained. On delivering the charge against Dr. Cosins at the bar of the House of Lords, Mr Rouse said, amongst other things, "That by an usurped authority, which trampled down the salutary laws of the kingdom, and had grievously oppressed his majesty's peaceable subjects, Mr Smart had been oppressed and ruined. He had courageously attacked their vile superstitions and innovations; and they, in their turn, had, by the arms of malice, resentment, and the criminal exercise of illegal power, beat him down to the earth; yea, they had pulled him up by the roots. They had taken away his means of life and comfort; yet, by a refinement in the art of cruelty, they had left him living, that he might feel the dreadful anguish they had so cruelly prepared for him. The cruelties exercised by the veriest savages, says he, are tender mercies when compared with the cold-blooded, lingering, and lasting torments deliberately contrived, and unfeelingly exercised by the priesthood; and these priestly-

proficients, in this appalling art, were not satisfied with annihilating his substance, and degrading his character, but proceeded the length of consigning the person of a free and loyal subject to a dungeon, whence he could obtain no release. And now it is prayed, that these delinquents, who have so unmercifully oppressed Mr Smart, with the design of promoting the cause of popery in this kingdom, may be punished according to the demerit of their offences, that in their persons the very cause of popery may appear to be punished and suppressed; and that Mr Smart, who has so severely and so nobly suffered for his zeal in the protestant cause, may at least receive such remuneration as justice renders indispensable."

In consequence of these decisions, Mr Smart received some reparations in name of damages; but whether adequate to his losses is extremely doubtful. By an order of the Lords, passed in 1642, he was restored to his prebend in Durham, and presented to the vicarage of Acliff in that county. In 1644 he was a witness against archbishop Laud at his trial, and was still living October 31st, 1648, being then seventy-nine years of age.

Mr Smart was a tolerable poet, a pious and judicious minister, a grave divine, and a zealous enemy to all superstition. His enemies, however, have charged him with being a man of a forward, fierce, and ungovernable spirit, and that he was justly imprisoned, and duly rewarded for his excessive obstinacy. It has, moreover, been said, that Mr Smart, though a prebendary in the church of Durham, had not preached in that cathedral for seven years together, till he preached that seditious sermon for which he was called to account; and that, although he held this preferment and also his health, he seldom preached more than once or twice in the year. This account of Mr Smart comes from one of his prosecutors, being also his inveterate enemy; and, though it had not, must appear extremely incredible. 1st, Because the puritans universally held up to execration all unpreaching ministers, whom they denominated dumb dogs, idle shepherds, with other dishonourable appellations; which we have never heard of them applying to Mr Smart: And 2d, Because, during the period of his long and merciless confinement, these same puritans, from the affection they bore him, and the sympathy they had in his sufferings, were induced to take part of his burden on their own shoulders, by the liberal manner in which they taxed themselves for his comfort and sustenance while suffering for the cause in which they were engaged; which, had he been but half so indolent and inattentive to the duties of his ecclesiastical offices as his enemies have represented him, there is no reason to believe they

would have done. The scandalous charge is therefore utterly incredible.

His works are, 1. *The Vanity and Downfall of Superstition and Popish Ceremonies*, in two Sermons, preached in the cathedral church of Durham, July 1628.—2. A brief but true Historical Narrative of some Notorious Acts and Speeches of Mr John Cosins, and some others of his companions, contracted into articles.—3. Various Poems in Latin and English.—4. Various Letters.

---

### PATRICK YOUNG, A. M.

THIS distinguished scholar was born at Seaton in Scotland, and educated at the university of St. Andrews, where he took his degrees in arts, and was afterwards incorporated at Oxford. He was son to Sir Peter Young, joint tutor with George Buchanan to James I., and afterwards employed by his majesty in negotiating various important concerns; for which essential services he was rewarded with a pension. Upon the accession of James to the English crown, his father accompanied his majesty to England, and placed Patrick in the family of the bishop of Chester, who greatly contributed to his literary proficiency. In 1605 he went to Oxford, entered into deacon's orders, and was elected chaplain of new college. In this seat of the muses, he prosecuted, with singular assiduity, the study of the Greek language, ecclesiastical history, and antiquities; in all of which he acquired an extraordinary knowledge. On leaving Oxford, he went to the metropolis, with the view of promotion at court, to which, by means of his father's influence, he had easy access. One of his principal patrons was Dr. Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells, through whose interest he obtained his pension from the king, amounting to fifty pounds a-year; and being master of an elegant Latin style, his pen was occasionally employed by the king, and some other persons of power, in writing foreign letters. He was likewise employed in examining the archives of the kingdom. One of the first objects of Young's ambition, was to obtain the place of keeper of prince Henry's library, in the palace of St. James, where the prince resided. In this, however, he failed; but by the influence of bishop Montague, he was, after some time, elected librarian to the king, a situation than which nothing could be more congenial to his disposition. To the royal library, therefore, Mr Young was a constant visitor, and spent the greater part of his time in exploring its contents, and classing them into catalogues. He had frequent literary conversations with the king, who con-

firmed him in this situation; for which he was pre-eminently qualified.

On the death of the very learned Isaac Casaubon, Mr Young advised his majesty to purchase the most of his books and manuscripts for augmenting his library; which was done accordingly. With a view of still farther augmenting the stores committed to his care, Mr Young was anxious to visit the continent; but was prevented till 1617 from putting his favourite design in execution. Having furnished himself with letters of recommendation from the learned Camden, to his literary correspondents in Paris, he set out for that metropolis; where the sweetness of his disposition, his modesty and urbanity of manners, rendered him peculiarly acceptable, not only to the literati, but also to all those with whom he had occasion to associate. After his return, he assisted Mr Thomas Rhead in making a Latin version of the works of king James; a work, no doubt, considered by the royal author as one of the first importance. This translation, which, Dr. Smith asserts, will extend to *all eternity*\* the fame of this most learned king, made its appearance in 1619, and Mr Young was honoured to present the copy bestowed upon the learned university of Cambridge; which was received in solemn convocation, with all due respect. In 1620 Mr Young entered into the matrimonial state; and though only in deacon's orders, was, about the same time, presented to the rectory of Hays in Middlesex, and the rectory of Llanindimel in Denbighshire, and was soon collated to a prebend at St. Paul's, London, and chosen to the office of treasurer of that church. In 1624, upon the death of Mr Rhead, he was appointed Latin secretary to the king, and esteemed the fittest person in the kingdom to fill that office.

Hitherto, though he had published nothing in his own name, yet he had acquired considerable celebrity amongst the learned both at home and abroad, and kept up an extensive correspondence with his friends on the continent. When the celebrated John Selden undertook to examine the Arundelian marbles, he chose Mr Young for one of his companions; and so grateful was he for his valuable services, in drawing up an account of these remains, that, passing by all his patrons of higher rank, he inscribed his *Marmora Arundeliana* to Mr Young, in an affectionate and grateful dedication.

The famous Alexandrian manuscript of the Old and New Testament having been added to the contents of the royal library, Mr Young employed himself, with great assiduity, in collating it with other manuscripts and printed books, and commu-

\* It has been said, that this monarch was so fond of praise, that he could swallow down flattery in four pound pieces; and that the bishops took care never to serve it out to him in smaller slices.

nicated many various readings to Grotius, Usher, and other learned men. He had intended to print the whole on types similar to the letters of the original. He even published a specimen of his design; but some circumstances intervening, prevented the execution. Bishop Hennet charges the failure of this design to the puritans, by whom, he says, "Religion and learning were so much neglected, that neither the parliament nor the assembly called for the work; on which account it was left unfinished." The degree of credit due to this assertion, every reader, at all conversant with the history of this period, will easily judge. Wood tells us, that the arduous task was undertaken at the request of the *assembly of divines*; and that, towards the close of 1645, an ordinance was read for printing and publishing it. Mr Young had for his assistants the learned Selden and Whitlocke. Another writer affirms, that the premature death of Mr Young prevented the completion of the design; after which it was taken up by Dr. Grabe.

In 1633, however, Mr Young edited, from the same manuscript, the epistles of Clemens Romanus, and afterwards several other learned works. He continued in the office of librarian till the death of the king, and had made preparations for editing various other manuscripts from the royal library; but the confusion of the times prevented their publication. After his death, most of his Greek and Latin manuscripts, collected and written with his own hand, came into the possession of the famous Dr. John Owen.

From the concurrent testimony of Anthony Wood and Dr. Walker, it is evident that Mr Young espoused the cause and sentiments of the presbyterians; nor is there any evidence that he ever afterwards altered his opinion. He has therefore been justly classed amongst the puritan worthies. On his removal from the office of librarian, he retired to the house of his son-in-law, at Bromfield in Essex, where he was carried off by an acute disease, on the 7th September 1652, aged sixty-eight years. His remains were interred in the chancel of Bromfield church, and a flag of black marble, with an appropriate inscription, laid over his grave.

Mr Young was much esteemed for his piety, and highly celebrated for his extraordinary erudition. He was undoubtedly the best Grecian scholar of the age in which he lived. Bishop Montague used to call him the patriarch of the Greeks. On his character, both as a man and a scholar, a profusion of eulogies are annexed to Dr. Smith's Memoir of his life, from the first literary characters. He was consulted by most of the great scholars in Europe, by Fronto-Ducæus, Sirmondus, Petavius, Grotius, Valesius, Salmasius, Vossius, Casaubon, Usher, Selden, and many others.

## JOHN COTTON, B. D.

THIS renowned minister of the New Testament was born at Derby, December 4th, 1585, and educated first at Trinity, then Emanuel college, Cambridge, in the last of which he was chosen fellow. Under the awakening sermons, preached by the famous Mr Perkins, he had received some convictions of sin; but still his prejudice and enmity against true holiness, and particularly against this holy man's preaching, were so inveterate, that when he heard the bell toll for Mr Perkin's funeral, he greatly rejoiced that now he was delivered from his heart-searching ministry. The recollection of this depravity of soul, when he afterwards became acquainted with the gospel, had almost broke his heart. The ministrations of Dr. Sibbs was the means of awakening and leading him to the knowledge of Christ and the love of the truth; yet for three years he was held under the most painful apprehensions, before he experienced that placid serenity of soul that springs from the faith of the gospel. After this important change, Mr Cotton had to preach at St. Mary's church, where the wits of the various colleges attended, in hopes of a flowery sermon, garnished with all the literary embellishments and learning of the university. But, to their great astonishment and mortification, he gave them a very judicious and impressive discourse on repentance, pointing the arrows of conviction against the strong holds of conscious guilt and corruption. Most of the students were chagrined and disappointed; nor could they avoid manifesting their disapprobation of the sermon. It was, nevertheless, the means of converting the celebrated Dr. Preston, then fellow of Queen's college; and from this time forward the greatest friendship, intimacy, and affection, subsisted between these distinguished individuals.

On leaving the university, Mr Cotton was chosen minister of Boston in Lincolnshire; but bishop Barlow, suspecting him to be infected with puritanism, endeavoured to prevent his settlement. This learned prelate could make no open charge against him, only that he was young, and on that account wanting in the gravity, experience, and authority necessary amongst so numerous and factious a people. Indeed Mr Cotton had such a mean opinion of himself, that he went into the bishop's sentiments, and intended to return to the college. His numerous friends, however, anxious to have him settled amongst them, plied the bishop, and having persuaded him of his great learning and ministerial talents, he at last granted their request.

Mr Cotton met with a more favourable reception than could have been expected, and for a considerable time things went on

very agreeably; but the troubles occasioned by the Arminian controversy became so great in the town, that he was obliged to exert all his abilities, authority, and influence, to allay them. On this occasion, it is said, that Mr Cotton so triumphantly established the scripture doctrines of election, particularly redemption, effectual calling, and the final perseverance of the saints, that the foundations of Arminianism were destroyed; and the disputes ceasing, it was never more heard of.

Mr Cotton now entered into the matrimonial state; and it is remarkable, that on the day of his marriage, he, for the first time, obtained that assurance of his interest in the Redeemer, which he never lost till the day of his death. This worthy servant of Christ, having been about three years at Boston, began to examine into the corruptions of the church, and to scruple conformity to its ceremonies and superstitions; nor did he keep his sentiments to himself. Whatever he discovered to be truth, he boldly declared; and such was the influence of his opinions, and so obvious were the avowed grounds on which he held them, that almost all the inhabitants of Boston and neighbourhood became non-conformists. But complaints were soon lodged against him with the bishop, and he was suspended from his ministry. During his suspension, he was promised considerable preferment if he would conform to the ceremonies, though but in one act; but he refused to pollute his conscience for any such worldly considerations. He did not continue long under suspension; but was soon after restored to his beloved work of preaching. This storm having blown over, he had rest for many years, and, during the calm, was always abounding in his spiritual labours; and there was so pleasing a reformation among the people of Boston, that superstition and profanity gave way to practical religion and godliness, which soon abounded in every corner of the town. The mayor and most of the magistrates became puritans, and the ungodly party sunk into insignificance.

Mr Cotton, after having examined the controversy with conscientious impartiality, was decidedly of the opinion, that it was unlawful for any church to enjoin rites and ceremonies, for which neither Christ nor his apostles had left either precept or example: That a bishop, according to the New Testament, was appointed to no larger a diocese than one congregation; and that the keys of government and discipline were put into the hands of every congregational church. The public worship of God at Boston was therefore conducted without the fetters or formality of a liturgy, or the use of any of those vestments and ceremonies which had been invented by the folly, and were now imposed by the commandments, of men. Many of his people

united together as a christian church, and enjoyed the means of grace, and the fellowship of the gospel, upon congregational principles, by entering into covenant with God and one another, to follow the Lord Jesus in all the purity of gospel worship.

Mr Cotton was celebrated for his ministerial talents, and had acquired a very distinguished reputation. He was loved and highly respected by the best men, and hated and feared by the worst. He was much esteemed by bishop Williams, who, when keeper of the great seal, recommended him to the king as a man of singular abilities, great learning, piety, and usefulness; on which his majesty, notwithstanding his non-conformity, allowed him to continue in the exercise of his ministry. The celebrated archbishop Usher had the highest opinion of him as a minister, a man, and a scholar, and kept up a friendly correspondence with him. He was likewise held in great estimation by the earl of Dorset, who kindly promised him, that if at any time he stood in need of a friend at court, he would use all his interest and influence in his behalf; yet, in the midst of so much honour and applause, his unassuming modesty and humility remained unimpaired.

Having preached at Boston almost twenty years, Mr Cotton found, that it would be impossible for him, without conforming, to continue his ministrations. The storm of persecution, he saw, was gathering in the horizon of the church, and wisely withdrew from its fury. A son of belial, a debauched fellow, of depraved principles and wicked practices, to be revenged on the magistrates of Boston, for sentencing him to condign punishment for his crimes, brought forward complaints against them and Mr Cotton in the high court of commission, and swore that neither the minister nor the magistrates of the town kneeled when receiving the sacrament, nor observed the ecclesiastical ceremonies. Letters missive were immediately sent down, by the influence and authority of bishop Laud, to apprehend and bring Mr Cotton before the commission; but he concealed himself. Great intercessions were made for him by the earl of Dorset and others; but finding all to no purpose, the earl sent him word, that providing his crimes had been those of drunkenness, adultery, blasphemy, or any such *trifling*\* faults, he could have easily procured his pardon; but seeing he was guilty of non-conformity and puritanism, crimes so enormous that they could never be forgiven, flee, says he, for your safety.

It must therefore have been from painful experience that Mr Cotton afterwards complained, that the ecclesiastical courts are

\* In 1634 the mayor of Arundel imprisoned a clergyman for his notorious drunkenness, and other misbehaviour; and though confined but one night, the mayor, for this act of justice, was both fined and censured by the high commission at Lambeth.—*Huntley's Prelates*, page 164.

dens of lions; that all who have had to do with them have found them markets for the sins of the people, cages of uncleanness, and roosting places of birds of prey, the tabernacles of bribery, forges of extortion, and fetters of slavery, a terror to all good men, and a praise to them that do evil!

Mr Cotton, perceiving that there were now no hopes that he should ever enjoy his liberty in his own country, resolved to transport himself to New England. Upon his departure from Boston, he wrote a very pious and modest letter to the bishop of Lincoln, signifying his resignation of the living. His resolution to expatriate himself was the result of mature and deliberate consideration, and founded on substantial grounds. He observed that the door of public usefulness was apparently for ever shut against him in his native land: That when persecuted in one city or country, our Lord commands his servants to flee to another; and wishing to enjoy the ordinances of the gospel in their scriptural purity, he considered the resolution he had taken to be the path of present duty. Accordingly, taking farewell of his numerous friends at Boston, he travelled in disguise to London, where, on his arrival, several eminent ministers of his acquaintance proposed a conference, with a view to persuade him to conform and remain at home. To this he freely consented; and after all their arguments in favour of conformity had been delivered, he answered the whole to their full satisfaction; then delivering his arguments for non-conformity, and his reasons for removing to a foreign land rather than conform to the prelatical impositions, they were so well satisfied, that in place of bringing Mr Cotton to their views, they all of them espoused his opinions, and from that day forward, Mr (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodman, Mr Philip Ney, Mr John Davenport, Mr Henry Whitefield, and some others, became avowed non-conformists; for which they were all afterwards driven into a foreign land. Speaking of this conference, Mr Davenport, one of Mr Cotton's antagonists, tells us, "That their reasons for wishing to confer with him, rather than any other, on these weighty points, were their knowledge of his approved godliness, his great learning, candour, and mild disposition, whereby he could bear, with equanimity of temper, the arguments of others who might differ from him in their opinions. Nor were we in the least disappointed, says he, in our expectations; he answered all our arguments with the most conclusive evidence from scripture, composure of mind, and mildness of spirit, constantly adhering to his own principles, and, with the greatest clearness of judgment and expression, removing every objection that had been started against them."

Mr Cotton having fully resolved to cross the Atlantic, John

Winthrop, Esq. governor of the new plantation, procured him letters of recommendation from the church at Boston to their brethren in New England; and having finished his arrangements, he took shipping the beginning of June 1633, and landed in New England in the beginning of September following. Mr Hooker and Mr Stone, both driven out for their non-conformity, were his companions on the voyage. Mrs Cotton was delivered of a son about a month after their embarkation, who, from the place of his birth, was named *Seaborn*. On their arrival, the town, which, on account of its three hills, had hitherto been called Trimountain, was changed to Boston, out of respect to Mr Cotton, who came from Boston in Old England. Immediately after their arrival at Boston, this famous puritan divine was chosen colleague to Mr John Wilson, minister of that place; and his labours, both as a preacher and politician, were of unspeakable advantage to the town. It was greatly owing to his wisdom and influence that in a few years Boston became the capital of the whole province. The civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, prior to his arrival, were both lamentably out of order, ill-digested, and indistinct; but by his vigorous and judicious efforts, order and arrangement were soon introduced into every department, and harmony and prosperity were the happy consequence of his labours. About 1642, when the episcopal power in England began to decline, several of the leading members of both houses of parliament earnestly pressed him to return to his native country; but considering the peace, liberty, and safety he enjoyed in his retreat, as well as the field of action and usefulness in which he was engaged, he was unwilling again to venture his shattered bark on the tempestuous ocean, and so remained at Boston till his death.

About this time numerous Antinomian tenets began to be propagated in New England, especially at Boston, which raised a dreadful confusion amongst the people. Mrs Hutchinson, and Mr Wheelwright her brother, were at the head of this party; and some of our historians do not hesitate to affirm, that Mr Cotton himself had drunk in some of their wild fancies; others deny the charge, and endeavour to prove the whole a malicious slander to blacken his reputation. It is agreed by all of them, however, that, in 1646, at the synod of Cambridge, he openly declared against all these opinions, as being some of them blasphemous, some heretical, some erroneous, and all of them incongruous. At this synod, Mr Cotton, Mr Richard Mather, and Mr Ralph Partridge, were each of them appointed to draw up a form of church government, with the view of drawing up one from the whole at the next meeting of synod; which was done accordingly.

This learned divine, though removed to New England, still maintained a correspondence with many persons of distinction in his native country, and amongst the rest with Cromwell, the protector; one of whose letters, written with his own hand, dated October 2d, 1652, is here inserted verbatim, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive reader. Addressed thus: To my esteemed friend Mr Cotton, pastor of the church at Boston in New England.

“Worthy sir, and my christian friend,

“I received yours a few days since. It was welcome to me, because signed by you, whome I love and honour in the Lord: but more to see some of the same grounds of our actinges stirringe in you, that have in us to quiet us to our worke, and support us therein, which hath had greatest difficultye in our engagement in Scotland, by reason wee have had to do with some whoe were (I verily thinke) godly; but, through weakness and the subtiltye of satan, involved in interests against the Lord and his people. With what tendernesse wee have proceeded with such, and that in synceritye, our papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest, and I give you some comfortable assurance off. The Lord hath marvellously appeared even against them; and now againe, when all the power was devolved into the Scottish kinge and malignant partye, they invadinge England, the Lord rayned upon them such snares, as the inclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that of their whole armie, when the narrative was framed, not five of their whole armie returned. Surely, sir, the Lord is greatly to be feared as to be praised. Wee need your prayers in this as much as ever; how shall we behave ourselves after such mercyes? What is the Lord a doeing? What prophecies are now fulfilling? Who is a God like ours? To know his will, to doe his will, are both of him.

“I tooke this libertye from businesse to salute thus in a word: truly I am ready to serve you, and the rest of our brethren, and the churches with you. I am a poor weake creature, and not worthy of the name of a worme; yett accepted to serve the Lord and his people. Indeed, my dear friend, between you and me, you knowe not me; my weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskillfullnesse, and every way unfittnesse to my worke; yett the Lord, who will have mercye on whome he will, does as you see. Pray for me. Salute all christian friendes, though unknown.

“I rest your affectionate friend to serve you,

“O. CROMWELL.”

Mr Cotton was a laborious student, twelve hours he considered to be a scholar's day. He lived under a conviction, that

the servant of Christ ought not to be slothful, but fervent in spirit, and diligent in serving the Lord; and his resolution was rather to *wear out* than *rust out*. His literary talents were great. He could converse with ease and fluency in the Hebrew language. His pulpit oratory was delivered with so much judgment and gravity, that it struck his hearers with admiration; and, at the same time, so plain, that the weakest capacity might easily comprehend him. He was remarkable for practical religion and christian benevolence, and his whole life was one continued course of piety and charity. He was blest with an uncommon share of humility, modesty, and good nature; and though often insulted by angry men, showed no resentment. A conceited ignorant man one time followed him home from church, and told him, that his preaching was become dark and flat. To whom he replied, "*Both, brother*; but let me have the help of your prayers that they may be otherwise." At another time he was insulted on the street by an impudent fellow, who called him an old fool. "You are right (he replied), I confess I am so. May the Lord make thee and me both wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation." At the request of a friend, Mr Cotton wrote his thoughts on the doctrine of reprobation, against the objections of the Arminians. The manuscript fell into the hands of Dr. Twisse, who published a refutation of it. Mr Cotton, not a little surprised at his being taken so short, thus expressed himself, "I hope God will give me an opportunity to consider the doctor's labour of love. I bless God, who has made me willing to be taught by a much meaner disciple than Dr. Twisse, whose scholastic acuteness, solidity of judgment, and dexterity of argument, all orthodox divines so highly honour, and before whom Arminians and Jesuits fall down in silence. God forbid that I should shut mine eyes against any light derived from such a man, only I desire not to be condemned as a pelagian or an Arminian before I be heard."

Mr Cotton's last illness was short. Having taken leave of his beloved study, he said to Mrs Cotton, "I shall enter that room no more." He was desirous to depart from a world where all was fluctuating and uncertain, that he might enjoy the company of Christ, and his glorified saints, particularly his old friends, Preston, Ames, Hildersham, Dod, and others, who had been peculiarly dear to him while living. Having set his house in order, and taken a solemn leave of the magistrates and ministers of the colony, who visited him in his sickness, he died, December 23d, 1652, aged sixty-seven years. His remains were interred with much funeral solemnity, and great lamentation. He has been denominated an universal scholar, and a living system of the liberal arts. He was a consummate

linguist, and a profound theologian. Fuller has honoured him with a place among the learned writers and fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge. Dr. Cotton Mather, the pious historian, was his grand-son.

His works are, 1. *The Way of Life*.—2. *Doubts of Predestination*.—3. *Exposition of Ecclesiastes and Canticles*.—4. *The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared*.—5. *Commentary on the first Epistle of John*.—6. *Milk for Babes*.—7. *A Treatise on the New Covenant*.—8. *Various Sermons*.—9. *Answer to Mr Ball about Forms of Prayer*.—10. *The Grounds and Ends of Infant Baptism*.—11. *A Discourse upon Singing Psalms*.—12. *An Abstract of the Laws in Christ's Kingdom for Civil Government*.—13. *On the Holiness of Church Members*.—14. *Discourse on Things Indifferent*.—15. *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*.—16. *Answer to Mr Cawdry*.—17. *The Bloody Tenet Washed and made White in the Blood of the Lamb*.—18. *Copy of a Letter of Mr Cotton's, of Boston in New England, sent in answer to certain objections made against their discipline and order there, directed to a friend in Old England*.

---

### JOHN LATHROP.

THIS excellent man was minister of Egerton in Kent; but dissatisfied with his episcopal ordination, he renounced it, and was chosen pastor to the Independent congregation under the care of Mr Henry Jacob in London. On the departure of Mr Jacob for America, this little society, which had hitherto assembled in private, moving about from place to place to escape the observation of the bishop's spies, began to take courage, and meet more openly. In a short time, however, Tomlinson, the bishop's pursuivant, discovered them met in the house of Mr Humphrey Barnet, a brewer's clerk in Blackfriars, where forty-two of them were apprehended, and eighteen only made their escape. This took place on the 29th April 1632. Of those who were thus apprehended, some were confined in the Fleet, others in the new prison, and the remainder in the Gatehouse, where they were held in durance about two years, when, with the exception of Mr Lathrop, they were all admitted to bail. During the time that Mr Lathrop continued prisoner, his wife fell sick and died; and Laud, contrary to his usual method with the puritans, particularly with the Independents, permitted him to visit her, and pray with her, before she breathed her last; which having done, he immediately returned to prison. At length he petitioned the king, and, at the same time, his

numerous family of children laid their deplorable case, in a humble petition, at the feet of archbishop Laud, who, understanding, it is thought, that the king was inclined to favour the father, condescended to grant their request. Accordingly Mr Lathrop was released, and set off for New England with his family, and about thirty of his congregation.

During the time of Mr Lathrop's imprisonment, he met with some trouble from his congregation. Some persons, entertaining doubts concerning the validity of baptism as administered by their own pastor, one of them carried his child to the parish church and had it rebaptized. This gave such offence to some of the congregation, that the matter was discussed at a general meeting of the society, and negatived by a majority of the members; but that no declaration should be made at the present time, whether or not the parish churches were true churches. This decision, however, was displeasing to a number of the most rigid amongst them, who demanded their dismissal; and uniting with others who were dissatisfied about the lawfulness of infant baptism, formed themselves into a new society; which appears to have been the first baptist congregation in England. This separation took place in 1633, and the new society made choice of Mr Spilsbury for their pastor. The remainder of Mr Lathrop's congregation renewed their covenant on this occasion, "To walk together in the ways of God, and forsake all false ways, so far as he had already made, or should afterward make his will known to them;" and so faithful were they to their vows, that scarcely an instance occurred of any individual departing from the church, even under the severest persecutions.

After landing in New England, Mr Lathrop was chosen first pastor of the church at Scituate, where he remained for some time, distributing amongst them the bread of life. But a part of his flock removing to Barnstable, he removed with them, where he continued their pastor till the day of his death; which took place November 8th, 1653.

He was a man of a pious and happy spirit, ever studious of peace; for which he was ready to sacrifice almost any thing but the truth. He was a lively preacher, willing to spend and be spent for the glory of the Redeemer, and the salvation of sinful men. Mr Prince, in compiling his chronological history of New England, made use of a manuscript register, written by Mr Lathrop, and containing an account of Scituate and Barnstable, in both of which places he had been the first minister.

## SAMUEL CROOK, B. D.

THIS pious and learned divine was born at Great Waldingfield in Essex, January 17th, 1574. He was educated in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and afterwards chosen fellow of Emanuel college. His father was the learned and laborious Dr. Crook, preacher to the honourable society of Gray's inn, and descended from an ancient family. Mr Crook was held in great estimation in the university on account of his brilliant talents, and the uncommon progress he made in all the branches of useful and polite learning. He was chosen reader of rhetoric and philosophy in the public schools, and filled these offices with honour and applause. While at Cambridge, he was a hearer of Mr Perkins, and a great admirer of that excellent divine. Mr Crook preached first for some short time at Caxton, near Cambridge; and, in 1692, was invited to Wrington in Somersetshire, as pastor of that church; which he accepted.

Upon his settlement at Wrington, Mr Crook was indefatigable in his ministerial labours, and succeeded much beyond his expectations. He preached regularly three times every week, or oftener, as occasion required, and that during his whole life, with a conversation corresponding with his labours and the doctrines he inculcated; so that the affections of his people increased towards him to the end of his days. In his preparations for the ministry, Mr Crook had laid in a large stock of useful knowledge, and now he began to lay it out in the service of Christ and his church with an unsparing hand. Determined not to serve the Lord with that which cost him nothing, his pulpit preparations were always made with the most critical attention. His sermons were grave, judicious, and appropriate, and his applications were carried to the hearts of his hearers by a powerful and pleasing eloquence. His motto was, "I am willing to spend and be spent in the service of the gospel." During a time of sickness, the physician told him, he might live longer if he would preach less. "Alas! (said he) if I may not preach, I cannot live. What good would my life do me if hindered from prosecuting the very end for which I desire to live?" When labouring under the infirmities of old age, he often preached when he could scarcely walk to the house of God, and even then his sermons were delivered with his usual vivacity. He did not amuse his people with airy speculations, but fed them with the substantial provision laid up for the church in the sacred repository of the divine word; from which, as a wise steward, he drew forth milk for babes, and strong meat for grown men. He is said to have been the first, in that part of the

country, who brought extempore prayer into use, an exercise in which he greatly excelled.

He laboured in the Lord's vineyard, with little interruption, something better than forty-seven years, during which period he was instrumental in bringing many wandering sinners to Christ's sheep-fold. It is true, the bishop, on one occasion, put down his lecture; but it was so ordered by God, that the bishop was cast out of his office, and the lecture revived. During a life of nearly seventy-five years, he had witnessed many changes in the church; nor was he without a share of the sufferings allotted to the serious worshippers of God in these troublesome times. During the parliamentary war, the rude soldiers tyrannized over him, even in his own house. They followed him into his study with drawn swords, swearing they would put him to instant death for not joining them in their bloody cause. The Lord, however, delivered him from all these enemies.

During his last sickness, Mr Crook solemnly protested, that the doctrines he had taught were the truths of God; and that in these doctrines consisted all his salvation and all his desire. He received the notice of his approaching death not only with composure, but with cheerfulness; and having no prospect of labouring any more in the church of Christ, he requested his friends not to pray for the continuance of his life, but for the spirit of faith, patience, and repentance, and for that joy and peace in believing which the Holy Spirit vouchsafes to the heirs of the heavenly inheritance. "Lord (said he), cast me down as low as hell in repentance and humiliation; but O raise me to heaven in faith, love, and joy in thy salvation." The Tuesday before he died, he said, "This day week is the day on which we used to remember the nativity of Christ, and on this day I have preached Christ crucified. I shall hardly live to see it again; but my consolation is, that for me, even for me, was this child born, and to me was this Son given." He died, December 25th, 1649, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Mr Clark says, "He was a person of quick apprehension, a lively imagination, a profound judgment, an excellent memory, and possessed of great learning and piety. He was grave without being austere, courteous and pleasant, without either levity or hypocrisy, and charitable almost to a fault." Fuller has placed him on the list of the learned writers of Emanuel college, Cambridge.

His works are, 1. Three Sermons.—2. Death Subdued.—3. The Guide to True Blessedness.—4. Divine Characters.

## PETER SAXTON, A. M.

THIS venerable divine was born at Bramley, in the parish of Leeds, in Yorkshire, and had his education at Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts. He was presented, both by the king and Sir Edward Stanhope, to the rectory of Edlington in his native county. He was at first a conformist, but afterwards found reasons for altering his opinion with respect to the forms of the established church; from which he became so much alienated, that he called the surplice the *whore's smock*. But having espoused the sentiments of the puritans, and not being ashamed publicly to avow them, he could find no rest in his native country. A cruel persecution having overspread the land, Mr Saxton retired from the storm, and sought a place of liberty and security in New England, where he arrived in the year 1640. There we find his name, as minister of Scituate, classed amongst the first of those persecuted puritans, who, by their godly ministry, illuminated the dark regions of North America. In this situation Mr Saxton continued for some time; but the unsettled condition of the colony, together with some unpleasant contentions in the plantation where he lived, were the causes of his removal, first to Boston, and afterwards, when advanced in years, to England. On his return from Boston, the ship was overtaken with a storm, so dreadful, that even the mariners gave all over for lost; and those whom nothing could induce to call on the name of the Lord before, came trembling to Mr Saxton, in all the agony of despair, whom they found with his arms stretched out to heaven, calling out, "Who are now ready to start for heaven? Who are bound for the haven of eternal rest?" But when at their wits end, the storm was changed into a calm, and they arrived safely at the desired port. On his arrival in England, he had the offer of a considerable living in Kent; which he rejected, choosing rather to accept the vicarage of Leeds in his own county; where he was inducted in 1646, and held till his death, in April 1651. He was a venerable, pious, and learned divine; but was in the habit of using many homely expressions, which often created a smile, and, on one occasion, a downright burst of laughter in a country church. His text was, Job 11, 12. "For vain man would be wise, though born like a wild ass' colt." Observing the irreverence of the people, he told them he would make them cry before he had done; and was as good as his word; for when he came to the application of his sermon, the aged minister, for whom he was preaching, speaking of this circumstance, says, "That he

had never seen the like before in that church, for the greater part of the congregation were bathed in tears." He also gives Mr Saxton the character of a very studious and learned man, and a great Hebrician, who constantly carried his Hebrew bible into the pulpit with him. There is a book under his name, entitled, Christmas Cheer, or Profitable Notes of two Sermons, preached on the 25th December, being commonly (how rightly let others judge) called christmas day, and on the day following, commonly called St. Stephen's day.

---

### RICHARD BLACKERBY.

THIS eminently pious and learned divine was born at Worlington in Suffolk, in 1574. He had his education at Trinity college, Cambridge, where he remained nine years, and made amazing proficiency in all branches of useful learning. Here he sat under the ministry of that eminent servant of Christ, Mr Perkins, whose sermons were the means of effectually converting him to the faith of the gospel. For several years he laboured under the most painful apprehensions as to the state of his soul; and while groaning under these convictions, in a state approaching to melancholy, his father, unconscious of the cause of his dejection, called him home, in hopes that a change of air might restore his health; but the change had no effect. Some time after this he found peace with God, and comfort in his own soul, which never after forsook him till his last hour. Upon leaving the university, he became domestic chaplain to Sir Thomas Jermin of Rushbrook in Suffolk, and afterwards to Sir Edward Lukenor of Denham, in the same county. In this situation he remained till he married the daughter of Mr Timothy Oldham, minister of Denham. Mr Blackerby, after having remained with his father-in-law the matter of two years, had a call to preach at Feltwell in Norfolk, where he remained but a short time, being obliged, on account of his non-conformity, to remove to Ashdon in Essex, where, for twenty-three years, he was employed in the education of youth. Some of Mr Blackerby's scholars became men of considerable celebrity. Dr. Bernard, whom he recommended to archbishop Usher, and afterwards became his chaplain, was one of them. On account of his non-conformity, though he could not, with a good conscience, accept of any pastoral charge, he always continued to preach and exhort wherever he could find an opportunity; and during the last ten years of the above period, he preached regularly at Henningham in Essex, or Stoke, or Hundon in Suffolk. Thus Mr Blackerby, when persecuted in one place, re-

tired to another; by which means, though living in hard and troublesome times, he was seldom kept silent for any considerable time. His method of preaching consisted chiefly in opening the scriptures, from which he made appropriate observations, concluding with a close and impressive application. He had an uncommon understanding of the original languages; studied hard to discover their true meaning and import, and had much holy converse with God in prayer; and his preaching was attended with such a copious outpouring of the Spirit, that it is said he became the spiritual father of more than two thousand persons. The word of God, dropping from his lips, became the savour of life unto life to them who heard it; or it had the effect of hardening and enraging them, both against the preaching and the preacher. At Hundon he met with powerful opposition from many of the principal inhabitants, who, uniting together against him, procured his suspension; but it is said that the judgments of God pursued them, so that they were blasted in their estates, some reduced to paupers, and all of them, with one exception, died miserable deaths. The Sabbath after his suspension, one of these men, boasting in the church-yard, that now they had got Blackerby out of the pulpit, a woman, standing by, replied, "Blackerby will preach in Hundon pulpit when you will be roaring in hell;" and it was observed, that the very Sabbath after this man was buried, Mr Blackerby, having obtained his liberty, preached on that day in Hundon pulpit.

After the persecuting prelates were stript of their oppressive and tyrannical power, and conformity was no longer required to their superstitious ceremonies, Mr Blackerby was chosen pastor of Great Thurlow in Suffolk, where he continued the remainder of his days, labouring, with zeal and faithfulness, to promote the glory of God, and the best interests of men. He was taken ill in the pulpit, and continued in a weak state for six weeks, though he kept his bed only for two days, when he died, in 1648, aged seventy-four years.

Mr Blackerby was a man of exemplary character, as appears from the account given us by Mr Clark. "During his long life (says this author) he never seemed to lose a moment in idleness; but, like a wise man, occupied his leisure hours in preparing and providing for a state of immortality. He rose early both in winter and summer, and spent the whole day in reading, meditation, and prayer, or in the instruction of others. He was ever conscientious in the discharge of the duties of family religion. He instructed his pupils daily in the knowledge of religion and the practice of piety, as well as in useful learning, and walked before them in love, holiness, and propriety of

conduct and conversation. Young students from the university put themselves under his tuition, that they might be farther prepared for the work of the ministry, to whom he taught Hebrew, explained the scriptures, read lectures on divinity, and gave instructions relative to learning, doctrine, moral conduct, and ministerial duty."

He was a strict observer of the Sabbath, and particularly careful to recommend the observance of that holy day to others. Being once invited to preach at Linton in Cambridgeshire, where a fair was kept on the Lord's day, he so effectually convinced the inhabitants of the sin and shamefulness of the practice, that, it is said, the fair was ever after kept on another day of the week. This holy man was crucified to the world, and the world was crucified to him; and though no man had a more tender regard for his relations and friends, the loss of them never discomposed his mind, nor interrupted his communion with God. The love of the creature could never draw his heart and affections away from the Creator. He had often, before his death, declared, that for more than forty years he never had a single doubt of his salvation. He was accounted the best Hebrew scholar in Cambridge; and Granger accounts him perfectly skilled in the learned languages.

---

### JOHN JANEWAY.

THIS very extraordinary individual was born at Lilley in Hertford, October 27th, 1633. He had the early part of his education at Paul's school, London, under the care of Mr Langley, where he made great progress in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, and astronomy. He was afterwards sent to Eton college, where he was accounted the glory of the school, and the wonder of the age. At seventeen he entered King's college, Cambridge, where the electors contended for the patronage of so promising a youth. Here he afterwards became fellow.

In addition to his astonishing proficiency in literature, he possessed many other endearing qualifications. He was candid and agreeable, courteous and ever obliging, without the least appearance of vanity. His great learning was attended with great modesty and prudence, and such a command of his passions, as preserved him from the follies and the vices of youth; but still he had no relish for religion. The concerns of an eternal world, as yet, gave him no uneasiness. But God, who had chosen him to shine like the morning star in his church, in the good pleasure of his goodness, wrought in his soul the work of

faith with power, and Mr Baxter's Saints' Everlasting Rest was the principal mean of his conversion to God. This important change in his life and character was soon made manifest to all. His time and talents were now less employed in the contemplation of the stars, the rectitude and rapidity of their motions, and all the glory of their arrangement, seeing the day star from on high had visited his benighted soul, and the Sun of Righteousness had arisen upon him with healing under his wings. His great concern now was to learn the will of God, in his word, and to please and enjoy him for ever. For this he laboured, with indefatigable pains and industry, in studying the scriptures, which are able to make men wise unto salvation. He began to pity those who were curious in their inquiries after almost every thing but Christ; and though he accounted human learning exceedingly profitable, and even praise-worthy, when wisely conducted, yet, when fixed on any thing short of Christ and him crucified, he accounted it all but loss; and when not employed for his glory, a sword put into the hand of a madman, wherewith to destroy himself and all that came in his way.

In this state of mind, he was exceedingly concerned how he might express his gratitude to God, who had called him from darkness into his marvellous light; and for this purpose, opened a correspondence with his relations, his friends, and many of his acquaintances, to whom he addressed many letters on divine subjects, so judiciously written, that they seemed more like the productions of age and long christian experience, than that of a youth. He could not help announcing to others what he himself had seen and heard, felt and experienced, of the grace and condescending goodness of God. To exalt the glory of his dear Redeemer, and persuade perishing sinners to shelter themselves from the wrath to come, under the immaculate covering of his righteousness and atoning sacrifice, was the great object of his solicitude. But the gravity of his manner, the striking majesty and pathos of his expressions, the vehemence of his expostulations, and the pressing power of his applications, can only be seen in his own language.

Before he had reached the age of nineteen, in writing to his father, who was in great distress of mind, he thus addressed him: "The causes of your despondency, and the dejection and melancholy that overshadows your soul, give me leave to guess. The first, I think, arises from your reflecting on your entering on the work of the ministry, without that reverence of God, love to Christ, and compassion for the souls of perishing men, which are requisite in all who undertake this holy office. It may be there was also a greater regard to your living in the

world, than your living to God and the spiritual interest of his people. Be it thus, be it better or worse, the remedy is still the same. These reflections have in them a heart-corroding power when felt unaccompanied by the light of pardoning grace. But bad thoughts and continual sorrow keep the wound open too long, and are not therefore available in removing the disease. Wounds indeed must be opened in order to be cleansed, they must be opened, that their filth may be discovered; but no sooner has the balm of Gillead been applied, than they ought to be bound up, that the balsam may have its undisturbed efficacy and operation in removing the symptoms, and closing up the wound.

“A second cause of your heaviness may arise from a sense of the untoward disposition, and unimproving state of the people committed to your care; and, indeed, who can help mourning over a people who have no pity, no charity or compassion for themselves? I have often wrestled with God that he might guide your steps in the way of duty concerning them, which I am persuaded is also your humble request at the throne of mercy. Now, after seriously examining your own heart as to the necessary steps to be taken, whatever your conscience points out as the present duty, that do; and having done so, leave the result to God, who worketh in us both to will and also to perform.

“You may perhaps have, besides these, some uneasy thoughts respecting your family when you are gone; but let faith and former experience teach you to drive away all such thoughts. Our good God is the father of the fatherless, and the widow's strength and support. Your constitution and solitary habits may likewise contribute to your present melancholy; but there is a duty, which, if properly performed, will remove them all, and that is, heavenly meditation, and the contemplation of the glory yet to be revealed. Would we walk with God in this duty but one hour in the day, what a powerful influence it would have on the whole day! and were it duly performed during the whole life, the happy and comfortable consequences are not to be calculated. I knew the nature and utility of this duty in some measure before; but Mr Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest* has given it a more deep and lasting impression on my heart, for which I have great cause ever to bless God. It is a bitter sweet; bitter to corrupt nature, but sweet and ravishing to the regenerated part. I entreat you, therefore, yea, charge you, with all humility and tender affection, that you spare at least half-an-hour for God every day, in the delightful exercise of heavenly contemplation, in this most precious soul-reviving, soul-ravishing, soul-perfecting duty. Take this from your dear

friend, as spoken in reverence, faithfulness, and filial affection."

Having arrived at the age of twenty years, he became fellow of his college, and wrote many letters to his brothers, accompanied with his earnest prayers and tears for their spiritual benefit, who, together with many of his acquaintances, will have cause to bless God for ever that they received his pious instructions. He spoke to them all in the language of the apostle, "Brethren, My heart's desire and prayer to God for you is, that ye may be saved. Distance of place, says he, cannot dissolve the natural bond by which we are one blood; neither can it cool our affections for one another, where true love exists in the heart. I can only say for myself, that I feel the power of this amiable affection better than I can express it. But love felt, and not expressed, loses much of its use and influence in our own lives and the lives of others. I am therefore anxious to make my love and regard for you all manifest in the best way I can. Let us look on one another, not only as brethren by blood, but also as being members of the same body, whereof Christ is the head; and happy, thrice happy, will that day be, when Christ shall discover this union. Let this therefore be the object of our greatest regard, of our strongest desires, of our unceasing endeavours, to meet together in Christ; for if we be in Christ, and Christ in us, then shall we be one in each other.

"You cannot complain of the want of instruction. God hath not been to us as the dry and barren wilderness; he has given us line upon line, and precept upon precept; he hath planted us by the rivers of water; and though the Lord alone giveth the increase, we are not to stand by and do nothing. The ground must be cultivated if we look for an abundant harvest; our corruptions must be overcome, and all our spiritual enemies discomfited, before we receive the crown. These are objects worthy of our best efforts, and our most exalted ambition. Seek them by earnest prayer and daily meditation. Keep your hearts always in a praying frame. These are not only necessary duties, but privileges, unspeakable privileges. If you can say nothing, oh! lay yourselves in the dust before the Lord. You will find more sweetness, more internal pleasure and satisfaction, in one glimpse of the love of God, than all the empty glories and grandeur of the world could ever communicate. O try the experiment! O taste, taste and be satisfied how good our God is! Say unto God, let me be any thing in this world, but let me have Christ in me the hope of eternal glory; and wrestle with him in prayer till he has in some measure satisfied your longing soul with his goodness.

Oh ! my brothers, how my heart works, how my bowels yearn towards you ! O that ye but knew with what affection I now write you, and with what prayers and tears these lines have been mingled. The Lord send these things home to your hearts, and give you grace to consider and apply them to yourselves.

“ Give me leave, my dear brothers, to deal plainly with you; I love you so well, that I cannot endure the thought of your souls being lost. Know, then, that there is such a thing as the new birth; and that except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. This new birth begins in a sense of sin, and proceeds with a sorrowing for sin, and with a resolution to strive against it; and at last with a hatred, an irreconcilable hatred of sin, and a love of holiness, without which no man can see the Lord. Without this there can be no salvation. May the Lord deliver us from a secure heart, crying, peace, peace, while there is no peace; for unless we are brought to relinquish our own righteousness, as well as our sins, there is no hope of our salvation. We must see our absolute need of Christ, and give ourselves up to him, to be covered by his righteousness, atoned by his blood, and governed by his law. Upon our faith and repentance we are justified, and the spirit of Christ, dwelling in us, subdues our corruptions, and invigorates the new man; so that we are enabled to make progress in a life of true holiness.

“ It is unworthy of a christian not to act for Christ in the face of every opposition. Be not ashamed of Christ, nor the doctrines of his word, nor afraid of the frowns of a wicked world; but be careful always to keep a conscience void of offence, and by no means yield to any known sin. Read the scriptures daily; these are they that testify of Christ and his salvation; and, O pray, pray without ceasing; and my greatest desire on earth is, that you may be all found in Christ, not having your own righteousness.”

Mr Janeway was a man of prayer, and some times so transported in that devout exercise, that he scarcely knew whether he was in or out of the body. His conversation was in heaven, and the consolations of his soul, when engaged in this duty, were such, that he frequently found it difficult to leave off; and, by a happy experience, he could subscribe to the declaration of the wise man, “ That wisdom’s ways are pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.” Like Jacob, when engaged in this holy exercise, he wrestled with God for the blessing, and was ever unwilling to rise from his knees without some gracious manifestation of his love and favour. And his requests were heard, and often remarkably answered, as appears in the following

instance: His father, when on his death-bed, was deeply exercised with doubts and apprehensions as to the state of his soul; and in this perplexity of mind, disclosed his heart to his son, saying, "O son, the passing of an immortal spirit into eternity is a momentous concern. Dying is a most solemn business, oh! a fearful business, for one who has not his pardon sealed, and his evidence clear for heaven. I am under no small apprehension respecting my own state for another world. O that God would clear up his love, that I might be enabled, with cheerful composure of spirit, to say, I can die, I can look death, with all his terrors, in the face, and venture on an invisible eternity with well-grounded peace and comfort of soul." Mr Janeway, observing the desponding spirit of his dear father, retired to wrestle with God in prayer, that he would lift upon him the light of his countenance, restore him the joy of his salvation, and the comfortable assurance of the love and pardoning mercy of his God and Saviour. On returning to the bedside of his dying father, he asked how he did; but for some time received no answer, his father being unable to speak, though he wept exceedingly. Recovering himself at last, he burst out in these expressions: "O son, now he is come, now he is come, blessed be God he is come, and now I can die. The Spirit of God hath witnessed with my spirit that I am one of his children; and now I can look up to God as my Father, and Christ as my Redeemer. My heart is full of consolation, it is brim full, I can hold no more. Now! now I know what is meant by *the peace of God that passeth all understanding*. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me magnify his holy name, who hath forgiven all mine iniquities, and sealed my pardon. Blessed be God, I can now die, and my desire is to depart and be with Christ. Now, O Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. When I walk through the vale and shadow of death I will fear no evil, for thou art with me. When one is dying, O how pleasant and transporting it is to behold the smiling countenance of his Redeemer. How refreshing the consideration, that when heart and flesh, and all sublimary things fail, to have God for the strength of our heart, and our portion for ever." In this happy frame of spirit the old man departed this shifting scene of showers and sunshine.

Upon the death of his father, Mr Janeway endeavoured to fill his place in the family, by the tender and affectionate care he took of his mother, his sisters and brothers; and his pious example, his wise instructions, and prudent conduct, had a powerful and pleasing effect on the whole family. The elder, as well as the younger branches, loved, revered, and obeyed

him; so that he was the comfort of his widowed mother, and the guardian, instructor, and pattern of imitation to his brethren. But some time after this, returning to King's college, he was invited to become domestic chaplain in the family of Dr. Cox, where he fully realized the expectations of his employer. His deportment was so courteous and obliging, and his conversation so pleasing and instructive, that he gained the affection, and even the admiration, of all. But ill health obliged him to relinquish this agreeable situation, and retire to his mother's house, in hopes that the change of air would remove his complaint. While residing at his mother's, he fell into a weak and languishing state; and finding the malady daily gaining ground, "My days are numbered (said he), and here let me wait with patience for the welcome summons that shall call me home to my Father's house, and the possession of the heavenly inheritance, to Christ the Mediator, to the glorious company of angels and the redeemed from amongst men. Can any thing on earth come in competition with objects so transcendently glorious. O that crown that shall encircle the temples of all those who have fought under the banner of Christ, when the God of peace shall have bruised satan under their feet! O that rest which remains for the people of God, when their warfare is ended, their iniquities forgiven them, and when, from this region of watching and fighting, of sorrow and suffering, they shall return and come to Zion, with songs of triumph over sin, death, and the grave. And, blessed be God, I can say, with all the confidence of faith, *they are mine*; mine is that crown of righteousness; mine is that Sabbath of eternal rest, and that song of endless triumph. For I know, that when this earthly tabernacle is dissolved, I have a building of God, a house not made with hands, durable as the pillars of heaven, and more immoveable than the foundation of the everlasting mountains! With prospects so glorious, who would wish to linger and languish in this vale of tears? My desire, therefore, is to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which is far better."

Writing to a friend under perplexing thoughts concerning the state of his soul, he thus addressed him: "Stand still and wonder, behold and admire the love of Christ. Here is an ocean of love, cast thyself therein, and thou shalt be encompassed with the height, the depth, the breadth, and length, of his love, and filled with all the fulness of God. What would you have more? God is an all-sufficient portion, and the only satisfying portion of an immortal soul. Hast thou not known, hast thou not tasted, that he is not only altogether lovely, *but altogether love*? While I write this, my heart burns within me, my soul is all on fire, I am sick of love. But now, methinks, I

see you drowned in tears, because you do not feel such powerful workings of love in your soul. Weep on—love, as well as grief, has its tears; and tears of sorrow, as well as tears of love, are kept in God's bottle, and marked in his book. Know, therefore, that these tears are just the streams of Christ's love flowing into thy soul, and of thy love flowing out towards him."

Mr Janeway, however, did not always bask in the cheering beams of the Sun of Righteousness. Like other saints, he had his cloudy as well as his clear and cloudless days. Like the apostle, lest he should be exalted above measure, the adversary was suffered to buffet him; but armed with the shield of faith, the breastplate of righteousness, and his head covered with the helmet of salvation, with the strength of Christ made perfect in his weakness, he left the field more than a conqueror. He was always afraid of spiritual declension, both in himself and others, carefully noticing the smallest departure of his heart from God, as well as God's withdrawing the light of his countenance from him, watching also, with a godly jealousy, over his intimate friends and relatives. To one of his brothers he wrote thus: "You live in a place where strict and close walking with God hath few examples, and God's children are apt to forget their first love. Our hearts are prone to carelessness and negligence on our watch. When conscience is put off with some poor excuse, religion withers, and the seeming zealot becomes a Laodicean; and he who once appeared to march with unhalting pace in the high way of holiness, becomes weary of his journey, lags behind, or steps out of the way, and comes to nothing. Alas! it is too common to have a name to live, and yet be dead. Read this, and tremble lest it be your own case. When we are most asleep, remember our enemy will be most awake—Watch therefore. I consider your age, I know where you dwell, neither am I ignorant of the temptations to which you are exposed, I cannot therefore help being jealous over you."

At the age of twenty-two years, he entered on the sacred work of the ministry, under a deep impression of the worth of immortal souls, and the awful responsibility of his office; but, alas! he never preached more than two sermons, from Job xx. 21. "Acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace, thereby good shall come unto thee;" which he is said to have delivered with so much clearness, compassion, power, and majesty, as greatly amazed those who heard him.

During the closing scene of his life, Mr Janeway seemed wholly absorpt in the contemplation of Christ, heaven, and eternity. He lived as a stranger in the world, as a pilgrim ap-

proaching the end of his journey, and now within sight of the land of promise. His meditations, his discourse, his whole deportment, indicated that he was fast ripening for glory. He was never satisfied but when employed in those exercises which brought him nearer to God and the kingdom of heaven; and from his own happy experience, he could say to others, "Come hither, and I will tell you what God hath done for my soul." In the full possession of all necessary comforts, he longed to be dissolved; and the thoughts of the last judgment sweetened all his enjoyments. "Were the day of judgment to come this hour (said he), I should be glad with all my heart. Then should I hear such thundering, and behold such lightnings, and such dreadful convulsions attending the dissolution of nature, as no eye hath seen, no heart hath conceived, and which no ear of man hath ever heard. Our God, arrayed in all the splendour of his divine attributes, appearing in the clouds of heaven, and seated on a great white throne, of which justice, judgment, and mercy, are the immoveable foundation. The graves opening, the dead arising, the world in flames, and the elements of nature melting with the intensity of heat. All order annihilated, the stars of heaven bewildered in their courses, and suns and systems blended in one universal mass of ruin and disorder. Ah! who can live when God doth this? Who can hold up his head amid the innumerable company there assembled before the universal, the impartial Judge, attended by ten thousands of his saints, and surrounded by all the splendour of heaven? Nature shrinks back from the all-important transactions, the august and tremendous ceremonial of this decisive day. Those, and only those, who have fought under the banner of Christ, the Captain of salvation, who have built their confidence on the Rock of ages, who have endured as seeing him who is invisible; while the children of iniquity are afraid, and fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrite, they shall look up with confidence to their Judge, their Father, and their friend. Let the sons of God, therefore, no longer hang down their heads. Let them lift up their hearts and rejoice, for the day of their redemption draweth nigh. Meditating on the glory and grandeur of this final scene, said he, has often ravished my soul, and at this moment affords me more sublime pleasure and satisfaction, than all that this passing world can possibly afford."

Mr Janeway at length found he was far gone in a consumption, with a copious spitting of blood, which indicated the rapidity of the disease; but these circumstances gave him no alarm, heaven was the port to which he was steering, the harbour where he longed to drop his anchor. To him the world

had lost all its attractions, his treasures were deposited in heaven, and there his heart and his affections were unalterably fixed. In the progress of his complaint he was seized with dimness in his eyes, and at last with a total want of sight; and being in the daily expectation of his departure, he called on his mother, to whom he said, "Dear mother, I am dying; but, I beseech you, be not grieved. Through the tender mercies of God I am quite above the fear of death; and I have nothing that troubles me but the apprehension of your immoderate grief. I go to him whose love is better than life; moderate your sorrow, nor afflict yourself as one that has no hope."

From this fainting fit, however, the Lord was pleased to relieve him; and for several weeks after, his soul was so devoutly engaged in the contemplation of the love of Christ, and the adoring exercises of heaven, that he forgot, in a great measure, his pains and indisposition. His faith, love, and joy, exceedingly abounding, he frequently exclaimed, "O that I could but express the joy and sweet satisfaction I find in Christ, you would then be constrained, all of you, to make religion the chief business of your whole lives. O my dear friends, you little know, you little imagine, what Christ is worth to a poor unworthy and guilty sinner on his death-bed."

A friend who visited Mr Janeway, observed that the Lord might yet restore him to health and usefulness in his church for a long time to come. "And do you think to please me with this? (said he)—No, my friend, you are quite mistaken; the world has no pleasure in reserve for me. How poor and contemptible is it in all its glory? How unsatisfying are all its enjoyments? How precarious are its blessings, and how fallacious are all its promises and prospects, when contrasted with that world to which I am travelling, and already in sight of, and with the inhabitants of which I long to associate? Dear mother, said he, I as earnestly request you, as ever I requested the throne of mercy in your behalf, that you will freely and cheerfully give me over to Christ. Why that desponding countenance, these untimely tears of sorrow? I only go before you to that haven of rest to which you are directing your course; and can you think of detaining me, now that I am going to the complete and eternal possession of a kingdom that cannot be moved? Would you keep me back from my crown? The arms of my Saviour are ready to embrace me, the angels are in waiting to transport my soul to the New Jerusalem and the tree of life. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. O why are his chariots so long in coming? Wherefore tarry the wheels of his chariots?" As he experienced the intermissions of these triumphant exultations, he cried out, "What! wilt thou, canst thou, thus unworthily

slight this astonishing condescension of thy God? Hold out, faith and patience, yet a little longer, and your work is finished." One of his brothers having prayed with him, his joy became unutterable, he broke out in unbounded strains of heavenly rapture, "Stand still, and wonder, O my friends (said he). Was there ever a more sensible manifestation of rich and sovereign grace? Come, look on a dying man, and wonder. Why me, Lord? Why me? Surely this is a-kin to heaven! Is this dying? If so, it is sweet, O it is sweet! Christ's arms, his love, and the gracious smiles of his countenance, would change hell into heaven! O that you could but see and feel what I now do! Behold a dying man more cheerful than ever you have seen a man in the greatest health and worldly enjoyment. O, sirs, worldly pleasures are poor, pitiful, sorry things."

Mr Janeway took his leave of his friends every night, expecting to see them no more till the morning of the resurrection, exhorting them always to make sure of a comfortable meeting in a better world. "O (said he) help me to praise God. Henceforth to eternity I shall have nothing to do but love, praise, and adore my God and Redeemer. I have had my soul's desire on earth. I know not what I could pray for, which I have not already received. The wants capable of being supplied in this world have all been furnished me. I want only one thing more, and that is, a speedy lift to heaven. I expect no more here, I desire no more, I can hold no more. He hath pardoned all my sins, he hath filled me with the joy of his salvation, he hath given me grace and glory, and no good thing has he withheld from me. All ye mighty angels, help, O help me to praise God. Let every thing that hath being assist me in this delightful exercise. Praise is my work now, and will be for ever. Hallelujah! Hallelujah! Hallelujah!"

During his sickness, he found the word of God sweet and pleasant to his soul, more particularly the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters of John's Gospel, and the fifty-fourth chapter of Isaiah, often repeating these words, *With great mercy will I gather thee.* A short time before his death, he said, "I have almost done with conversing among men; I shall presently behold Christ himself, who loved me, and washed me from my sins in his own blood. In a few hours I shall join the innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, and take part in their triumphant song—And who can help rejoicing in all this?" The day before his death, his brother James having prayed with him, he said, "Dear brother, I thank thee for thy love; I know thou lovest me; but Christ loves me infinitely more. Come, brother, kiss me before I die." Having kissed the clay-cold lips of the

dying man, he said, "I go before thee to glory, and I hope thou wilt follow me, in due time, to that land of quietness and assurance for ever." A few hours before his departure, he called together his mother, sisters, and brethren, to give them his last admonitions, and pray with them before he departed. His affectionate mother being first called, he thanked her for her love and tender concern for him, and desired her to labour to have Christ formed in the hearts of her children, that they might all meet together with joy at last in heaven. He prayed that his elder brother might be wholly taken up with Christ and the salvation of men; that he might be holy in his life, and successful in his ministry, and hold fast, that no man take from him his crown. For his brother Andrew, living in London, he prayed, "That God would deliver him from the sins of the city, and make him a fellow-citizen of the saints, and of the household of faith; and, oh! said he, that he may be, as his name imports, a *strong man*, and that I may one day meet him in heaven. Brother James, said he, I hope God hath given thee a goodly heritage, the lines have fallen to thee in pleasant places. The Lord is thy portion, hold on, dear brother, Christ and heaven are worth the contending for; and may the Lord give thee abundance of his grace." To his brother Abraham, he said, "May the blessing of the God of Abraham rest upon thee, and make thee the father of many spiritual children." To his brother Joseph, he said, "Let him bless thee, O Joseph, who blessed him that was separated from his brethren. My heart hath been long working towards thee, poor Joseph; and I am not without hopes that the everlasting arm will support thee. The God of thy Father bless thee." To his sister Mary, he said, "Poor Mary, thy body is weak, and thy life will be filled with bitterness. The Lord sweeten all with his grace and peace, and give thee health of soul. Be patient, secure an interest in the favour of God, and all shall yet be well. Sister Sarah, said he, thy body is healthful and vigorous, may thy soul also be healthful and active in the work and ways of the Lord; and O may he make thee a pattern of modesty and humility, of holiness, charity, and all christian virtues." To his brother Jacob, he said, "The Lord make thee an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile. Mayest thou wrestle with God for a blessing, and prevail." And of his younger brother Benjamin, an infant, he said, "Poor little Benjamin, O that the Father of the fatherless would take care of thee; and as thou hast never seen thy father on earth, may you see him with joy in heaven. The Lord be thy father and portion." He then said to them all, "O that none of us may be found on the left hand of Christ, when he cometh the second time, without sin, unto

salvation. O that we may, all of us, appear with our honoured father and dear mother amongst the ransomed from the power of death, that they may be enabled to say, Lo, here are we, and the children thou hast graciously given us. And now, my dear mother, brethren, and sisters, farewell, I leave you a short time, and commend you to God and the word of his grace, which is able to build you up in holiness and comfort, and give you an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading. And now, Lord, my work on earth is finished; I have fought the good fight; I have run the race that was set before me; I have pressed toward the mark for the prize; and, O Lord, what wait I for, but thy call to take possession of the crown of righteousness thou hast awarded to all who love thy second appearance. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." Having thus exhausted what little strength remained, he spoke no more, but almost instantly expired, June 1657, and in the twenty-fourth year of his age. When the Memoir of this extraordinary young man was originally published, the authenticity of the narrative was attested by four eminent presbyterian divines. Wood denominates Mr Janeway a zealous presbyterian. His three brothers, William, James, and Abraham, were all non-conformists, and ejected in 1662.

---

#### JOHN LANGLEY, A. M.

THIS famous scholar was born near Banbury, Oxfordshire, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford; afterwards a prebendary of Gloucester, where he was about twenty years master of the college school. In 1640 he succeeded Dr. Gill as chief master of St. Paul's school, London. In both these situations several of his pupils became very distinguished characters, both in church and state. Mr Richard Cumberland, afterwards bishop of Peterburgh, was one of that number.

Mr Langley was a judicious divine, and an universal scholar, greatly celebrated for his antiquarian researches, in which he was indefatigable, and eminently successful. He was held in great estimation amongst men celebrated for literature; but overlooked by the clergy on account of his puritanical principles, and especially because he was a witness against archbishop Laud, and in his deposition stated, that in the year 1616, his lordship, then dean of Gloucester, came down to the cathedral of that place, with the intention of turning the communion table into an altar, and to place it altar-ways at the east end of the choir, by removing it from its place in the middle of the church: That Dr. Smyth, bishop of Gloucester; opposed this

innovation, and warmly expostulated with the dean and the prebends, and protested, that if the communion table should be removed, or any such innovations introduced into the cathedral, as dean Laud then intended, he, for his part, should never again enter within its walls. But that, in direct opposition to the orders of the bishop, the dean was so violent, that he caused the Lord's table to be removed, and placed altar-ways, from north to south, at the east end of the choir, with popish furniture upon it, bowing towards it himself, and commanding the various officers of the church to do the same. And farther deposed, that the bishop was so much offended at these innovations, that, till the day of his death, he came no more into the cathedral. This is the substance of Mr Langley's evidence, all which was corroborated and confirmed by other witnesses. Being a most excellent scholar, Mr Langley was chosen one of the licensers of the press for the philosophical and historical departments. A minister of the same name was chosen for one of the assembly of divines; but, according to Wood, not the same person. Mr Langley died at his house, adjoining Paul's school, September 13th, 1657. Dr. Reynolds, afterwards bishop of Norwich, preached his funeral sermon; which was published.

Fuller calls Mr Langley the religious schoolmaster. Archdeacon Echard calls him an excellent theologist of the puritan stamp, a great linguist and historian, a nice and correct antiquarian; for which he was held in great estimation by the famous Selden, and other learned men. Mr Strype says, "He was a general scholar, and a celebrated antiquarian, especially in matters relating to his own country: That during his travels, he was at much pains gathering up her traditions, exploring her curiosities, and examining her monuments of antiquity, of which he formed a considerable collection. His awful presence, and commanding voice, produced uncommon fear and respect amongst his scholars; but he so managed matters, that they loved as well as feared him." His remains were interred in Mercers' chapel, Cheapside, with uncommon solemnity, when all his scholars attended; and as he died a single man, they walked before the corps from the school, through Cheapside, to Mercers' chapel, with white gloves, and hung with verses instead of escutcheons. Mr Langley was so much in favour with the worshipful company of Mercers, that they allowed him to recommend his successor. He was author of *Totius Rhetoricæ Adumbratio in usum Scholæ Paulinæ*—An introduction to Grammar, and some other works.

## THOMAS CAWTON.

THIS excellent divine was born at Rainham in Norfolk, in 1605, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge. From a child he was thoughtful and serious, and anxious to learn, that he might become a minister; and being a boy of great promise, Sir Roger Townsend patronised and supported him at college, where he made uncommon progress in the arts, the languages, and also in divinity. In the meantime, his piety was such, that it became a proverb amongst the students, the less serious of whom stigmatized those who were religiously inclined as being Cawtonists. Having continued seven years at the university, he removed to Ashwell, about twelve miles from Cambridge, to live in the house of Mr Herbert Palmer, another puritan divine, for the purpose of studying divinity; in which he made great proficiency, and occasionally assisted Mr Palmer in his pulpit exercises. On leaving Mr Palmer's, he became domestic chaplain to Sir William Armin of Orton in Northamptonshire; where his piety and holy life, together with his great abilities and faithful labours, gained general love and respect. Having continued in this situation four years, he became rector of Wivenhoe in Essex, having been presented to the living by Sir Roger Townsend. Wivenhoe, at this time, was notorious for drunkenness, swearing, sabbath-profanation, and almost every vice; but his faithful labours, and exemplary life, accompanied by the divine blessing, were the means of working an astonishing reformation. The people were in the habit of bringing their fish to market, and selling them on the Lord's day, hard by the church doors, which sorely grieved his righteous soul; but by his faithful and unwearied endeavours, this abominable practice was abolished, and a happy reformation of manners took place in the town and neighbourhood; and, it is added, that he was made instrumental in bringing great numbers to the saving knowledge of the gospel. He was married to the daughter of Mr William Jenkin, an ejected minister for non-conformity.

Mr Cawton having prosecuted his ministerial labours in this place about seven years, his health began to fall off; so that it was considered necessary for him to remove to some other situation for the benefit of a change of air; and receiving, about the same time, an invitation to Bartholomew's church, behind the exchange, London, he removed thither; and this change was the means of restoring his health, and preventing the return of the ague, with which he had been long and seriously afflicted. In 1648 he united with the London ministers in their declaration against the king's death; and, the same year, was brought

to trouble for his zeal in the royal cause. Being invited by the lord mayor and aldermen to preach at Mercer's chapel, he prayed for the royal family, especially for Charles the II. whom he considered as the legal sovereign; but delivered nothing offensive in his sermon. His prayer, however, was offensive to the ruling party. Accordingly, the day following, the council of state issued a warrant to apprehend him. When Mr Cawton appeared before his judges, he was charged with having proclaimed the young king; by which, according to the existing laws, he was guilty of high treason. He was therefore required to retract what he had said on this point, as the indispensable condition of his pardon. This Mr Cawton refused to do. "If (said he) I can be made sensible of having done or said any thing unbecoming a minister of the gospel, I am ready to recant; but I have heard no satisfactory reason assigned." He was therefore sent prisoner to the Gatehouse, where he remained in confinement about six months; when the parliament's army in Ireland having gained a signal victory, the House came to the resolution, that a certain number of prisoners, and Mr Cawton amongst that number, should be set at liberty, as a testimony of their gratitude to God; by which means he obtained his liberty, and returned to his family and flock, where he continued, for some time, in the exercise of his ministerial office. But being deeply concerned in Love's plot, he fled to Holland, together with Mr James Nalton, in 1651. On their arrival at Amsterdam, the English church, at that place, being destitute of a minister, they were both chosen collegiate pastors to the society. Mr Nalton afterwards was permitted to return to his native country; which he did: but Mr Cawton, not being favoured with this privilege, remained at Amsterdam till the day of his death. His fame, as a preacher and scholar, was soon spread through the United Provinces, where he shone as a star of the first magnitude, and he was held in high estimation by the Dutch, French, and English ministers in those parts. He became intimately acquainted with the most distinguished literary characters, Vælius, Leusden, Uchtman, Hulsius, and many others. The publication of Walton's Polyglot Bible, and Castell's Lexicon Heptagloton, was much forwarded both by his exertions and recommendation\*. In 1658 he received a letter from Charles II., then at Brussels, in which his majesty attempts to acquit himself of the charge of being at all inclined

\* The former of these learned works was printed in six folio volumes, and was the first book published by subscription in England. The latter cost the author the labour of seventeen years; by which his health was impaired, his constitution greatly shattered, and his fortune entirely ruined. It cost him upwards of twelve thousand pounds; for which, and his herculean labours, he had a poor remuneration.—See *Life of Cawton*, page 42—66.

to popery, and urges Mr Cawton, by all possible means, to remove such false and unworthy aspersions.

Thus having served the Lord seven years at Cambridge, seven years at Wivenhoe, seven years at London, and seven more in Holland, Mr Cawton died at Rotterdam, of a fit of the palsy, August 7th, 1659, and fifty-fourth year of his age. He was a laborious student, an excellent logician, and an incomparable linguist. He possessed a most accurate knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic languages, and was familiar with the Dutch, Saxon, Italian, Spanish, and French. But that which set forth his talents and literary acquisitions to the greatest advantage, was his eminent piety and holy life, his faith, patience, and sincerity, his self-denial, and charitable hospitality. As a minister, a master, a husband, a father, he was highly exemplary; an honour to his profession, and a pattern of virtue in every social relation. Wood, even Wood allows him to have been a learned and religious puritan. Mr Thomas Cawton, one of the ejected non-conformists of 1662, was his son, who trod in his father's footsteps, and published his life in 1662, together with the sermon preached by his father at Mercer's chapel, February 25th, 1648, entitled, God's rule for a Godly life, or a Gospel Conversation, opened and applied from Phil. i. 27.

---

#### WILLIAM AMES.

THIS learned divine was born in the county of Norfolk, in the year 1576, and educated in Christ college, Cambridge, under the famous Mr William Perkins. Having received the truth of the gospel, he became zealous in its defence, avowing his decided opposition to every kind of error and iniquity, but most especially against the delusive doctrines, the idolatrous ceremonies, and wide-spread corruptions of the church of Rome. About the year 1610, having been for some time fellow of his college, he preached a sermon at St. Mary's church, in which he severely reprehended the idle practice of playing at cards and dice. This gave great offence to many of his hearers, and the more especially, because he was well known to be inimical to the ceremonies of the church. Mr Ames, observing that the storm was gathering around him, found it necessary to quit the university, in order to prevent his expulsion. Previous to his departure, he was called before Dr Carey, master of the college, who urged him to wear the surplice; and that he might convince his understanding, and bring him to a compliance, he quoted the words of the Apostle—"Put on the armour of light;"

that is, said the doctor, the *white surplice!* But this very learned argument carried no conviction to the mind of the young man, who had resolved that no earthly consideration whatever should induce him to defile his conscience by such sinful compliance. He therefore resigned his fellowship, forsook the university, and soon after this, to escape the indignation of archbishop Boncraft, found it requisite to leave the kingdom. He sailed for Holland, and, on his arrival, was chosen minister of the English church at the Hague. But there, in a foreign country, under the wings of the Dutch government, even there the inveterate resentment of the prelates pursued him. He was but a short time comfortably settled at the Hague, when Abbot Boncraft's successor, that he might not be outdone by the severity of his predecessor, wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood, the English ambassador at the court of the Stadtholder, urging him, by all means, to procure his removal. Abbot's letter, dated March 12th, 1612, concludes by saying, "I wish the removal of him to be as *privately* and as *cleanly* carried as the matter will permit. We are also acquainted what English preachers are entertained in Zealand; and whereunto, in convenient time, we hope to give a redress." Hard indeed was the lot of the non-conformists under these intolerant churchmen, and Mr Ames had his share shaken down, and running over; nor did Abbot's resentment end here. When he was on the point of being chosen divinity professor at Leyden, his election was prevented by means of the archbishop, and by the interference of the ambassador; and so long as Mr Ames had any prospect in view, he was never satisfied till his purposes were defeated, and his hopes destroyed. Accordingly, the same unworthy manœuvres were attempted, when he was chosen, by the states of Friesland, to the above office in the university at Franeker; but happily without success; for in spite of the malice, and even the madness of his persecutors, Dr. Ames filled the divinity chair, with universal approbation, for the space of twelve years. He attended at the synod of Dort, and, from time to time, reported the debates of that venerable assembly to king James' ambassador at the Hague. Dr. Ames was famous for his controversial writings, especially against the Arminians, Bellarmine, and the English ceremonies; which, in point of conciseness and perspicuity, were unequalled by any of his time. But his health was on the decline; he had great difficulty in breathing, so that he expected every winter would be his last. The air of Franeker he began to consider too sharp for his constitution; and being, at the same time, desirous to preach the gospel to his countrymen, he accepted an invitation to the English church at Rotterdam, and resigned his professorship.

Upon this change of situation, Dr. Ames wrote his *Fresh Suit against Ceremonies*; a work of distinguished merit, which greatly enhanced the reputation of its author for talents and erudition. In the preface of this work, he states the controversy thus: "We hold the institutions of Christ to be, in every respect, sufficient for all the purposes of divine worship; and that the word of God is the alone standard in matters of religion. The prelates, on the other hand, would have us allow and practise certain human contrivances, rites, and ceremonies in christian worship. We therefore desire to be excused, holding them unlawful. Christ we know, and are ready to embrace every thing that cometh from him. But these ceremonies in divine worship we know not, and cannot receive; and, says he, I am now more than ever persuaded, that such relics of popery, and monuments of superstition, never did any good, but incalculable evil." He did not live, however, to publish it himself; but his editor says concerning him, that in this valuable work Dr. Ames pleads the cause of truth, both succinctly and perspicuously, as indeed he does most admirably in all his writings. His works manifest him to have been a lamp of learning and arts, a pattern of holiness, and a champion for the truth.

Dr. Ames did not long survive his removal to Rotterdam. His constitution had already been greatly undermined. He found the air of that place of no real advantage, and determined to remove to New England; but his asthma returning, put an end to his life at Rotterdam, where he was buried, November 14th, 1633, aged fifty-seven years. In the following spring his wife and children embarked for New England, carrying along with them his valuable library, which, at that period, was a noble acquisition to the colony. His son William, returning to England afterwards, was one of the ejected ministers of 1662. "Dr Ames (says Granger) filled the divinity chair with admirable ability; so great was his fame, that numbers, from remote nations, put themselves under his tuition; but he was much better known abroad than even in his native country. He was a solid, learned, and judicious divine. In doctrine a strict Calvinist. In matters of discipline and church-government, an Independent." Mr Mather styles him the profound, sublime, irrefragable, and angelical doctor, and doubts whether he left his equal on earth. Fuller has classed him amongst the learned writers and fellows of Christ-college, Cambridge. He seldom preached without shedding tears; and, on his death-bed, had wonderful foretastes of heaven.

Speaking of Dr. Ames as a writer, particularly on the moral science, the learned Mosheim says, "That by a worthy and

pious spirit of emulation, he was excited to compose a complete body of christian morality. He says he was a native of Scotland, and that he was the first among the reformers that began to treat morality as a distinct science, to consider it abstractedly from its connection with any particular system of doctrine, and to introduce new light, and a new degree of accuracy, into this master-science of life and manners. The attempt, says he, was laudable, had it been well executed; but the system of this learned writer was dry, theoretical, and subtle, much more adapted to the instruction of students, than the practical direction of private christians.

---

### RICHARD SIBBS.

THIS most worthy divine was born at Sudbury in Suffolk, in 1577, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where his learning and amiable deportment soon procured him promotion. He took his several degrees with great applause, and was first chosen scholar, then fellow of his college. While his literary fame was thus rapidly progressing, it pleased God to awaken him to a sense of his sins, and bring him to the knowledge of Christ, the Saviour of sinners, by the preaching of Mr Paul Baynes, then lecturer at St. Andrew's church. Having discovered the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and obtained mercy, he resolved to devote himself to Christ in the work of the gospel, and was soon after chosen lecturer at Trinity church. Here his preaching was numerously attended, both by scholars and townsmen, and became instrumental in the conversion, edification, and establishment of many. He appears to have been vicar of said church during the two last years of his life only, Mr (afterwards Dr.) Goodman having resigned in his favour. His fame having gone abroad, and reached the metropolis, he was chosen preacher at Gray's Inn, London, in 1618, where he became remarkably popular and useful. Besides the learned lawyers, many of the nobility, as well as the gentry and citizens, flocked to hear him, and many had abundant cause to bless God for the benefit they derived from his ministry. He continued in this situation to the end of his days. Dr. William Gouge, who some times heard him, says "He had a little stammering in his speech in the time of his preaching; but his judicious hearers always expected some rare notions from him."

About the year 1652 he was chosen master of Katherine-hall, Cambridge; which place, though a puritan, he was enabled to keep till his death. He was charged, however, with the sin of non-conformity before the high commission, and de-

prived of his fellowship and lecture. His matchless erudition, his piety and usefulness, were no security against the intolerant rage of the times. On his entrance as master of Katherine-hall, he found the society in a very declining state. Through his great influence, and strenuous exertions, however, it was soon restored, and even greatly enlarged, filled with learned and religious fellows, and became famous for genuine piety and solid learning. Some short time after this, Dr. Sibbs was chosen one of the feoffees for buying impropriations; for which, at the instigation of Laud, he was prosecuted in the star-chamber, together with all those concerned with him in this generous undertaking. But the prosecution was so notoriously invidious, that it was afterwards relinquished, to the no small disgrace of the bishop, who was the sole instigator and promoter of this persecution. He was again convened before the high commission as a notorious delinquent, only for promoting a private subscription for the relief of the poor and suffering ministers of the Palatinate; the result of which we have not been able to learn.

Dr. Sibbs was a dutiful pastor of the flock committed to his care. His great concern was, during the whole course of his ministry, to lay a good foundation, both in the heads and hearts of his hearers. Among people of understanding and piety, he chiefly preached on the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and particularly on the incarnation of the Son of God. He laboured so much on this divine subject, that there can scarcely be one benefit arising therefrom, or one holy affection it is calculated to excite, which he has not sweetly unfolded in these sermons, and applied to the various cases of his hearers. His thoughts and his discourses were so much directed to, and conversant about, the sufferings of Christ, and his state of humiliation, that it seemed to produce, in his own soul, the deepest reverence and humility, both before God and men. He greatly excelled in his knowledge of the holy scriptures, was a faithful steward of the manifold grace of God, and accounted one of the best preachers of his time; and though a staunch non-conformist, he was of so meek and peaceable a spirit, that he was ever careful not to give offence, where it could, consistent with a good conscience, by any means be avoided. A burning and a shining light, who cheerfully spent himself for the edification and spiritual advantage of others; nor were the temporal necessities of the poor of the flock of Christ overlooked. His purse, on all occasions, was open to their bodily wants; and his very soul commiserated their spiritual indigence. During the summer season he used to visit many of the wealthy families in his neighbourhood, with whom he was always projecting plans

for the relief of the poor, and other useful purposes. He was beloved and highly respected by men of real worth, and intimate with many persons of distinguished eminence, among whom was the celebrated archbishop Usher, whom he frequently visited in London. He died on the 5th July 1635, aged fifty-seven years. He was a grave and solid divine, famous for learning, piety, and politeness.

His last will and testament breathes the spirit of genuine piety and generosity. Therein he first bequeathes his soul to his gracious Saviour, who redeemed it with his precious blood, and now appears in heaven to receive it to himself. Then he gives grateful and hearty thanks to God for having vouchsafed him to live in the blessed times of the gospel, and granted him an interest in, and a participation of, its manifold comforts, and honoured him to publish it with some degree of faithfulness. He ordered his body to be buried according to the pleasure of his executors, and bequeathed his real and personal estates to his only brother, and other near relations, with numerous legacies to his friends and connections. The peaceable disposition of this holy man will partly appear from the following anecdote: A fellowship being vacant at Magdalen college, archbishop Laud recommended his bell-ringer at Lambeth for the place, with the obvious design of quarrelling with the fellows if they refused, or placing a spy over them if they accepted. Dr. Sibbs, who was ever unwilling to provoke his superiors, told the fellows that *Lambeth-house* would be obeyed; and as the person was young, he might in time prove hopeful. To which view the fellows assenting, he was, without further objection, admitted.

Dr. Sibbs has also rendered his name famous, among the friends of evangelical religion, by his numerous and excellent publications. His works breathe the warmest strains of piety and devotion, and will transmit his honoured memorial to the latest posterity. In his *Bruised Reed*, he says, "When struggling against the corruptions of our own hearts, buffeted by temptations, and mourning over the weakness of our faith, and the coldness of our love, let us still remember, that Christ will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax. As Captain of our salvation, he combats and conquers our rebellious inclinations, as well as our outward and spiritual adversaries, and hath furnished us with the shield of faith, wherewithal to defend ourselves, and enable us to repel the fiery darts of the devil. Satan, however, will sometimes endeavour to persuade us, that we have no faith, that we are destitute of love to Christ, that we are great sinners, and that the mercy of God, and the love and compassion of Christ, are blessings we

have for ever forfeited. To all these suggestions of the enemy of mankind, we are warranted and encouraged to reply: That albeit we are great sinners, Christ is an almighty Saviour; and though our faith be weak, and our love cold, Christ will not quench the smoking flax, but fan it into a flame that shall never be extinguished. Abimelech could not endure the thought, that it should be said concerning him, after his death, that he *died by the hands of a woman*; and how mortifying must it be to satan, to find that all his arts have been unavailing, his threatenings vain, and his power inadequate to the task of extinguishing an almost imperceptible spark. To find that the soul, influenced by the grace of God, stands secure as an impregnable fortress: that the wiles of satan cannot sap the foundation, nor all the artillery of hell batter down the walls of her defence; and that a weak child, a silly woman, or a decrepit old man, should, by the exercise of faith, force all his veteran legions to a shameful and precipitant retreat. Let us therefore rejoice in the promise—‘My grace is sufficient for you;’ and let the assurance, of an ultimate triumph, invigorate our resolution to fight the good fight, and lay hold on eternal life. For though the warfare be arduous, if we strive, Christ will help us. If we faint, he will cherish, animate, and support us. If we follow the directions of our Leader, we shall assuredly overcome; and, overcoming, the crown of unfading glory awaits our reception.

“It is with the true church of Christ, as with its individual members, dangers are without, and fears within. We see her present forlorn condition. She is like Daniel in the lion’s den; like a lily amongst thorns; or as a ship tossed on the tempestuous ocean, the waves passing over her. A strong conspiracy has been raised against her, the spirit of antichrist is now lifted up, and though we cannot see what is a-doing, and what will be the end of these dark dispensations, let us comfort ourselves with the consideration, that Christ lives, that our Redeemer reigns, that he is the shield of her salvation, and though states and kingdoms should dash one another to pieces, he will take care of his own church, and all her members. When Christ and his church are apparently at the lowest, then are they nearest the rising. The wicked are not so; but when at the height of their power and presumption, they stand on the brink of a fearful precipice, whence they shall experience a terrible downfall.

“The course of the gospel, like that of the sun, has heretofore been from east to west. The occurrences of our time indicate, that its progress still continues in the same direction, and the enemies of Christ and his church might as well at-

tempt to arrest the sun, repel the rising tides, or bind up the winds of heaven, as overcome the power, and prevent the progress of divine truth; which, in despite of every opposition, will yet force its way into the remotest corners of the world, till all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God; till Christ shall have brought his whole church under one shepherd, and into one sheepfold, when he will present them to his Father, without spot or blemish, saying, ‘Lo, these are the children thou hast given me, they have taken me for their leader, they fought under my banner, they have suffered in my cause—I will therefore that they likewise reign with me, and that where I am, there they may be also.’”

Mr John Dod, having perused the manuscript of his sermons on Canticles, chap. v., says, “I judge it altogether improper to conceal, from the public eye, the precious matter comprised in these sermons. I consider them excellent helps to the understanding of that dark and divine scripture, as well as to warm the heart with all heavenly affections toward Jesus Christ. The whole is composed with so much wisdom, piety, judgment, and experience, that the work commends itself to all who are wise for their own souls; and I doubt not but they will find their understanding enlightened, their temptations answered, their fainting spirits revived, their graces confirmed, and will have cause to bless God for the author’s godly and painful labours.”

His works are, 1. The Bruised Reed.—2. The Saint’s Safety in Evil Times.—3. The Church’s Visitation.—4. The Fountain Sealed.—5. Divine Meditations.—6. Emanuel, God with us.—7. Light from Heaven.—8. Spiritual Jubilee.—9. Yea and Amen.—10. The Spiritual Man’s Aim, and the Christian’s Portion and Charter.—11. The Returning Backslider.—12. The Hidden Life.—13. Beams of Divine Light.—14. The Excellence of the Gospel above the Law.—15. Christ Exalted.—16. Evangelical Sacrifices.—17. Union betwixt Christ and his Church.—18. Commentary on Phil. chap. iii.—19. The Glorious Feast of the Gospel.—20. A Commentary on 2 Cor. chap. i.—21. An Exposition of 2 Cor. chap. iv.—22. The Soul’s Conflict.—23. The Saint’s Cordial.—24. Christ’s Conference with Mary.—25. The Key of Heaven, or the Lord’s Prayer Opened.—26. Sermons on Canticles, chap. v.

---

### ALEXANDER LEIGHTON, D. D.

THIS unparalleled sufferer in the cause of non-conformity was born in Scotland, about 1568, and most probably had his

education at some of the Scotch universities. He took his degree of doctor of divinity both at the university of St. Andrew's and Leyden. Granger says, incorrectly, "That he was not doctor of divinity, but of physic, though exercising the ministry." Sir Ellis Leighton, and the eminently pious archbishop Leighton, of whom bishop Burnet gives an excellent character, and whose works are still held in great reputation, were his sons.

This reverend divine was reputed for his ability, learning, and piety; but his zeal against episcopacy exposed him to the rigour of prelatival vengeance. He published a book, entitled, *An Appeal to Parliament; or Zion's Plea against Prelacy*; for which he met with unprecedented cruelty from the star-chamber. In this work he expressed his sentiments against the hierarchy, and the proceedings of the ruling prelates, with too much warmth for the period in which it was wrote. In which book, some of our historians say, "He excited the parliament to kill all the bishops, by smiting them under the fifth rib; and that he bitterly inveighed against the queen, calling her the daughter of Heth, a Canaanite, and an idolatress." "The truth (says Mr Peirce) is this: That after having enumerated many grievances, cruel inflictions, and fearful forebodings, occasioned by the episcopal establishment, and her prelatival procedure, he admonished the parliament utterly to root out the hierarchy, that the nation might be freed from the apprehension of any further danger." But that he excited them to kill the bishops, whether guilty or not of death-deserving crimes, I can nowhere find in his book; but, on the contrary, find, towards the end of the work, the following explication of his own words: "To make an end (says he) of our present subject, we wish your honours could prevail with the bishops, by fair means, to throw off their overcharging calling. If they will not be thus persuaded, we fear they are like pluretic patients, who cannot spit, and whom nothing but incision can cure. We mean of their callings, not their persons, with whom we have no quarrel, but wish them better than they wish either us or themselves. One of their desperado mountebanks declared, from the pulpit, that they could find no cure for us, their supposed enemies, but *pricking in the bladder*; but we have not so learned Christ." Moreover, in the charges brought against him in the star-chamber, there was no such thing mentioned; which, had it been found in his book, would assuredly have been brought forward. What degree of credit is due to men who thus represent the sense of an author contrary to his own express words, and what is their design by such misrepresentations, needs no comment. His calling the queen the daughter of Heth, a Canaan-

ite, and an idolatress, though unpleasant, and even unbecoming epithets as applied to the queen, had no other meaning but that she was a papist; while, in fact, she really was not only a notorious, but a bitter one. Archbishop Tillotson, long after this, used language, with respect to the marriage of foreign popish princes with our own, but very little more refined than those of Dr. Leighton, without giving the least offence. The worthy prelate styles them the people of these abominations; and that it was owing to these marriages, that, for two or three generations, popery had been so much countenanced in the country.

Though Leighton's book was written in spirit and expression too warm for the time, Dr. Harris, who had particularly examined the work, says, "It was written with spirit, and also with more sense and learning than writers of that stamp were in the habit of using at the time." But the reader will be better enabled to judge from the following circumstantial account, collected from the most authentic records.

On February 29th, 1629, Dr. Leighton, coming out of Blackfriars, was seized by a warrant from the high commission court, and dragged by a multitude of armed men to bishop Laud's house; from which, without being examined, he was carried to Newgate, where, after being loaded with irons, he was clapped into a loathsome dog-hole, swarming with rats and mice; where the roof, being uncovered, the rain and snow beat in upon him. He had no bedding, nor place to make a fire, save the ruins of an old smoky chimney; nor had he any thing either to eat or drink from the Tuesday night till Thursday at noon. In this loathsome abode he continued fifteen weeks, while none of his friends, nor even his wife, were permitted to see him, nor a copy of the warrant for commitment allowed him. On the fourth day after his apprehension, the pursuivants, belonging to the high commission, went to his house, and laid violent hands on his distressed wife, and treated her with the most disgraceful and shameless barbarity. To a child of five years of age they presented a pistol, threatening to kill him if he would not inform them where the books lay; which so terrified the child, that he never recovered; and notwithstanding that Mrs. Leighton was willing to open every thing before them, they broke up chests, presses, boxes, and whatever came in their way, and carried away every thing they wished to possess, books, manuscripts, apparel, household stuff, &c.

During his confinement in Newgate, it was the opinion of four physicians, that poison had been administered to him, as his hair and skin came off; and while in this deplorable condition, his sentence was pronounced in the star-chamber, without

hearing one word in his defence, notwithstanding that a certificate, signed by four physicians and an attorney, stated the dreadful nature of his complaint, and the impossibility of his attendance.

But it will be necessary here to state the charges brought against this unhappy man. June 4th, 1630, an information was exhibited against Dr. Leighton, in the star-chamber, by Attorney General Heath, wherein he was charged with having published and dispersed a scandalous book against the king, peers, and prelates, entitled, *Sion's Plea against Prelacy*; in which, amongst other things, he sets forth these false and seditious assertions and positions: 1. That we do not read of greater persecution, or higher indignity being done to God's people, in any nation professing the gospel, than has been exercised against them in this our own island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth. 2. That he terms the prelates of this realm men of blood, and enemies to God and the state: That the maintaining and establishing of bishops in this realm, is a main and master sin established by law: That ministers ought to have no voice in council, deliberative and decisive. 3. That he avows the prelacy of our church to be antichristian and satanical, and terms the bishops ravens and mag-pies that prey upon the state; and terms the canons, made in 1603, nonsense canons. 4. He disallows and contemns kneeling in receiving the sacrament; and alleges, that this spawn of the beast was brought forth by the prelates, to promote and perpetuate their own unlawful standing. 5. He affirms that the prelates have corrupted the king, forestalling his judgment against God and goodness, and most audaciously calleth his majesty's royal consort, our gracious queen, the *daughter of Heth*. 6. He most impiously seems to commend him who committed the barbarous and bloody act of murder on the late duke of Buckingham, and to encourage others to second him in like atrocious, wicked, and desperate attempts to destroy others. 7. He lays a most seditious scandal upon the king, state, and kingdom, wickedly affirming, that all who pass by us spoil us, and that we, in our turn, spoil all who rely upon us; instanciug, amongst other things, the black pining death of the famished *Rochellers*, who died to the amount of fifteen hundred in the space of four months. By which passages, and wicked assertions, he does every thing in his power to scandalize his majesty's sacred person, his religious, wise, and just government, the person of his royal consort the queen, the persons of the lords and peers of the realm, and especially the reverend bishops. 8. That he not only endeavours to slander his majesty's sacred person and government, but even to detract from his royal power, in mak-

ing laws and canons for ecclesiastical government, by affirming, that the church hath all her laws from the scripture, and that no king has power to legislate for the church; for, if they had, the scriptures must be imperfect. And, *lastly*, thinking to salve all with the expression of his sacred majesty, he says, what a pity it is, and what indelible dishonour it will be to you, the representatives of the people, that so ingenious and tractable a king should be so monstrously abused, to the undoing of himself and his subjects.

These ten charges contain all that was brought against Dr. Leighton; and we have no reason to think they were not the worst that could be found in his book. The reader will here perceive the worst part of his character, and will easily appreciate what degree of criminality is attached to his publication. Though some of these assertions are certainly imprudent, they are, nevertheless, true, and too glaringly manifest, in the history of the country, to be refuted, even at this distance of time. Dr. Leighton, in his answer to the above charges, acknowledged, that while the parliament was sitting, in 1628, he drew up the heads of his book, and with the approbation of five hundred persons, under their own hands, some of whom were members of parliament, he went over to Holland to get it printed. That he printed five or six hundred copies only, for the use of the parliament, but they being dissolved before the work was finished, he returned home without bringing any of them into the country. He acknowledged writing the book, but with no such intentions as suggested in the information. His only design was to remonstrate against certain grievances in church and state, under which the people were suffering, in order to induce the parliament to take them into their serious consideration, and give such redress as seemed most for the honour of the king, the advantage of the people, and the good of the church.

When the cause came to be heard, the charges against him were read from his own book, and his answers were also read at length. In answer to the first charge, viz. That we do not read of greater persecution, or higher indignity done to God's people, in any nation professing the gospel, than in this our own island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth. He acknowledged the words in his answer, but asserted that the thing was so notoriously true, that he was astonished how it could be brought up against him as a crime; a fact so glaringly obvious, that no sophistry could palliate or conceal; a stain on the country so deep, that all the waters of the ocean could not wash it off. Where, my lords, will you find a nation, professing the christian religion, where the people have suffered so much cruelty, oppression, and indignity, from the ministers of

religion, as the non-conforming ministers and people of England have suffered from prelatical power and intolerance? If you turn your eyes to the nations of the continent, in hopes of finding a parallel of English folly and bigotry, you will look in vain. There, indeed, you may find thousands of our most virtuous, loyal, and industrious countrymen, who have been received with generous hospitality, pitied, protected, and their virtues appreciated, by strangers, whom the rigour of prelatical oppression had driven from their occupations, their friends, and the land that gave them birth. If you cast your eyes across the Atlantic, there also you may behold additional demonstrations of prelatical cruelty. Thousands who, to save themselves from their unendurable oppression, have braved the dangers of the ocean in search of a place of rest and security, even amongst savages and wild beasts, in the waste and howling wilderness. On finding themselves beyond the vindictive arm of prelatical intolerance, hear them, like the Israelites when they found themselves rescued from the fury of their Egyptian task-masters and pursuers, hear them hymning the God of their salvation in acclamations of joy and praise, and sending their prayers up to the throne of mercy for the weeping friends and suffering countrymen they had left behind them. But why travel so far in search of proof to support a fact so incontrovertible? Look at home. Have not the prelates shed the blood of a number of faithful ministers of the gospel? Have not the jails of the country been filled, and the dungeons inhabited by the very men who laboured the most to promote the best interest of the country, and who have set examples of piety and morality before its inhabitants? How many of these meritorious individuals have been silenced, deprived of their livings, and themselves and families left desolate and destitute; while their flocks, starving for want of the bread of life, had none to break it? In this critical situation, when met together to worship God in secret places, that they might avoid giving offence to their superiors, how often have whole congregations been dragged to prisons and dungeons? And for what mighty purpose was all this waste of blood, this exercise of relentless cruelty and power, unknown to the constitutional laws of the country? Not surely to quell a rebellion, for the people are loyal? No—but to promote and perpetuate prelatical power, at the expence of all the other orders in the state. My lords, the strength and glory of a nation must ever consist in the number and virtue of its inhabitants; and its wealth and prosperity most assuredly depend on their industry: But the prelates, by scattering her population, have diminished the strength of their country. By silencing her preachers, they have demoralized her population, and

tarnished her glory; and by persecuting her people, they have driven her arts and industry into the hands of strangers, who laugh at our insanity. What patriot can avoid shedding tears when he contemplates the misery that must be the unavoidable consequence of such a preposterous course of procedure? One consolation, however, remains to cheer our dejected spirits. As it was with the Israelites in Egypt, so it has ever been and will be. The more religion and virtue are persecuted, the more their votaries will increase. Inasmuch, therefore, as public opinion has erected the greatest empires, and again destroyed them; it will follow as a natural consequence, that so soon as oppression has alienated the mass of a people from that system under which they suffer, the fabric itself must give way. At present it may be fairly estimated, that every cruel act of intolerance, exercised against men of pious, moral, and useful lives, besides the sufferers themselves, alienates the affections of a thousand individuals from the national church, and without reverting to a more mild and conciliating mode of ecclesiastical policy, it may be safely averred, without pretending to the spirit of prophecy, that the time is not far distant when the breath of public opinion shall curtail the power of the prelates, and scatter the fragments of their tinsel fabric of superstition to the winds of heaven. I loved my country, and trembled at the precipice over which the measures of the ecclesiastics were likely to plunge us, both as men and christians. And with a view to prevent, if possible, a catastrophe so dreadful, prayed the representatives of the nation to interfere before it was too late. Must I therefore be accounted an enemy, either to the church or state, for thus telling a truth of such importance?"

At these cutting remarks, Laud was so exceedingly enraged, that he desired the court to inflict the heaviest sentence that could be inflicted upon him; which was done to his lordship's great satisfaction. The sentence runs thus: "That Leighton shall be degraded from his orders in the ministry, have his ears cut off, his nose slit, and be branded in the face: That he shall stand in the pillory, be whipped at a post, pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and suffer perpetual imprisonment." This dreadful sentence having passed on the unhappy Leighton, Laud pulled off his hat, and, holding up both his hands towards heaven, *gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his enemies!!!*

A certain knight having intimated to a lord, high in office, his apprehensions that such dreadful sentences would open a door for the prelates to inflict the most disgraceful punishments and tortures, even upon men of quality. His lordship replied, "That it was designed merely for the terror of others, and that

there was no reason to believe it would ever be put in execution." This worthy lord was, nevertheless, much mistaken; for Laud and his adherents had it executed in all its shocking severity. Accordingly, on November the 4th, he was degraded in the high commission, and on the 10th of the same month, being a star-chamber day, the sentence was intended to be put in execution; but Leighton, the preceding evening, had made his escape out of the Fleet, where he was kept a close prisoner. Information of this having reached the lords of council, they immediately ordered the following Hue and Cry to be printed and published throughout the kingdom.

*A Hue and Cry against Dr. Leighton.*

"Whereas Alexander Leighton, a Scotchman born, who was lately sentenced, by the honourable court of star-chamber, to pay a great fine to his majesty, and to undergo corporeal punishment, for writing, printing, and publishing a very libellous and seditious book against the king and his government, hath, this eleventh day of November, escaped out of the prison of the Fleet, where he was prisoner. These are, in his majesty's name, to require and command all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, customers, searchers, and officers of the ports, and all others, his majesty's loving subjects, to use all diligence for the apprehending of the said Alexander Leighton; and being apprehended, safely to keep him in custody until his majesty shall receive notice thereof, and shall give further directions concerning him. He is a man of low stature, fair complexion; he hath a yellowish beard, a high forehead, and between forty and fifty years of age."

In consequence of the Hue and Cry following him into Bedfordshire, he was apprehended, and brought back to the Fleet prison; and bishop Laud could not help transmitting to posterity how anxious he was to have this barbarous sentence put in execution, and his mortification at Leighton's escape from prison, as appears from the following memorial, found written in his diary: "November 4th, Leighton was degraded in the high commission. November 9th, he broke out of the Fleet. The warden says, he got, or was helped, over the wall, and professes he knew not this from Tuesday till Wednesday noon. He told it not me till Thursday night. Leighton was taken again in Bedfordshire, and, within a fortnight, brought back to the Fleet. November 26th, part of his sentence was executed upon him at Westminster." This sentence, so gratifying to the tender feelings of the pious bishop, was inflicted in the manner following: He was taken to Westminster, where, having cut off one of his ears, they slit up one side of his nose, and with a red-hot iron

branded one of his cheeks with the letters S. S. for a Sower of Sedition. This done, he was put in the pillory, where he was held almost two hours under an intense frost; after which he was tied to a post, and whipped with a triple cord, with that severity, that every lash brought away the flesh; and though his friends had a coach in readiness to carry him back to the Fleet, he was not allowed that small indulgence; but compelled, notwithstanding his mangled state, and the severity of the season, to return by water. On the 3d of December, none of his wounds as yet closed, he was taken to Cheapside, where his other ear was cut off, the other side of his nose slit, and branded on the other cheek; after which he was set in the pillory, and being whipped a second time, carried back to the Fleet, where he was kept ten weeks amid dirt and mire, not being sheltered from even the rain or the snow, and then shut up in close prison, where, for ten or eleven years, he was not permitted to breathe the open air. When this victim of prelatial animosity came forth from his wretched abode, which was not till after the meeting of the long parliament, his limbs were so benumbed that he could not walk, neither could he see or hear. The detail of his unparalleled sufferings, as set forth in his petition to parliament, greatly moved the compassion of the people; and humanity will revolt at the cruel narrative, so long as it continues to be read.

The long parliament having met, Dr. Leighton presented a petition, November 7th, 1640, to the commons, complaining of the cruelties that had been heaped upon him; which the House could not hear without being several times interrupted with bursts of indignation and tears. The petition being read, an order passed the House, "That Dr. Leighton shall have liberty to go abroad, in safe custody, to prosecute his petition here exhibited; and that he be forthwith removed from the common prison, where he now is, into some more convenient place, and have the liberty of the Fleet." At the same time, the House appointed a committee to take his petition into serious consideration.

Owing to the innumerable complaints poured into the House from every quarter of the kingdom, together with a multitude of other matters that came before the committee, it was the 21st of April before the report on Leighton's case could be presented to the House; on which report, the following resolutions were passed:

1. "That the attaching, imprisoning, and detaining Dr. Leighton in prison, by the warrant of the high commission, is illegal.
2. That the breaking up of Dr. Leighton's house, and taking away his papers, by Edward Wright, then sheriff, and

now lord mayor of London, is illegal. 3. That the said Edward Wright ought to give reparation to Dr. Leighton for his damages sustained, by breaking open his house, and taking away his papers and other goods. 4. That the archbishop of Canterbury, then bishop of London, ought to give satisfaction to Dr. Leighton for his damages sustained, by fifteen weeks imprisonment in Newgate upon the said bishop's warrant. 5. That the great fine of ten thousand pounds, laid upon Dr. Leighton by sentence of the star-chamber, is illegal. 6. That the sentence of the corporeal punishment, imposed upon Dr. Leighton, the whipping, branding, sliting the nose, cutting off his ears, setting in the pillory, and the execution thereof, and the imprisonment thereupon, is illegal. 7. That Dr. Leighton ought to be freed from the great fine of ten thousand pounds, and from the sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and to have his bonds delivered to him which he gave for his true imprisonment. 8. That Dr. Leighton ought to have good satisfaction and reparation for his great damages and sufferings sustained, by the illegal sentence of the star-chamber."—Such were the resolutions of the House of commons, after a mature examination of this affecting case, when it was voted, that he should receive six thousand pounds for damages; though, on account of the confusion of the times, it is believed he never received the money. About two years after this, he was appointed, by the House of Commons, keeper of Lambeth house, which had been turned into a prison. While in this situation, he is said by some to have made reprisals on the purses of the loyal clergy and gentry for the damages he had sustained by their party. How far this is correct we have no means of ascertaining. If false, it was what he had reason to expect from the party. If true, it only amounts to this, that intolerance, persecution, and injustice, are crimes, whatever party or individual be the criminal. In 1643 Dr. Leighton was still keeper of Lambeth prison; but the time of his death we have not been able to ascertain.

---

#### WILLIAM TWISSE, D. D.

ON the accession of James I. to the crown of England, the puritans anticipated, at the very least, a full toleration for their mode of worship under this presbyterian monarch, but were exceedingly mortified to find, that, in place of a toleration, Queen Elizabeth's act of conformity was pressed with more rigour by James, than had been done by his predecessor. Enchanted with the splendour of the English hierarchy, James so far deviated from his first principles, that he attempted, both

by deceit and violence, to impose a prelatical government on the church of his ancient kingdom of Scotland. In this attempt, however, he failed, through the zeal and determined opposition of the Scottish nation; but recommended it to his son and successor, to embrace the first favourable opportunity to consummate the darling enterprize. Accordingly, Charles I. having mounted the throne, and, like his father, yielding to the flattery and influence of the ruling ecclesiastics, pushed religious uniformity in England to that degree, that by the arbitrary measures of the court of high commission, together with his own encroachments on the rights of the nation, the hearts of his English subjects were much alienated from the government both of church and state; while his imprudent attempt to force a religion on Scotland, contrary to the general opinion, drove that nation into open and successful rebellion.

Under these threatening circumstances, the non-conforming party in England, and the Scottish nation in general, in order to protect their civil and religious rights, found it necessary to unite their endeavours in fixing limits to the royal authority. Charles, who had now reigned about fifteen years, during the last eleven of which he had engrossed the whole power of parliament, nor deigned to call them to the exercise of their privileges in the state, was at last constrained, by the necessity of his affairs, to summon his parliament, with the view of settling the alarming disorders of the nation. The long parliament accordingly met in 1640, and finding every thing in the greatest confusion, both in the civil and ecclesiastical departments, they requested the king to call an assembly of learned divines, to deliberate on the measures necessary to regulate the disorders, and quiet the animosities that existed in the church. His majesty having repeatedly refused to grant their request, and the matter being considered urgent, they changed their request into an ordinance of parliament, and called an assembly of divines by their own authority.

This famous assembly met in Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey, on the 1st of July 1643, when the ordinance of parliament was read, which declares the design of their convention to be for the settlement of religion and church government. The number appointed by parliament were about one hundred and twenty. They were chosen from the three principal religious denominations, the bishops, presbyterians, and independents. None of the bishops attended, however, because the king had denounced the assembly as an unlawful and irregular meeting. The members did not appear in canonical habits, but generally in black clothes, with bands, in imitation of the foreign protestant divines. Numbers of the ablest divines of

the age are enrolled in the list of this venerable body, and Dr. Twisse, the subject of our present memoir, was appointed, by both houses of parliament, to preside as their prolocutor\*.

This illustrious divine was born at Spenham-land, near Newbury in Berkshire, about the year 1575. His father was a respectable clothier, and had him educated first at Winchester school; from which, at the age of eighteen, he was sent to New college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. Here he spent sixteen years, and by the most assiduous attention to his studies, acquired an extraordinary proficiency in logic, philosophy, and divinity. His profound erudition was manifested in his public lectures and learned disputations, but more especially by his correcting the works of the celebrated Bradwardine, then publishing by Sir Henry Savile. He took his degree of arts in 1604, and, much about this time, entered into holy orders. He was an admired and popular preacher; and though some considered his sermons too scholastic, he was greatly followed both by the students and townsmen.

His uncommon fame having at last reached the court, he was chosen by king James to be chaplain to lady Elizabeth, then about to depart to the Palatine. With this appointment he cheerfully complied, and accompanied the young princess to that foreign court; and to moderate her grief at leaving her native land, her friends and her acquaintances, and render the journey both profitable and pleasant, he expounded some portion of scripture to her every day. He dwelt on the precarious nature of all sublunary things, the uncertainty of life, and the vast importance of a suitable preparation for death; and had so fortified the mind of this pious young lady, that she afterwards met the greatest adversities with courage and resolution. For this amiable princess was no sooner crowned queen of Bohemia, than she was forced to flee from that country, though the patrimony of her husband, while in a state of pregnancy, and remain an exile all the remainder of her days. Dr. Twisse did not remain, however, more than two months at the court of the Palatine, when he was called home to England, to the great grief of the queen and prince, her husband, who expressed his great concern in a Latin speech at his departure. On his arrival in England, he took his final leave of the court, and retired to a country village, and mean house, where he devoted himself to those profound studies, by which he laid the foundation of those rare and elaborate works, which will be admired by pious and learned men to the latest posterity. Dr. Twisse, about this time, became curate of Newbury, near the place of his birth,

\* It was thought most convenient to place the memoirs of the distinguished members of this assembly after that of Dr. Twisse.

where, by his exemplary life, and a conscientious discharge of his ministerial duties, he acquired a most distinguished reputation. In this retired situation, which was peculiarly suited to his taste, he lived in great peace and comfort. Secluded from the noise and bustle of the world, here his whole time was employed in his favourite studies, and for the spiritual advantage of his flock. He had no taste for worldly riches, nor ambition for ecclesiastical preferment, but modestly refused them when offered him. Few ecclesiastics have ever been more anxious to obtain church preferment than Dr. Twisse was to avoid it. He was offered the provostship of Winchester college, and pressed to accept it. He was also entreated, by the bishop of Winchester, to accept of a prebend; both places he modestly refused. The earl of Warwick offered him a more valuable living than that of Newbury; which at first he agreed to accept, providing the people of his charge could be furnished with a suitable pastor. He accordingly waited on the archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his favourable approbation, and was kindly received. His lordship granted all he requested, and promised to make mention of him to the king, as a pious and learned divine, and *no puritan*. The doctor, however, saw through the snares that were laid for him, and returned to his charge at Newbury, resolved to remain satisfied where he was. The states of Freeland invited him to the professor's chair in the university of Franeker, and he was pressed to accept of a professor's place at Oxford; but he refused them both.

With a view to arrest the progress of puritanism and serious religion, which were making alarming encroachments on the church, king James introduced a Book of Sports, for the amusement of his loving subjects on the Sabbath-day, either before or after divine service. These sports consisted in dancing, drinking, leaping, vaulting, erecting May-poles, with all the frolics in use on such occasions, with a variety of similar amusements; among which archery held a conspicuous place. His son, Charles I., pursuing similar views, again proclaimed an enlarged copy of said book, which he ordered to be read from the pulpits of every parish in the kingdom, under the pain of suspension and deprivation. Regardless of the penalty, Dr. Twisse refused to read it, and even ventured to declare himself decidedly against all such Sabbath profanation. Other faithful ministers did the same; for which they suffered the penalty. The doctor, however, came off better than many of his brethren, who were suspended from their ministry, driven out of the kingdom, or committed to prison. His refusal to read the proclamation did not escape the notice of the court; but the king ordered the bishops to take no notice

of the circumstance, but pass over his transgression. His majesty knew, that although Dr. Twisse was poor, and lived in an obscure situation, his fame was great in all the reformed churches, and that therefore nothing severe could be done against him without becoming a public reproach to themselves. Dr. Twisse continued to exhibit his public testimony against the Book of Sports, till it was finally ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, on the 5th of May 1643. He spared neither king nor parliament, but, with great ingenuity, turned this their own act against themselves. It was perhaps on account of his spirited opposition to the measures of the court and clergy, that Dr. Prideaux once said, "That the bishops of England little consulted their own credit, in not appointing Dr. Twisse, though against his inclination, to some splendid ecclesiastical dignity, by which, though they should not succeed in drawing him over to their party, they might at least mitigate or mollify the popular envy, and not hear themselves exposed to scorn by the curate of Newbury." During the civil wars, prince Rupert, being at Newbury, entertained our divine very courteously, and made him many honourable promises if he would forsake the puritans, write in defence of the royal cause, and live amongst the king's party. But the doctor very wisely, and very politely, declined the royal invitation.

From the books he had published, particularly his controversial works, he obtained an amazing celebrity. Here his talents and erudition were employed on his favourite subjects, without the least control, and with unrivaled success. Amongst his numerous antagonists were Dr. Thomas Jackson, Mr Henry Mason, and Dr. Thomas Godwin, a man of great learning, and celebrated for his knowledge in antiquities. He next encountered Mr John Goodwin, the celebrated advocate for arminianism, whom he is said to have refuted with great learning and judgment. His next contest was with Dr Cotton, a divine whom he highly esteemed, and whom he treated with great gentleness. He published a very learned refutation of Dr Potter's Survey of the New Platform of Predestination, and treated Dr. Heylin according to his deserts, in his Defence of the Morality of the Sabbath. He also successfully combated the famous Arminius, and others, in defence of the doctrines of grace. His answers to Dr. Jackson and Arminius, and his Riches of God's Love, when first published, were all suppressed by the arbitrary appointment of bishop Laud.

In the year 1640, Dr. Twisse was chosen one of the sub-committee, to assist the committee of accommodation, appointed by the lords for considering the innovations that had been introduced into the church, and to promote a farther reformation.

In 1643 he was nominated, by an order of parliament, prolocutor to the assembly of divines, who met at Westminster, by an ordinance of parliament, to settle religion and the government of the church. This learned assembly was opened on the 1st of July 1643, in Henry the VII's chapel, Westminster Abbey, where both Houses of parliament attended. On this rare occasion, Dr. Twisse, the prolocutor, preached a sermon, wherein he warmly exhorted his learned auditory to a faithful discharge of their duty, in promoting the glory of God, and the honour and interest of his church and people; expressing his regret that these proceedings wanted the royal assent, but was in hopes it might yet be attained in due time, and a happy union re-*est*ablished between the king, his parliament, and his people. Along with the presbyterians and independents, many of the most learned of the episcopal divines were also nominated. Archbishop Usher, bishops Wastford, Prideaux, and Brownrigg; Drs. Howldsworth, Hammond, Sanderson, and others, had been appointed, but refused to attend; because the king, by his proclamation of June 22d, had prohibited the assembly, declaring that no act done by them ought to be received by his subjects; threatening, moreover, to proceed against them with the utmost rigour of law.

None were permitted to enter the assembly without a written order from both Houses of parliament. They met every lawful day, with the exception of Saturday, which was allowed the divines to prepare for preaching on the Sabbath. They generally sat from nine in the morning till two, or sometimes three in the afternoon; which sederunts the prolocutor began and ended with prayer. About sixty of the members were generally present. They were formed into three committees, each of which took a portion of the work, and prepared it for public discussion in the assembly. The committees had their sentiments drawn up in distinct propositions, supported by texts of scripture; which propositions, as they came in order, were read to the assembly by one of the scribes, together with the texts by which they were supported; whereupon the assembly debated with much gravity, learning, and readiness. "I am surprised (says Mr Baillie, one of the Scotch commissioners to this assembly) at the very accurate extemporaneous replies made by many of the members. Their speeches are often long, and always very learned. They study the subject well, and prepare their speeches; but withal they are exceeding prompt and well spoken." None were called up to deliver their sentiments; they rose of their own accord, and were heard, without interruption, as long as they pleased to go on; and when the proposition was supposed to have been sufficiently discussed, there was a general cry for the question."

When the winter came on, the assembly removed to the Jerusalem chamber, a large and elegant room in Westminster Abbey, which had been fitted up for their reception. At the upper end of the room there was a chair, set on a frame, about a foot higher than the rest, for Dr. Twisse, before which stood two chairs on the floor for the assessors, in front of whom sat the clerks. The Scotch commissioners were seated on the prolocutor's right hand, who, on their entering the assembly, welcomed them in a long and very appropriate speech. Dr. Twisse, on account of his age and manifold infirmities, was not long able to attend upon the weighty concerns of this assembly. He had been long grieved to behold the contentions between the king and parliament, which he declared would at last ruin both; and often expressed a wish that the fire of contention might be extinguished, if it were even with his blood. The great contentions in the assembly, between the presbyterians and independents, greatly disturbed the serenity of his mind, and impaired his bodily health. For though his constitution was good, and his disposition cheerful, through age his body had become heavy and rather burdensome; so that, while warmly impressing the importance of divine truth on the minds of his hearers, he fell down in the pulpit, and was carried home to his bed, where he languished for about twelve months. During his long illness, he was visited by people of all ranks, who were lovers either of religion or learning, to whom he gave remarkable evidence of his faith, patience, and christian resignation under affliction. By the civil war he had been driven from his curacy and the people of his charge at Newbury, and deprived of all his property by the royal army; insomuch that, when a deputation from the assembly visited him, they reported that he laboured under great affliction and extreme poverty. Upon this report the parliament took his case into consideration, and passed an order, December 4th, 1645, that one hundred pounds should be given him out of the public treasury. Almost the last words Dr. Twisse uttered were, "I shall now, at last, have leisure enough to prosecute my studies to all eternity." He died the 20th July 1646, in the seventy-first year of his age. The whole House of Commons, and the Assembly of Divines, paid their respects to his memory, by following his remains to the grave in one sorrowful procession. Dr. Robert Harris preached his funeral sermon from Joshua i. 2. "Moses, my servant, is dead." He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where his body was only permitted to rest till the restoration, when, by orders of Charles II., his bones were disinterred, and, together with the bodies of many others, eminent both in church and state, thrown into a pit, dug for the purpose, in St. Mar-

garet's church-yard. A wretched specimen of the fine feelings, and delicate sensibility, with which the panegyrist of this royal violator of the tombs has attempted to laud his memory! The savages of New Zealand would scorn such contemptible and unworthy proceedings; not even the daring and celebrated Admiral Blake, who raised the naval reputation of his country above all former example, and whose services to the English nation will stand as a monument of his renown to the latest posterity, could escape this brutal and malevolent indignity. A considerable number shared the same fate; and had not an expression of the public indignation induced the king to more prudential measures, there is no saying how far these barbarities might have been carried on.

Dr. Twisse having thus left his family in indigent circumstances, the parliament voted one thousand pounds to be given to his children. Whether they ever received the money, the confusions of that period leave rather doubtful. Mr Clark says, "He was greatly admired for his learning, subtile wit, and correct judgment, integrity, modesty, and self-denial." Fuller calls him a divine of great abilities, piety, learning, and moderation; and Wood says his plan of preaching was good, his disputations were accounted better; but his pious life was esteemed the best of all. All writers against arminianism have made honourable mention of his works, and acknowledged him to have been the mightiest man that age produced on these controversies; and the most learned of his adversaries have acknowledged, that there was nothing extant, on the arminian controversy, more full and accurate than what is to be found in his works.

His works are, 1. A Discovery of Dr. Jackson's Vanities.—2. *Vindiciæ Gratiaë, Potestatis et Providentiæ Dic.*—3. *Dissertatia Scientia Media Tribus Libris Absoluta.*—4. *Dissertationes.*—5. *Of the Morality of the Fourth Command.*—6. *A Treatise of Reprobation, in Answer to Mr John Cotton.*—7. *Animadvertiones ad Jacobi Arminii Collat cum Frank Junio et Joh Arnold Corvin.*—8. *Predestinatione et Gratia.*—9. *The Doubting Conscience Resolved.*—10. *The Riches of God's Love to the Vessels of Mercy, consistent with his Absolute Hatred or Reprobation of the Vessels of Wrath.*—11. *Two Tracts, in Answer to Dr. H. Hammond.*—12. *The Synod of Dort and Ares Reduced to Practice, with an Answer.*—13. *The Sufficiency of the Scriptures to Determine all Matters of Faith.*—14. *The Christian Sabbath Defended against the crying evil of the Anti-sabbatarians of our age.*—15. *Fifteen Letters, published in Mede's Works, with numerous Manuscripts beside.*

## JEREMIAH BURROUGHS, A. M.

THIS amiable divine was born 1599, and educated at Cambridge, from which university, as well as from the kingdom, he was forced to retire on account of his non-conformity. Having finished his studies in the university, he entered on the ministerial work, and was chosen colleague to Mr Edmund Calamy, at Bury St. Edmund's. In the year 1631 he became rector of Titshall in Norfolk county; but upon the publication of bishop Wren's Visitation Articles, in 1633, he was suspended, and deprived of his living. From the intolerable oppression of the ruling ecclesiastics, Mr Burroughs sheltered himself for some time under the hospitable roof of the patriotic earl of Warwick; but the noble earl, unable to afford him any longer protection, he soon found it necessary to retire into Holland, from the persecution that raged in England against the puritans. After his arrival in Holland he settled at Rotterdam, where he became teacher to the congregational church, of which Mr William Bridge was the pastor. He is charged with having attempted to bribe the bishop's chancellor with an offer of forty pounds, after being suspended, and of sailing into Holland, and returning, disguised in the habit of a soldier, with a great quantity of libellous pamphlets for circulation in England; on which account he is said to have been deprived for his non-residence. Mr Edwards, however, has given a very different account of this affair; and says, that for speaking against the Scotch war, in a company which he could not trust, he fled to Rotterdam for fear of the consequences, at which he (Mr Edwards) greatly stumbled. Animadverting on this misrepresentation, Mr Burroughs observes, "That had Mr Edwards conferred with him on that matter, before he put his book to the press, as he had requested him to do, he would have given him such complete satisfaction respecting his leaving the kingdom, that he neither could have stumbled himself, nor caused others to stumble. I am so fully clear in that business, says he, that I wiped off, before my lord of Warwick, every thing that might have the appearance of indiscretion, not by my own testimony, but by that of two gentlemen, which, beside the accuser, were all that were in company while that affair was spoken of. The truth is, no such speeches were made. That I fled to Rotterdam, in *all haste*, is equally uncandid and untrue. It was four or five months after this accusation before I went to Rotterdam. Had not the prelatial faction been incensed against me, for standing out against their superstitions, I could have stood to what I had spoken, as I only put some queries, but affirmed nothing. But

I knew how dangerous the times were, and what the power of the prelatical party at that time was: That they were extremely incensed against me, and that, in my case, innocence itself could afford me no security. I had been deprived of my living by bishop Wren, where, I believe, I suffered as great a brunt as most of those who remained in England; though Mr Edwards has been pleased to say we fled that we might be safe ashore, while our brethren were enduring the tempest at sea. Four or five months having thus elapsed since my accusation, I began to think all would blow over, when my lord of Warwick, falling sick in London, sent for me, with whom I remained three weeks, going freely up and down the city. My lord, who knew the whole affair, was also of opinion that the storm was over; and when I was thus in hopes that I had been set free from my accuser, a messenger from Rotterdam arrived, with a call to me in writing, signed by the elders, and many other hands, in the name of the church; upon which we agreed upon the time when, and the place where, we should meet in Norfolk, to make a full conclusion, and prepare for our voyage."

Upon Mr Burroughs' arrival at Rotterdam, he was cordially received by the church, where he continued a zealous and faithful labourer for several years, and gained a very high reputation among the people. After the commencement of the civil war, when the power of the bishops was no longer dangerous, he returned to England, says Granger, not to preach sedition, but peace; for which he earnestly prayed and contended. As a divine, Mr Burroughs was greatly honoured and esteemed, and became a most popular and admired preacher. He was chosen by the congregations of Stepney and Cripple-gate, London, at that time accounted two of the largest congregations in England. Mr Burroughs preached at Stepney at seven o'clock in the morning, and Mr William Greenhill at three in the afternoon. These two men, whom Wood stigmatizes with the name of notorious schismatics and independents, were denominated, by Hugh Peters, the morning and evening stars of Stepney.

Mr Burroughs was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and was one of the dissenting brethren, but a divine of great wisdom and moderation. He united, with Mr Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, and Sydrach Sympson, in publishing their Apologetical Narration, in defence of their own peculiar sentiments. The authors of this work, who had all been exiles for their religion, to speak in their own language, consulted the scriptures without prejudice. They considered the word of God as impartially as men of flesh and blood are likely to do, in any juncture of time; the place they went to, the condition

they were in, and the company they were with, affording no temptation to any bias whatever. They assert, that every congregation has power within itself sufficient to regulate and govern all religious concerns, and is subject to no external spiritual authority whatever. The principles upon which they founded their church government, were to confine themselves, in every particular, to what the scriptures prescribe, without the least regard to either the opinions or practice of men, leaving themselves room for alterations upon receiving additional light from the word of God.

In conformity with these principles, Mr Burroughs united with his brethren in writing and publishing their reasons against certain propositions concerning presbyterial government. In 1645 he was chosen one of the committee of accommodation, and was especially serviceable in their important deliberations. He possessed uncommon candour and moderation; and during their debates, he made a declaration in the name of the independents, "That unless their congregations could be exempted from the coercive power of the classes, and left to govern themselves in their own way, so long as they conducted themselves with propriety toward the civil magistrate, they were resolved to suffer, or retire to some other place of the world, where they could enjoy the liberty of conscience. For, said he, so long as men continue to think there can be no religious peace without forcing all into one opinion; so long as they consider the sword an ordinance of God to determine all religious controversy; that fines, imprisonment, and persecution, are the only means for reclaiming the disobedient; and that there is no middle course between an exact conformity and a general confusion—there must, of necessity, be a base subjection of men's consciences to the most unsufferable slavery, a suppression of much truth, and the whole christian world remain a scene of animosity and universal discord."

After his return from exile, Mr Burroughs never gathered a separate congregation, nor accepted of any parochial benefice, but continued to exhaust his strength by constant preaching, and other ministerial services, for the advantage of the church of Christ. He was of a meek and amiable spirit, yet had he some bitter enemies, who, to their own disgrace, poured upon him the bitterest falsehoods. Mr Edwards, whose pen was often dipt in gall, heaps upon him many reproachful and unfounded reflections. This peevish and bigoted writer warmly censures Mr Burroughs for propagating his own sentiments on church government, and even for pleading for a general toleration; but our divine, with his usual candour, repelled the foolish charges, proved his own innocence, and exposed the malevolence of his enemy.

The last subject on which Mr Burroughs preached, and which he also published, was his *Irenicum*, or an Attempt to Heal the Divisions among Christian Professors. His incessant labours, and the grief occasioned by the distractions of the times, greatly contributed to hasten his end. He died of a consumption, November 14th, 1646, in the forty-seventh year of his age. Granger says, "He was a man of learning, candour, and modesty; in his life irreproachable, and highly exemplary." Fuller has classed him with the learned writers of Emanuel college, Cambridge. Dr. Williams says, "That his exposition of Hosea is a pleasing specimen of the popular mode of preaching, and serves to show with what facility the preachers of his time applied the scriptures to the various cases of their hearers in their expository discourses. He published several of his writings while he lived, and his friends sent forth many others after his death, most of them were highly esteemed by all pious christians."

His works are, 1. *Moses' Choice*.—2. *Sion's Joy*, a Sermon, preached to the Honourable House of Commons at their Public Thanksgiving, September 7th, 1641.—3. *An Exposition of the Prophecy of Hosea*.—4. *The Lord's Heart Opened*.—5. *A Vindication of Mr Burroughs against Mr Edward's Foul Aspersions*, in his spreading Gangarena, and his angry Antapologia, concluding with a brief Declaration of what the Independents would have.—6. *Irenicum*, to the Lovers of Truth and Peace.—7. Two Treatises, the first of Earthly-mindedness, the second of *Conversing in Heaven, and Walking with God*.—8. *An Exposition of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Hosea*.—9. *An Exposition upon the 8th and 9th chapters of Hosea*.—10. *The rare Jewel of Christian Contentment*.—11. *Gospel Worship*.—12. *Gospel Conversation*.—13. *The Evil of Evils, or the exceeding Sinfulness of Sin*.—14. *The Saint's Treasury*.—15. *Of Hope and Faith, and the Saint's Walk by Faith*.—16. *Reconciliation, or Christ's Trumpet of Peace*.—17. *The Saint's Happiness*.—18. *A Treatise of Holy Carriage in Evil Times*.—19. *True Blessedness, which consists in the Pardon of Sin*.—20. *Four useful Discourses*,

---

### CORNELIUS BURGESS, D. D.

THIS active and zealous puritan divine was descended from the Burgesses of Batcom in Somersetshire. He had his education at Oxford. In what college he first entered is uncertain, however, on the erection of Wadham college he translated himself thither, and there took his degree of arts. Afterwards he

removed to Lincoln college, where he received holy orders, and had some cure bestowed upon him; which, according to Wood, seems to have been the rectory of Magnus church, London, or the vicarage of Watford in Hartfordshire, or probably both these places. In the beginning of Charles' I's. reign, he became one of his chaplains in ordinary, and in 1627 he took his degrees in divinity. In consequence of his opposition to the ceremonies, and other innovations daily introducing into the church by bishop Laud and his intolerant faction, he was greatly harassed by the court of high commission, where he was charged, in 1622, with having administered the sacrament to some of the people sitting, and afterwards for having refused to read the common prayer in his surplice and hood. In 1635 he preached a Latin sermon to the London ministers in Alphage church, by the appointment of the governors of Zion college. In this sermon he warmly urged all possible diligence in preaching the gospel of the kingdom, asserting, that it was the bounden duty, even of the bishops themselves, to put their hand to this important branch of the public service of God, in imitation of the primitive bishops; of whom it is recorded, to their honour, that they were to be found more frequently in the pulpit than in the palaces of princes, more occupied as ambassadors of the Prince of the kings of the earth, than in the embassies of earthly potentates; quoting, at the same time, an old canon of the sixth general council, in which bishops are enjoined to preach often, at least every Lord's day, or to be canonically admonished for such neglect; whereupon, if they reform not, it was farther ordained, that they be excommunicated or deposed. The import of this sermon having been reported to the archbishop of Canterbury, he complained to the king; upon which the doctor was summoned before the court of high commission, where articles were exhibited against him, to the effect that he was disaffected to the book of common prayer, the ceremonies, and also to the government of the church by bishops, &c. besides, having charged the prelates with conniving at, and encouraging the propagation of, arminianism, and the restoration of popery; but, above all, with having insinuated an accusation against the bishops for their neglecting to preach often, as the primitive bishops are said to have done:—For these, and his non-conforming sentiments, the ecclesiastical rulers were mad against him, and their party everywhere cried out, that his conduct merited the highest censures of the church. His answers to the charges brought against him were so powerful, however, and his protestation annexed to his sermon, wherein he declares his conviction, that he had done or said nothing but what he was in duty bound to perform; and that, under that conviction,

he was determined to stand by every sentence he had uttered in the sermon alluded to, and defend the same against all opposers, even unto death. He delivered a copy of this sermon and protestation to archbishop Laud, who, with more than his usual moderation, let the affair drop. Dr. Burgess possessed the spirited and manly character with which our reforming forefathers were so eminently endowed; and his zeal, activity, and undaunted resolution in the service of the church, had been manifested on many important occasions.

The bishops, at this time, were extremely indifferent about preaching, if not strongly set against it; and the conforming clergy, in general, were most remiss in this part of their clerical duty; nor could it well be otherwise, when the prelates were so averse to this mode of instruction, that one of them, in derision, compared the minister that preached twice on a Sabbath, to Virgil's cow, that came twice a-day to the milking pail. Those ministers, however, who considered the importance of their office, and were zealous for the truths of the gospel and the salvation of men, continued fearlessly to do their duty at every hazard, and were much encouraged, about this time, by many of the leading men in the kingdom, particularly in both Houses of Parliament; by which means the majority of the nation were become cold to the episcopal government, and warmly attached to the presbyterian or congregational mode of discipline.

When the long parliament met on November 3d, 1640, both Houses petitioned the king to appoint a fast, that they might solemnly implore the Divine Majesty for a blessing on their counsels; which fast was observed on the 17th of the same month, and Dr. Burgess and Mr Marshall were appointed to preach before the House of Commons; on which occasion, we are informed, that the service of the day continued for seven hours. Wood says, that "Dr. Burgess, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, and others, on the approach of the troubles of those times, first whispered in their conventicles, and afterwards publicly preached, that it was lawful, in defence of religion, for subjects to take up arms against their sovereign; which doctrine being also admitted by the elders, the people of London rushed violently into rebellion, and became pliable tools in the hand of the faction in parliament, to raise tumults, make outcries for justice, call for innocent blood, subscribe and prefer petitions against the holy liturgy and the hierarchy; and especially, if Dr. Burgess but held up his finger to his myrmidons, to strike both at root and branch of the church of England." The earl of Clarendon also says, "That the archbishop of Canterbury never had so powerful an influence over the counsels

at court, as Dr. Burgess and Mr Marshall had over the houses of parliament." That Dr. Burgess and Mr Marshall were very active in the cause of parliament during the civil war, is undoubtedly true. They encouraged taking up arms in defence of the civil rights of the subject, and that religious freedom, without which no conscientious christian could enjoy even his civil privileges; and this at a period, when the arbitrary decrees of the star-chamber, and the cruel and bigoted mandates of the court of high commission, were become insupportable, while the will of the sovereign was substituted in place of the constitutional laws of the realm, and no alternative left but opposition or slavery. That ever they concurred in those after measures, that led to the death of the king and the dissolution of the constitution, even their enemies have never been able to make good. Mr Marshall has published a defence of the part he took in the civil war, and Dr. Burgess has also published an account of his principles and conduct during that distressing period, which Mr Calamy considers highly worthy of being preserved for the benefit of posterity.

In 1641 Dr Burgess delivered an animated speech in the House of Commons against deans and chapters. Their abolition was warmly disputed in the House, and that their revenues ought to be applied to more necessary purposes. This greatly alarmed the cathedral men, who, in consulting their own safety, agreed to send a divine from every cathedral in England to solicit their friends in parliament in behalf of their several foundations. Petitions were also forwarded from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The deputies from the cathedrals drew up a petition, praying to be heard by counsel; but were informed, that if they had any thing to offer on the subject, they should appear and plead their cause themselves. They therefore selected Dr. John Hackett, prebendary of St. Paul's, for their counsel, who, being admitted to the bar of the House, made an elaborate speech in their behalf; wherein he chiefly insisted on the topics of the Oxford address, urging, that cathedrals were well calculated to supply the defects of private prayer: That they were highly serviceable for the advancement of learning, and the training of young men for the defence of the church: That their loss would be severely felt, and singularly prejudicial to the interests of religion, but highly gratifying to its enemies. In conclusion, he put them in mind that, at the reformation, preaching first began in the cathedrals; drew their attention to the antiquity of these structures, and the many thousands maintained by them; their endowments, as greatly encouraging industry and virtue: That they were very beneficial to the crown, paying into the exchequer, in first fruits

and tenths, in a larger proportion than other corporations: And, finally, reminding the House, that these sacred edifices and estates were consecrated to God, and barred alienation with the most dreadful of all imprecations. Dr. Burgess replied, and pointed out their unprofitableness, and the egregious folly of spending such immense revenues, for that which, in many cases, was worse than useless. He complained, that the lives of their singing men were debauched; that their conversation was a disgrace to religion and christian morality; and that their example was like a contaminating pestilence, or a mildew that blasted the opening buds of virtue and religion. Having, at great length, replied to every particular of Dr. Hackett's speech, he said, in conclusion, that though, he apprehended, it was obviously necessary to apply the revenues of the cathedrals to better purposes, yet he held it by no means lawful to alienate them from public and pious uses, or convert them to the profit of individuals. He was a strenuous advocate for reformation, at this critical juncture, both in church and state. The arbitrary measures of the government, and the cruel intolerance of the bishops, had, during the last ten years, wonderfully altered the sentiments of the people with regard to both. This parliament, therefore, had been elected with a view to the redress of the public complaints, which were pouring into the Commons from every quarter; and the majority being of reforming sentiments, these complaints were readily attended to, and the victims of politics and religion were, in great numbers, relieved from prison and persecution.

Dr. Burgess was chosen one of those pacificators, who met in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster, 1641, on purpose to accommodate the differences in ecclesiastical matters. They consulted together for six several days, but failed in compromising their differences. He was frequently appointed to preach before parliament, particularly the House of Commons; and being much approved for his zeal, fortitude, and fidelity, and admirably adapted to the nature of the military service, he was selected by Essex, commander of the parliamentary forces, as chaplain to his regiment of horsemen. He was also nominated a member of the Westminster assembly of divines, and, together with Mr John White, chosen assessor, to supply the place of the prolocutor in case of his absence or indisposition. On the first of September, when the solemn league and covenant was submitted to the assembly, and generally approved, Dr. Burgess argued against imposing it on the people; but afterwards took it himself, and was grieved that he could not prevail on others to be of the same mind and accommodating disposition.

When the bishops came to the resolution of refusing ordination

to all who were not in the interest of the crown, application having been made to the assembly for advice in this matter, they advised, that an association of godly ministers, from London, and other places, be appointed, by public authority, to ordain ministers for the vacant congregations in London, and throughout the kingdom. Agreeable to this advice, the parliament passed an ordinance, October the 2d, 1644, appointing ten divines, being presbyters and members of the assembly, to examine and ordain, by imposition of hands, those only whom they judged admissible into the sacred office of the ministry; and Dr. Burgess was one of that number, whose name stands at the head of the list. To these ten, others were appointed who were not members of the assembly; so that the prelatial rulers were taken in their own craftiness, and the vacancies of the church filled with able ministers. Dr. Burgess was appointed, by parliament, at the request of the people of London, as lecturer at St. Paul's on the Sabbath evening, and also on a working day, weekly, with an allowance of four hundred pounds a-year, to be paid from the revenues of the cathedral.

When the king had deserted the parliament, and levied an army against them, they were under the necessity of requesting a voluntary loan of money, horses, plate, and whatever was convertible to the use of an army, which they were forced to raise in the defence of the rights of the country, or, in their own language, "for the defence of both king and parliament." Dr. Burgess lent them several sums of money; and, in the year 1646, the parliament, by their ordinance, appointed and ordained all the lands and revenues of the bishops to be sold, and the money applied to the exigencies of the state. In this ordinance, all those who had lent money, horses, plate, &c., for the public service, were requested to double their account, and draw the whole either in money or lands from that of the bishops; intimating, that they who did not double, would have nothing farther to secure their loans than the despised public faith, nor even that security, till all doublers were first satisfied. The doctor had a wife and ten children to provide for, who must be ruined if this money miscarried; and, to prevent the hazard of all, he doubled, which raised the nominal account to three thousand four hundred pounds, beside his loan for Ireland. He did all in his power to recover his loans in money, but could not; and finding the divisions, and several interests pursued by the parties who now directed public affairs, daily increasing, and himself but poorly requitted for all his faithful services, he was obliged to take up his money in bishops' lands; for which he has suffered the reproach of the royal and prelatial party, besides, on the restoration of Charles II., losing the whole amount, for

which, about one year before, according to Wood, he was offered twelve thousand pounds.

Dr. Burgess preached a sermon, at Mercer's Chapel, on the 14th January 1648, wherein he inveighed, with great freedom, in the face of imminent danger, against the design of taking off the king; and, about the same time, appeared at the head of a number of the London ministers, in vindication of themselves from the unjust aspersions laid to their charge, of being accessory to the king's death. This paper was drawn up by Dr. Burgess, and Mr Calamy has given it at length, with fifty-seven signatures. His name is also to be found, amongst many other highly respectable characters, in Mr Calamy's index of those who were ejected or silenced by the act of uniformity, at which time he was ejected from St. Andrews, in the city of Wells, in Somersetshire.

After the restoration, the royalists and zealous churchmen became the ruling party in the land, and aided by the interest and intrigues of the court, prevailed in most of the elections. Only about fifty-six members were of the presbyterian party, a number too small either to retard or defeat the measures of so large a majority. Monarchy, therefore, and episcopacy, were again exalted to their former splendour; and in place of learning wisdom in the school of adversity, in which they had been instructed about twelve years, they were now become still more malicious and intolerant. The solemn league and covenant, the act for erecting the high court of justice, with that for subscribing the engagement, and for declaring England a commonwealth, were all ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman; on which occasion the mobility assisted with great alacrity. Bishops were again restored to their seats in parliament; and after an adjournment of a few months, the parliament were again assembled, November 20th, 1661, when they proceeded to business with a more intolerant spirit than had ever been exhibited in the former reign. "The act of uniformity (says Mr Neal) stood on higher terms now than before the civil war; besides, that the book of common prayer was also rendered more exceptionable, by an addition of apocryphal lessons from the Idol Bell and the Dragon, with the addition of some new holidays; as St. Barnabas and the conversion of St. Paul, and a few new collects and alterations made by the bishops themselves." This bill passed into a law on the 24th of August 1662. Bishop Burnet says, "It passed with but a small majority." St. Bartholomew-day was the time appointed for the commencement of its operation, and seems to have been pitched upon for the cruelest purpose, as the tythes are due at michaelmas; and those who could not, with a good conscience, conform, were thereby

cut short of the whole year's support, and left to all the horrors of want and wretchedness. The clauses of this infamous act are studiously cruel and vindictive. In order to render a clergyman eligible to any ecclesiastical benefice, he must be ordained by the episcopal order; and if otherwise ordained before, he must be subjected to a second ordination in that form. He must declare his assent and consent to every thing contained in the book of common prayer, administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, with the psalter, and the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons. He must also take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and renounce the principle *of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatsoever.*

This bill reinstated the church of England in the same condition it held under Charles I., with these additional clauses of severity; and the persecuting laws of Elizabeth still remaining in force, all the promises of toleration, made by the present king, went for nothing; and lest this act had not been of itself sufficiently severe, another, entitled, The Five Mile Act, banished the non-conformists five miles from any city, borough, or church, in which they had officiated; which placed these unfortunate men away from their friends, who might have aided them in their great distress. The penalty was fifty pounds, and six months imprisonment; to which another grievous act was added, prohibiting them to meet, for the worship of God, at any place except in the episcopal churches, and according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England. Notwithstanding of all the evils threatened in this cruel, inpolitic, and intolerant act, Dr. Burgess, and a great cloud of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines, as Mr Locke calls them, amounting to about two thousand, according to Hume, in one day relinquished their cures, and, to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Rapin says, "St. Bartholomew-day being come, on which the act of uniformity was to take place, two thousand presbyterian ministers chose rather to quit their livings than submit to the conditions of this act. It was expected that a division would have taken place amongst them, and that a great number would have chose rather to conform to the church of England, than see themselves reduced to beggary. It was not, therefore, without extreme surprise that they were all seen to stand out, not so much as one suffering himself to be tempted into conformity."

Upon his ejection, Dr. Burgess retired to his house at Watford, where he lived privately, and was reduced to great straits, and had his latter days much embittered with affliction. He

had a curious collection of the different editions of the book of common prayer, which he presented to the public library at Oxford a few weeks before his death. He died at Watford in 1665, and was buried in the middle of the church of Watford, on the 9th of June that year.

Mr Calamy says, "Dr. Burgess was a complete master of the liturgical controversy, and that of church government." Neal says, "He was esteemed a very learned and judicious divine, and we have abundant evidence in his writings, that he had learned to comfort himself under his afflictions, with the solacing consideration, that neither poverty or peril, life or death, could separate him from the love of Christ, for whom he had suffered the loss of all things."

His writings are, 1. A Chain of Graces, drawn out at length, for a Reformation of Manners; or a brief Treatise of Virtue, Knowledge, Temperance, Patience, Godliness, Brotherly-kindness, and Charity.—2. New Discovery of Personal Tythes, or the tenth part of a Man's clear gain proved due, both in conscience and also by the laws of the kingdom.—3. The Fire of the Sanctuary newly uncovered, or a complete Tract of Zeal.—4. Baptismal Regeneration of Elect Infants professed by the Church of England.—5. A Sermon preached from Jeremiah i. 5. before the House of Commons, at their Public Fast, November 17th, 1640.—6. A Sermon, preached before the House of Commons, November 10th, 1641, from Psalm lxxvi. 10.—7. An Humble Examination of a printed abstract of the Answers to Nine Reasons of the House of Commons against the Votes of Bishops in Parliament.—8. The Broken Title of Episcopal Inheritance, or a Discovery of the Weak Reply to the Humble Examination of the Answer to the Nine Reasons of the House of Commons against the Votes of Bishops in Parliament, their Lordly Dignity and Civil Authority.—9. Two Sermons, preached to the House of Commons, from Jer. iv. 14. at two Public Fasts, on March 30th, 1642, and April 30th, 1645.—10. The Necessity of Agreement with God, a Sermon, preached to the House of Peers, from Amos iii. 3. at their Fast, October 29th, 1645.—11. Prudent Silence, a Sermon, preached in Mercer's chapel, before the Lord Mayor and Citizens of London, January 14th, 1648.—12. No Sacrilege or Sin to Alien, or purchase the Lands of Bishops or others, when their offices are abolished.—13. A Case concerning the Buying of Bishops' Lands, with the lawfulness thereof.—Beside these, according to Wood, he has other Sermons extant.

## JOHN WHITE, M. A.

THIS faithful servant of Christ was born at Stanton St. John in Oxfordshire, December 1575, where his father held a lease from New college, Oxford. He was descended from the Whites of Hantshire, and received his grammatical learning at William of Wickham's school, where, after a certain time, the scholars have exhibitions for prosecuting their studies in New college, whither he was sent, and became fellow. Mr White having served a probation of two years, took his degrees in arts, and entering into holy orders, became a frequent preacher in and about Oxford. In 1606 he left his college, and, probably about the same time, became rector of Trinity parish in Dorchester, in the county of Dorset. Deeply impressed with the importance of the charge laid upon him, he now entered upon the arduous duties of his office with resolution and alacrity, and discharged them with much care and fidelity. His great diligence as a pastor, in rebuking, admonishing, instructing, and comforting his people, left but few vacant hours for his own recreation. In the course of his ministry he expounded the scriptures all over, and had proceeded in a second exposition half way before his death; and for solidity and perspicuity, was accounted an excellent commentator. Dr. Manton says, "He excelled in giving a solid exposition of the text, and in deducing pertinent and practical remarks;" in confirmation of which, he refers his readers to his commentary on the first three chapters of Genesis. Mr White's settlement at Dorchester afforded him an opportunity of doing much good, not merely to the souls, but also to the bodies of his parishioners. His exertions for the interests of mankind, both spiritual and temporal, were great and incessant, highly becoming the character of a genuine christian. With this view, he studied, planned, and, with a degree of activity seldom equalled, exerted all his power and influence in carrying them into execution; so that, with the blessing of God on his laudable endeavours, the inhabitants of Dorchester came in for an ample share of the fruit of his humane and beneficent exertions. Dr. Fuller says, "That by his wisdom the town of Dorchester was much enriched. He instructed them in knowledge; and knowledge produced piety; piety stimulated industry; and industry soon procured them plenty. A beggar could not then be seen in the town, all the able poor were put to work, and the impotent supported from the profits of a public brewery and other collections. Industry, sobriety, and religion, flourished in Dorchester under his pastoral and economical care, and derived a powerful influence from his ac-

tive life and pious example. He considered economy and industry the well-springs of wealth; and from these a plentiful supply for the public necessities was soon obtained. Indolence and idleness are no less troublesome to their possessors, than burdensome and disgusting to society. Mr White therefore suggested plans for improving the circumstances of the poor, and heartily concurred with others in their execution. To provide for the impotent poor, and compel those who are able to labour for their own sustenance, has been the general object of all poor laws. In the intricate science of political economy, however, there appears to be nothing more difficult than to relieve poverty without encouraging idleness. Dr. Fuller farther observes concerning this illustrious individual, "That he had a powerful command of his passions, and that he could also command the purses of his parishioners, and wind them up to whatever pitch he pleased upon important occasions: That he was free from covetousness, and charitable almost to a fault: That he had a patriarchal influence both in Old and New England."

At the beginning of the long parliament, when many patriotic subjects appeared for the rights of the nation, Mr White associated with them, and his influence and distinguished abilities greatly contributed to promote the cause of civil and religious liberty; which enraged the royalists against him to that degree, that prince Rupert sent a party of his horse to Dorchester, who plundered his house, and carried off his whole library; on which he retired to London, and was for some time appointed minister of Savoy parish. In 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and one of the assessors to that assembly, where he was highly esteemed. Wood says, "He took the covenant, and sitting often with the assembly, shewed himself one of the most moderate and learned amongst them; and soon after did, by order, not only succeed Dr. Featley in the rectory of Lambeth, thence ejected, but had his library to keep, and use, till such time as Dr. Featley could recover Mr White's from prince Rupert's soldiers."

When both Houses of Parliament, with the Scottish commissioners, and the assembly of divines, were convened in Margaret's church, Westminster, on the 25th of September 1643, to subscribe the solemn league and covenant, Mr White opened that great solemnity by prayer. After him, Mr Henderson and Mr Nye spoke in justification of the measure they were met to consummate, shewing, from scripture precedents, the advantage the church had, on former occasions, received from such sacred associations. Mr Henderson, in name of the Scotch commission, declaring, "That the estates of Scotland had resolved to assist the English parliament in carrying on the designs of the covenant."

Upon which Mr Nye read it from the pulpit, with an audible voice, article by article, each person standing uncovered, with his right hand bare, and lifted up towards heaven. Dr. Gouge concluded the solemn business with prayer; after which the House of Commons went up into the chancel, and subscribed their names in one roll of parchment, and the assembly in another—in both of which the covenant was fairly transcribed. One proposition discussed by the assembly was, “That Jesus Christ, as King of his church, hath himself appointed a church government distinct from the civil magistrate.” This proposition was strongly opposed by the erastian party. Our divine subscribed it, when the learned Lightfoot entered his dissent.

Mr White married the sister of Dr. Burgess, by whom he had four sons, which survived their father. When the commotions of the nation ceased, and his work at London was finished, he returned to Dorchester; after which, in 1647, he was designed warden of New College after the death of Dr. Pink; but Mr Wood supposes he had refused the office; which is highly probable, being by this time far advanced in years. Having thus served his generation with incessant labour, ardent zeal, and distinguished ability, he slept with his fathers, July 21st, 1648. His remains were interred in the porch of St. Peter’s church, Dorchester, a chapel belonging to Trinity church.

His works are, 1. *The Troubles of Jerusalem’s Restoration, or the Church’s Reformation*; a Sermon preached before the House of Lords, 26th Nov. 1645.—2. *The Way to the Tree of Life, or Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Scriptures*.—3. A Sermon, preached at the General Assizes at Dorchester, the 7th March 1632.—4. A Commentary on the three first chapters of the Book of Genesis.

---

### JOHN ARROWSMITH, D. D.

THIS learned divine was born at Gatehead, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, March 29th, 1602, had his education at St. John’s college, Cambridge, and was afterwards chosen fellow of Katherine-hall, in the same university. He was chosen one of the university preachers, and preached for some time at Lynn, an ancient sea-port in the county of Norfolk; from which he was called to sit in the assembly of divines, which he constantly attended. He was one of several members who drew up the assembly’s catechism, and was greatly distinguished for his learning, piety, and talents. He afterwards preached at St. Margaret’s, Iron-monger-lane, London. April 11th, 1644, he was elected master of St. John’s college, when Dr. Beale was

ejected by the earl of Manchester, in pursuance of an ordinance of parliament for regulating and reforming the university of Cambridge. During the same year he was one of the committee of learned divines, which united with a committee of the lords and commons, to treat with the commissioners of the church of Scotland concerning an agreement in matters of religion. He took his doctor's degree in 1647, and was chosen vice-chancellor of the university the same year. In 1651 he was elected regius professor of divinity on the death of Dr. Collins, and was, at the same time, presented to the rectory of Somersham. In 1653 he was chosen master of Trinity college, Cambridge, on the death of Dr. Hill; and, in 1665, he resigned his professorship, and was appointed one of the triers, also one of the preachers before the parliament. He was a man of unspotted reputation, of great learning and piety, an acute disputant, a judicious divine, and an excellent author; as appears from the learned productions of his pen. He died in Feb. 1659, aged fifty-seven years, and his remains were interred in Trinity college chapel.

“Mr Neal observes (says Dr. Gray), that the learning and piety of Dr. Arrowsmith were unexceptional; but had he added, that he was an eminent preacher, and famed for his flowers of rhetoric, I could have helped him to some passages in support of such an assertion; for example, you have endeavoured, says he, to fence this vineyard (meaning the church) with a settled militia, to gather out the malignants as stones, to plant it with choice vines, men of piety and truth, to build the towers of a powerful ministry in the midst of it, and to make a wine-press for the squeezing of malignants. Again, it is the main work of the spirit of grace to negotiate a match betwixt the Lord Jesus and the coy souls of sinful men. It is a spiritual affection, that hath the Holy Ghost for its father, faith for its mother, prayer for its midwife, and the word of God for its nurse. After some overtures of a match in the reign of Henry VIII., says he, the reformed church in this kingdom was solemnly married to Christ, when the sceptre was swayed by his son Edward the VI. That godly young prince, as became the friend of the bridegroom, greatly rejoiced because of the bridegroom's voice. The famous nine-and-thirty articles of her confession, then framed, were evident signs of her being with child, and that a thorough reformation was then conceived; though but conceived; many and sore were the breeding fits she conflicted with during the reign of Mary, even such as gave great cause to fear she would have miscarried.” Mr Arrowsmith was firm and zealous in his attachment to the cause of truth, from which no worldly allurements could shake his faith, or move his confidence; a man

of a thousand; those who best knew him gave testimony to his diligence, his zeal, and integrity. His public ministry discovered his great dexterity, sound judgment, admirable learning, and indefatigable labours. His soul aspired to more than his weak and sickly body could possibly perform.

His works are, 1. *The Covenant Avenging Sword Brandished*, in a Sermon before the House of Commons, at their late Solemn Fast, January 25th, 1643.—2. *England's Ebenezer, or Stone of Help*; a Sermon preached before both Houses of Parliament, at Christ's church, London, March 12th, 1645.—3. *A Chain of Principles*.—4. *God-man*.—5. *A Great Wonder in Heaven*.—6. *Tracta Sacra*.

---

### SIMON ASHE.

THIS staunch puritan divine was educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, with a view to the church, and began his ministry, by preaching the gospel in Staffordshire, in the vicinity of those famous ministers of Christ, Mr John Ball, Mr Langley, and Mr Robert Nicolls, with whom he cultivated a particular acquaintance. Mr Ashe was pleasantly situated amongst his brethren, with whom he enjoyed a most agreeable intercourse; but not conforming to the ceremonies of the church, and particularly for refusing to read from the pulpit the Book of Sports, he was deprived of his living, and removed from his flock. This Book of Sports was first published by king James, May 24th, 1618, setting forth, "That for his good people's lawful recreation, his majesty's pleasure was, that after the end of divine service they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawful recreations; such as dancing either of men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor from having May-games, Whitsun-ales, or morris-dances, or setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used; so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment of divine service; and that women should have leave to carry rushes for decorating the churches, according to their old custom. Withal, prohibiting all unlawful games to be used on Sunday only, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, and at all times bowling, in the meaner sort of people, by law prohibited." Charles I. having imbibed his father's principles, and following his destructive policy, revived, enlarged, and keenly urged this his father's declaration. It was ordered to be published in all parish churches; but whether by the minister, or some other person, was left to the discretion of the bishop; and Laud, the inveterate enemy

of all puritans and non-conformists, well aware that the most strict and conscientious amongst them would stand out against such a disgraceful order, considered this the most likely method of getting clear of men whom he so heartily abhorred, and of whom he was not without his fears. In order, therefore, that he might find a plausible pretext against these men, the clergy were ordered to read this unparalleled piece of prelatial effrontery from their respective pulpits. Some poor clergymen strained their consciences, and obeyed the bishops; others read it with this observation, that in obedience to the ecclesiastic order, they had read the declaration of the king; but on purpose to perform their duty to the King of kings, and to the flock committed to their pastoral care, they must also read *his* declaration on this grave subject; so turning up the fourth commandment, read it aloud, saying, "The former is the declared orders of the chief magistrate of this realm, whom his subjects are in duty bound to love and obey; but the latter is the command, the imperative command, of him by whom kings reign; and seeing the two orders are diametrically opposed the one to the other, whether it be right, in this case, to obey God or man, judge ye." Others of the clergy put this disagreeable task into the hands of their curates; but a great many refused to read it on any terms whatever—of this number was Mr Ashe. By this base stratagem Laud deprived the nation of the services of her most zealous, pious, and laborious ministers, who were forthwith driven from their flocks, excommunicated, persecuted by the court of high commission, and not a few of them forced to leave their native land, for the deadly sin of not publishing, from their pulpits, the permission of the king to break through the command of God. "It is questionable (says Fuller) whether the sufferings of these men procured them more of the public commiseration, or the conduct of their persecutors, that of their hatred and animosity."

After some time, Mr Ashe obtained liberty, or was connived at preaching in an empty church at Wroxhall, under the protection of Sir John Burgoyne; and in Warwickshire, under the lord Brook, to whom he was chaplain. Upon commencement of the civil war he became chaplain to the earl of Manchester, and had a considerable share in the Cambridge visitation, formerly noticed. He was at the battle of Edgehill, which first effectually broke the peace between the king and parliament. This battle was fought on the 23d of October 1642, being Sabbath. The army of parliament, with which Mr Ashe was connected, commanded by the earl of Essex, intended to rest, and observe the Sabbath at Kineton, a small market town about three miles from Edgehill. But while the soldiers were going

to church, information arrived of the approach of the royal army; on which they advanced to meet them. Mr Ashe was chosen a member of the assembly of divines, and Mr Neal has marked him as a constant attendant at that assembly. He was minister of Michael Basing-shaw, London, and afterward of St. Austin's, London, where he died. He was one of the Cornhill lecturers, and one who subscribed the vindication of the London ministers from the charge of being promoters of the king's death. He was a strong opposer of the new commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, and had a considerable hand in the restoring of Charles II.

Dr. Walker, among other charges, severely censures him for a sermon, preached before the House of Commons, from Psalm ix. 9. for his invectives against the governors and government of the church. But Dr. Calamy, after perusing said sermon, says, "He found it to be a very grave and serious discourse, in no respect unbecoming either the preacher or the audience." Among many serious grievances, Mr Ashe takes notice, in this sermon, of the subscription urged upon all graduates in both universities, and upon all men entering the ministry, which he considers a heavy oppression, calculated to drive many promising scholars from theological studies, and to ensnare the consciences of others. He reprobates the pressing of useless ceremonies in the worship of God, upon pain of suspension, deprivation, and excommunication, whereby ministers and their families were exposed to great hardships, and congregations deprived of their pastors. The conniving at a scandalous ministry, the great abuse of oaths, particularly that of matriculation, the abuse of church censures, and the opposition made by the ruling ecclesiastics to piety and the power of godliness, by their derision and persecution of such as give evidence of seriousness and a holy conversation. The charges are no doubt heavy; but, at the same time, they were lamentably true. Mr Ashe must therefore be acquitted as blameless. Other charges were brought against him by Dr. Walker; which Dr. Calamy has largely and most judiciously refuted.

Mr Ashe had a good estate, and a liberal heart. He was hospitable without ostentation. His house was much frequented, and himself greatly esteemed. He was a christian of primitive simplicity, a puritan of the original stamp, distinguished by a holy life and a cheerful spirit; and it is well known, how desirable an acquisition it is to have a religious friend, whose cheerfulness contributes to enliven the exercises of social piety.

Dr. Calamy, who visited him in his last illness, says, "That he complained much, that ministers, when met together, dis-

course so little about Christ and the concerns of another world, resolving, that if it pleased God to restore him, he would endeavour, on such occasions, to be more fruitful than he had ever yet been, exhorting me, and other ministers, to preach Christ on all occasions; Christ crucified, our Advocate, and the propitiation for our sins. It is one thing, said he, to preach, or speak about Christ and heaven, and quite another thing to feel the consolations of Christ and of heaven as *I now do.*" At another time he said, "The comforts of a holy life are real and soul-supporting. I feel their reality; and you may learn, by my case, that it is not in vain to serve our God." His lively and edifying conversation, with those who visited him in his sickness, was useful and very encouraging, and he closed a life of labour and activity, in the cause of God and his church, with a pious, edifying, and comfortable death, on the 23d of August 1662, a short time before the fatal Bartholomew-day, when the puritans were ejected from their churches.

Dr. Calamy, who had the happiness of being intimately acquainted with Mr Ashe during the space of about twenty years, in London, said, at his funeral, "I can freely and clearly profess, and that with a sorrowful heart, that I, and many others, have lost a real wise and godly friend, brother, and fellow-labourer in the Lord. The church has lost an eminent member and a choice pillar; and this city has lost an ancient, faithful, and painful minister; and the less sensible the city is of this loss, the greater it is. The ministerial excellencies of many ministers were collected together, and concentrated in the person of Simon Ashe. He was a Bezaleel in God's tabernacle, a master-builder, an old disciple, whom many ministers, and other good christians, called Father; and I believe many lament over him as the king did over Elisha; for he lived desired, and died lamented." Samuel Rutherford, one of the Scotch commissioners, calls him the gracious and pious Mr Ashe.

His works are, 1. The best Refuge for the most Oppressed; a Sermon preached before the House of Commons, March 30th, 1642. In this celebrated sermon, speaking of the oppression which the church and people of God have to meet with in the world, mentions the English prelates as great oppressors, both in the church and commonwealth. "What country (says he), what city, what town, what village, yea, what family, I had almost said, what individual, has not, in one kind or other, in one degree or other, at one time or other, been the object of their oppression? They and their officers, by citations, censures, exactions, and other unjust proceedings, have been universal oppressors. How many wealthy men have they crushed by their cruelty! How many poor families have they ruined by their ty-

ranny! and I beseech you to consider, whether the most pious among preachers and people have not met with the hardest measures from their heavy hands. Alas! alas! how many faithful ministers have they silenced! how many gracious christians have they excommunicated! and how many congregations have they starved or dissolved in this kingdom! For the proof of all this, and of more than all this, I appeal to the unparalleled number of petitions presented to this present parliament.”—

2. Good Courage Discovered and Encouraged; a Sermon preached before the commanders of the military forces of London, 17th May, 1642.—3. The Church Sinking, saved by Christ; a Sermon preached before the House of Lords, February 26th, 1644, at their Public Fast.—4. Religious Covenanting Directed, and Covenant-keeping Persuaded; a Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and the rest of the Common Council of London, on the 14th January 1645.—5. God’s Incomparable Goodness to Israel Unfolded and Applied; a Sermon preached before the Commons, April 28th, 1647, at their Fast.—6. Christ the Riches of the Gospel, and the hope of the Christian.—7. Living Loves between Christ and the Dying Christian; a Sermon preached at the funeral of Jeremiah Whitaker. He is also said to have preached and published funeral Sermons for Mr Ralph Robinson, Mr Robert Strange, Mr Thomas Gataker, Mr Richard Vines, and the countess of Manchester. He wrote also several Prefaces for the works of others, and published the Power of Godliness, a Treatise on the Covenant of Grace, by the famous John Ball, who entrusted him with his manuscripts.

---

### THOMAS BAYLIE, B. D.

MR BAYLIE was born in Wiltshire. He was entered of St. Alban’s Hall, Oxford, 1600, being then eighteen years of age. In 1602 he was elected Demy of Magdalen college, and perpetual fellow of that house in 1611, being then master of arts. Some time after this he became rector of Maningford Crucis, near Marlborough, in his own county. In the year 1621 he was admitted to the reading of the sentences; from which time forward he warmly attached himself to the puritan party, and was ready to sacrifice every other consideration to what he conceived to be the truths of God; and accordingly avowed his sentiments by an open declaration. He was chosen one of the assembly of divines, became a zealous covenanter, and an indefatigable preacher. He succeeded Dr. George Morely, a royalist, in the rich rectory of Mildenhall, Wiltshire,

which he held till the restoration, when he was ejected by the act of uniformity. Upon his expulsion he retired to Marlborough, and had a private congregation, where he died in 1663, aged eighty-one years, and was buried in the church of St. Peter in that place. Upon his death, his conventicle, according to Wood, was carried on by another as zealous as himself. Both Walker and Wood say he was a fifth monarchy man; but Dr. Calamy assures us that this was not the cause of his ejection, but his non-conforming sentiments.

His works are, 1. *De Merito Mortis Christi, et Modo Conversionis Diatribæ duæ.*—2. *Concio ad Clerum Habita in Templo B.*; and, according to Wood, some other Sermons.

---

### JOHN BOND.

MR BOND was the son of Dennis Bond of Dorchester in the county of Dorset, a woollen draper in that place. While in this situation, he was a constant hearer, and a great admirer, of John White, minister, and frequently called the patriarch, of Dorchester. He was elected burgess, along with Daniel Hollis, for the borough of Dorchester, of which he was then alderman, to serve in the long parliament, and accounted a very active man. His son John, the subject of the present memoir, was educated under the Rev. Mr John White above-mentioned, and seems to have been much benefited in his youth by the faithful ministry of this distinguished servant of God. Having received a suitable and well-directed education at home, he was sent to Cambridge, and placed, Wood says, he thinks, in St. John's college, where he took the degrees of bachelor of civil law. Afterwards he became lecturer in the city of Exeter, the capital of Devonshire. He was a zealous puritan, who freely declared his sentiments, and suffered, accordingly, with cheerfulness, enduring all things for the gospel's sake. He was a zealous covenanter; and in his writings shews a strong attachment to the work of reformation. "The Lord (says he, in one of his sermons before the House), at this time, requires a reformation of religion in almost all its departments, in doctrine, worship, and government; and expects you will promote the late solemn league and covenant, that triple cable of the three kingdoms, by which the anchor of our hope is fastened, that three-fold cord that binds the three kingdoms to one another and to God." He was afterwards minister of the Savoy, London, and became one of the superadded members of the assembly of divines. He was sometimes called to preach before the long parliament; and some of his sermons were published, and are still extant. On the 11th

December 1645, he was made master of the hospital called the Savoy. He was appointed also master of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, which Mr John Selden had refused. In 1654 he was appointed an assistant to the commissioners of Middlesex and Westminster, for the ejection of ignorant and scandalous ministers and school-masters. Wood says, "He lived at Savoy, he believes, till the restoration, when he retired to Sutton in Dorsetshire, and died there, about 1680."

His works are, 1. A Door of Hope; also, Holy and Loyal Activity; being two Treatises, delivered in several Sermons preached at Exeter.—2. Salvation in a Mystery; or, a Perspective Glass for England's Case, a Sermon, preached before the Commons, March 27th 1644.—3. A Dawning in the West, a Thanksgiving Sermon, delivered to the Commons, 22d August 1645.—4. Job in the West, two Sermons, for two Public Fasts, for the five associated western counties.—5. A Thanksgiving Sermon, preached before the House of Commons, 19th July 1648.—6. A Sermon, entitled Grapes among Thorns, preached to the Commons.

---

### OLIVER BOWLES, B. D.

THIS venerable divine was fellow of Queen's college, Cambridge, where it is probable he had received his education. He was an excellent scholar, a celebrated tutor, and a man of exemplary piety. The famous Dr. Preston was one of his pupils. On leaving the university, he became rector of Luton in Bedfordshire, about the beginning of 1607, where he continued upwards of fifty years. He was chosen one of the assembly of divines, which he constantly attended, and was eminently serviceable in that theological convention. The assembly having petitioned the parliament for a fast, previous to their proceeding to business, Mr Bowles and Mr Matthew Newcomen were appointed to preach before both houses and the assembly, and both their sermons were ordered to be published. Mr Bowles' sermon is entitled, Zeal for the House of God Quickened; or, a Sermon, preached before the assembly of lords, commons, and divines, at their solemn Fast, July 7th, 1643, in Abbey church, Westminster, expressing the eminency of zeal required in church reformers. He was likewise author of a work, entitled *De Pastore Evangelico*. Dr. Calamy says it is an excellent work; it was published by his son, and dedicated to the earl of Manchester. He says, moreover, "that during the time of rampant episcopacy, it was not suffered to creep out, not for any evil in it, but because some men do not care for being put upon

too much work." Though Mr Bowles survived the restoration many years, it does not appear that he either conformed or was ejected. On account of his great age, and for some other causes, it is believed he left off preaching about 1659. He died on the 5th of September 1674, supposed to have been above ninety years of age.

Mr Bowles had twelve sons. Edward, one of them, a distinguished puritan divine, was ejected at the restoration.

Mr Timothy Cruso was favoured with the friendship and counsel of this aged divine, and attended him in his last illness. On the day prior to his death, Mr Bowles said to him, "have a care of yourself, Timothy, in this evil world, and be not so taken up with its vanities as to lose the substance for the shadow. Seeing you have resolved on the work of the ministry, I would advise you never to trouble your hearers with useless or contending notions, but rather to preach upon practicals, that you may set them on performing the duties of a holy life. I would not any longer live that idle and unserviceable life that I have lately done." "When I took my last leave of him (says Mr Cruso), he said, 'Farewell, Timothy; if I see thee no more in this world, I hope we shall meet in heaven, which is far better: Only remember to keep a good conscience, and walk closely with God.' This he twice repeated, with a strong and impressive emphasis."

---

#### WILLIAM BRIDGE, A. M.

MR BRIDGE was a student in Cambridge thirteen years, and some time fellow of Emanuel college in that university. He was first appointed minister in Essex, where he continued about five years, after which he was called to the city of Norwich and parish of St. George, Tomland. In which situation he continued till silenced by bishop Wren for his non-conformity, in 1637; after which he was excommunicated, and retired to Holland, where he became pastor to the English church at Rotterdam, of which Jeremiah Borroughs was preacher.

About this period the puritans, especially in the diocese of Norfolk, were grievously maltreated and persecuted by bishop Wren, for not complying with his visitation articles, a string of the most foolish and oppressive regulations that any part of the christian world had ever been pestered with. This book contained one hundred and thirty-nine articles, comprehending eight hundred and ninety-seven questions, some of them most insignificant, the greater part highly superstitious, and numbers of them such as could never be answered. For the gratification of the curious, we here insert a specimen of this

strange book. Is your communion-table so placed within the chancel as the canon directs? Doth your minister pray for the king with his whole title? Doth he pray for the archbishops and bishops? Doth he observe all the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed in the book of common prayer in administering the sacrament? Doth he receive the sacrament kneeling himself, and administer it to none but such as kneel? Doth your minister baptize with the sign of the cross? Doth he wear the surplice while he is reading prayers and administering the sacraments? Doth he, on rogation-days, use the preambulation round the parish? Hath your minister read the book of sports in his church or chapel? Doth he use conceived prayers before or after sermon? Are the church-yards consecrated? Are the graves dug east and west? Do your parishioners, at going in and out of the church, do reverence toward the chancel? Do they kneel at confession, stand up at the creed, and bow at the glorious name of Jesus? &c. These questions were intended as so many traps to catch the puritans, and answered the purpose so well, that in less than two years and four months fifty worthy ministers of the gospel were suspended, silenced, or otherwise censured, for not obeying one or other of these articles; among whom were Mr Ashe, Mr William Bridge, Jeremiah Borroughs, Mr Greenhill, and Edmund Calamy. A complaint was afterwards brought before parliament against Wren, stating, that while bishop of Norwich, by his oppressions, innovations, and the requisition of certain oaths, he had compelled above fifty families of that city to leave the kingdom; and that, by his rigorous severities, many of his majesty's subjects, to the number of three thousand, had removed themselves, their families, and estates, to Holland, where they had set up their manufactories, to the great prejudice of the trade of the kingdom.

Bishop Laud, in giving the annual account of his diocese to the king for 1636, says, "Mr Bridge, of Norwich, rather than conform, hath left his lecture and two cures, and retired to Holland." *Let him go, we are well rid of him,* said the king in his note on this article. But receiving encouragement from the long parliament, as many others, in like circumstances, did about this time, he returned to England, in 1642, and was frequently called to preach before the parliament. He was soon after chosen minister of Great Yarmouth in the county of Norfolk, where he continued his useful labours till Bartholomew's day, when he was ejected, with the rest of his brethren, in 1662. Mr Bridge, after returning from Holland, was appointed a member of the assembly of divines. He was of the independent persuasion, and, of course, one of the dissenting

brethren in that assembly, who opposed the presbyterians on the three following propositions: 1. That many congregations may be under the government of one presbytery. 2. That there is a subordination of assemblies or courts: And, 3. That one congregation ought not to assume the sole power of ordination, if it can at all associate with other congregations. On these propositions there was an arduous, long, and well-contested debate. Speaking on this subject, Mr Baillie, who was present, says, "the independents urged that they might be heard in the negative. Here (says he) they spent us many of twenty long sessions. Goodwin took most of the speech upon himself; yet they divided their arguments amongst them, and gave the management of them by turns to Bridge, Borroughs, Nye, Simpson, and Caryl. Truly, if the cause was good, the men have abundance of learning, wit, eloquence, and, above all, boldness and stiffness to make it out; but when they had wearied themselves, and over wearied us all, we found the most they had to say against presbytery was but curious idle niceties, and that they could bring forward nothing conclusive. They entered their dissent to these propositions, and only these, on the assembly."

Mr Bridge continued minister of Yarmouth till cast out by the act of uniformity; when he and his brethren gave the world an honourable specimen of their candour and sincerity in the cause of genuine christianity, by the sacrifice they made for what they were firmly persuaded were the truths of Christ. Mr Bridge says, in a sermon he preached at Westminster, 1641, "Of all the reformed churches in the world, England has borne the name, and worn the crown, for the life and power of godliness; yet give me leave, with grief of heart and sadness of spirit, to make a challenge, What reformed church is there in the world, that ever knew so many suspended ministers as England? Speak, O Sun, whether, in all thy travels, from the one end of heaven to the other, thou didst ever see so many silenced ministers as thou hast done here?" After his ejection, Mr Bridge had an opportunity of preaching sometimes at Clapham in Surrey. Wood says, that being silenced on his majesty's return, he carried on his cause in conventicles till about the time of his death. He died at Yarmouth, 12th of March, 1670, aged seventy years. According to Neal, he was a good scholar, and had a well stocked library; a hard student, who rose every morning, winter and summer, at four o'clock; he was an excellent preacher, a candid and very charitable man, who did much good by his ministry.

His works are, 1. *Babylon's Downfall*.—2. *The Saints' Hiding Place in the time of God's anger*.—3. *The Great Gospel Mystery*.—4. *Satan's Power to Tempt, and Christ's Love and*

Care of his People under Temptation.—5. On Thankfulness.—6. Grace for Grace.—7. The Actings of Faith through natural impossibilities.—8. Evangelical Repentance.—9. The inbeing of Christ in all Believers.—10. The Woman of Canaan.—11. Christ's coming is at our Midnight.—12. A Vindication of Gospel Ordinances.—13. Grace and Love beyond Gifts.—14. Scripture Light the surest Light.—15. Christ in Travail, and his assurance of Issue.—16. Lifting up for the Downcast.—17. Sin against the Holy Ghost.—18. The false Apostle tried and discovered.—19. Sins of Infirmary.—20. The Good and the Means of Establishment.—21. The great things Faith can do.—22. The great things Faith can suffer. He has, beside these, ten Sermons on God's return to the deserted Soul, ten Sermons respecting Christ and the Covenant, eight Sermons on good and bad Company.

---

#### ANTHONY BURGESS, A. M.

THIS laborious and much distinguished puritan divine, was the son of a learned schoolmaster at Watford in Hartfordshire, and received his education in St. John's college, Cambridge, from which he was chosen to a fellowship in Emanuel college, merely for his merit as a scholar. He was much esteemed in the university for his piety and learning, and likewise for his superior tutorship and powers of disputation. Mr Burgess afterwards became pastor of the church of Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire; where his exemplary life, and conscientious labours, soon procured him an excellent reputation; and here he continued, diligently discharging the duties of his office, till the civil war had commenced, that the royal army, by plundering, insulting, and otherwise maltreating and threatening him and his family, forced them to retire to Coventry for safety. The officers of the king's army were chiefly men of dissolute lives, who made a jest of religion; and the privates, having no regular pay, lived for the most part by plundering the people. When they took possession of a town, they rifled the houses of all who were accounted puritans; nor were they nice in their discriminations when occasions were pressing. Mr Baxter says, "That after the battle of Edgehill, more than thirty worthy divines had retired to Coventry for safety from the soldiers and the fury of the rabble. The popular preachers, and persons of pious and godly lives, were the greatest sufferers; while such as prayed in their families, were heard singing psalms or repeating sermons, were accounted rebels, and most severely handled." At the time that Mr Burgess fled to the garrison of Coventry, it was full of men of this description, who had a lecture

every morning, in which service he took his regular course. About this time he was called to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster, where he was generally and greatly esteemed for his solid learning and judicious deportment. He was repeatedly called to preach before the parliament, at their fasts and other public occasions. He was for some time preacher at Lawrence-jury, and earnestly solicited, by the London ministers, to give a course of lectures against the antinomian errors of these times; which sermons were afterwards published at the request of the learned body at whose solicitation they had been given. "We, the president and fellows of Sion college, London, earnestly desire Mr Anthony Burgess to publish in print his elaborate and judicious lectures upon the law and the covenants, against the antinomian errors of these times, which, at our entreaty, he hath preached, and for which we give him hearty thanks, so that the kingdom at large, as well as this city, may reap the benefits of those his learned labours. Dated at Sion college, June 11th 1646, at a general meeting of the ministers of London there assembled. Arthur Jackson, President, in name and by appointment of the rest."

In 1538, one John Agricola, a native of Eisleben, made a declaration of his sentiments, wherein he maintained, that *the law* was neither fit to be proposed to the people as a rule of life, nor to be used in the church as a mean of instruction; and that *the gospel alone* ought to be inculcated and explained, both in the churches and in the schools. The followers of this man were called antinomians, from their opposition to the law. They hold, that the law has neither use nor obligation under the economy of grace; and the tenor of their doctrines evidently supercede the necessity of good works and a holy life. These antinomian tenets were greatly prevalent in England during a part of the seventeenth century. Dr. Crisp, who was born at London in 1600, was an enthusiastic assserter of these opinions; and the publication of his Posthumous Works occasioned much disputation in the country. But Mr Burgess unmasked and refuted them, in the most satisfactory manner, by his lectures at Laurence-jury. Having finished his labours at London, he returned to discharge the duties of his pastoral office at Sutton Coldfield, where he remained till 1662, that he was ejected by the act of conformity; after which he spent the remainder of his days in great comfort, piety, and respect. Before he left his place, the new bishop of Coventry and Litchfield sent for him, as he also did for several other worthy divines of his diocese, hoping to gain them over to the prelatical order; and though he failed in his design, he was so candid as to express his good opinion concerning them. Of Mr Burgess he said,

“That he was fit to fill a professor’s chair in an university.” Fuller says, in his account of Emanuel college, “Among the learned writers of this college I have omitted many who are still alive, as Mr Anthony Burgess, the profitable expounder of the much mistaken nature of the two covenants.” Dr. Wilkins enrolls him among the most eminent of the English divines for sermons and practical divinity. Dr. Cotton Mather says, in his *Student and Preacher*, “Of A. Burgess, I may say, he has wrote for thee excellent things.”

His works are, 1. *The Difficulties of, and Encouragements to, Reformation.*—2. *Judgments Removed where Judgment is Executed.*—3. *The Magistrate’s Commission from Heaven.*—4. *Rome’s Cruelty and Apostacy.*—5. *The Reformation of the Church more to be endeavoured than that of the Commonwealth.*—6. *Public Affections Pressed.*—7. *Vindicæ Legis, or a Vindication of the Moral Law and the Covenants, from the errors of Papists, Arminians, Socinians, and more especially Antinomians.*—8. *The True Doctrine of Justification Asserted and Vindicated.*—9. *A Treatise on Justification.*—10. *Spiritual Refining.*—11. *One hundred and forty-five Expository Sermons.*—12. *The Doctrine of Original Sin.*—13. *The Scripture Directory for Church Officers and People.*—14. *Commentary on the whole first chapter of 2 Cor.*

---

#### RICHARD BYFIELD, M. A.

MR BYFIELD was born in Worcestershire about 1599. He was educated at Queen’s college, Oxford, where, having taken his degree in arts, he left the college, and was for some time curate or lecturer of Isleworth. After this he became rector of Long-ditton, in the county of Surrey; where he laboured, with unremitting assiduity, in teaching his people the truths of the gospel, and enforcing the duties thence arising. He was a zealous reformer, a strenuous opposer of all superstition in the worship of God, and an able and courageous defender of the morality of the Sabbath. He refused to read the Book of Sports, and seems to have been suspended and sequestered for his disobedience, for four years and four weeks. When the authority of the king, and the power of the bishops, were greatly on the decline, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, of which he was a very respectable member, and a zealous covenanter. In 1654 he was appointed an assistant to the commissioners of Surrey, for ejecting scandalous ministers and school-masters. A difference once took place between him and his patron, Sir John Evelyn, concerning the reparation of the

church. Mr Byfield complained to Oliver Cromwell, the protector, who brought them together, with the view of endeavouring to effect a reconciliation. Sir John charged Mr Byfield with reflecting upon him in his sermons. Mr Byfield solemnly declared, that he had never intended the least reflection against him. On which Oliver, turning round to Sir John, said, "I am afraid, sir, there is something indeed amiss. The word of God is powerful and penetrating, and has found you out—search your ways." He spoke these words so pathetically, and with tears, that all present also wept. The protector succeeded in restoring them to their former friendship; and to bind it the more securely, he ordered his secretary to pay Sir John one hundred pounds towards the repairs of the church.

Mr Byfield was the oldest minister in the county in 1662, when he was ejected by the act of uniformity. After this he retired to Mortlake, a pleasant village on the banks of the Thames, a few miles from London, where he spent the residue of his days, with a view to his approaching dissolution. In the meantime, he preached, for the most part, twice every Sabbath in his own house, and did so the last Sabbath of his life. The next day he intimated to his friends, that he considered his departure was at hand, and gave many pious exhortations to his wife and children, relative to their conduct in life, and their preparations for death; particularly he admonished his children to live in love one with another, that the God of love and of peace might dwell among them. On the Thursday following, a friend desiring his opinion on Rev. viii. 1., he spoke on the verse for a considerable time, when, rising from his seat, he was taken with an apoplectic fit, in which he expired in 1664, aged sixty-seven years.

His works are, 1. *The Light of Faith, and the Way of Holiness.*—2. *The Doctrine of the Sabbath Vindicated.*—3. *The Power of the Christ of God.*—4. *Zion's Answer to the Ambassadors of the Nation.*—5. *Temple Defilers Defiled.*—6. *The Glory of the Gospel without prejudice to the Law.*—7. *The real Way to Good Works.*—8. *A Treatise on Charity.*

---

#### EDMUND CALAMY, B. D.

MR CALAMY was born in London in 1600, and educated at Pembroke-hall, in the university of Cambridge, where he took his degree of arts in 1619, and that of divinity in 1632. By an early discovery of his opposition to arminianism, his fellowship was prevented, even when he was justly entitled, both by his standing, his learning, and his unblameable conversation.

The prelatical rulers in the church of England were strongly inclined to the doctrines of Arminius at this time, and nothing could stand more in the way of preferment, to a person of Mr Calamy's sentiments, than his publicly asserting and defending them; so that, considering his warm attachment to the Calvinistic doctrines, and his hostilities to those of the arminian party, now basking in the beams of royal favour, Mr Calamy had but little to expect. At last, however, he was elected *tanquam socius*, a title peculiar to Pembroke-hall; which, though attended with less emolument, was at least as honourable as that of fellow. Some time after this Mr Calamy's studious and religious character recommended him to Dr. Felton, the pious and learned bishop of Ely, who made him his domestic chaplain; and while residing in the family, paid him singular marks of affectionate regard, and at last presented him to the vicarage of Mary's in Swaffham-prior, in his own neighbourhood, where he became singularly useful to his flock. Still, however, he continued in the family till the bishop's death, when he was chosen one of the lecturers of Edmund's Bury, in the county of Suffolk, where Jeremiah Burroughs was his fellow-labourer. In this place he continued about ten years. Some writers have said, that during his residence in this place he was a strict conformist; but his own declaration, and that of others, affirm the contrary. It is a certain fact, that Mr Calamy, with about thirty other worthy ministers, were driven out of bishop Wren's diocese, for not conforming to the Visitation Articles and the unhallowed Book of Sports. With these abominations he could not comply; and being in favour with the earl of Essex, he preferred him to the living of Richford, a market-town in the Marches of Essex, a rectory of considerable value; but it proved ruinous to his health, and brought on a dizziness of the head, that never wholly forsook him.

Upon the death of Dr. Stoughton he was chosen minister of Mary Aldermanbury, London, in 1639. Here he soon acquired a very distinguished reputation, and made a conspicuous appearance, by the active part he took in the important controversy respecting church government, then greatly agitated.

In 1640, he was employed, with several other puritan divines, in composing that famous book, entitled, *Smectymnws*; which is said to have given the first fatal blow to episcopacy in England. This strange title is made out of the first letters of the names of its various authors, viz. Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurston. This treatise is allowed, on all hands, to have been well written. It was done in answer to a book, entitled, *An Humble Remonstrance*, written by the bishop of Exeter. This

learned prelate attempted a confutation of Smectymnws; to which the presbyterians replied. After this, the far-famed Usher, bishop of Armagh, attacked it; but was repulsed by John Milton, the celebrated author of *Paradise Lost*. The activity, the profound knowledge, integrity, and intrepidity, evinced by Mr Calamy, had raised his reputation, particularly among the presbyterians, to the first rank of literary fame. He was appointed, by the House of Lords, a member of the sub-committee for accommodating ecclesiastical affairs; and shortly after this he was appointed a member of the assembly of divines. He was an active and zealous man in all their proceedings, and much distinguished, both for his learning and moderation, in the assembly.

Mr Calamy was one of the most popular preachers in London, and frequently appointed to preach before the long parliament; for which the prelatical party have treated him with unmerited abuse. He was the first, however, who, before the committee of parliament, defended the proposition, that a bishop and presbyter, according to the scriptures, are one office under different appellations. His interest and influence in the city of London was very extensive, and he preached to a numerous and highly respectable audience, composed of the most eminent citizens, and many persons of quality. He was one of the London ministers who declared against the proceedings of the army, and the violent measures that brought on the king's death; an event which he strongly deprecated.

In Cromwell's time Calamy lived as quietly as possible; but sometimes opposed the protector's measures. It is said of Cromwell, that having a wish to put the crown on his own head, he sent for some of the principal divines of the city, as if he made it a matter of conscience, and that he wanted their advice. Mr Calamy was one of the party, and boldly opposed the project of Cromwell's single government, offering to prove that the thing was not only unlawful, but that it was also impracticable. To the first of these Cromwell readily replied, "That the safety of the people was the supreme law; but, pray, Mr Calamy, said he, how is it impracticable?" "Because (says Mr Calamy) the nation will be against you, nine out of ten at least." "But (says Cromwell) what if I wrest the sword from the nine, and put it in the hands of the tenth—Will not that do the business?" In 1659, Mr Calamy concurred with the earl of Mansfield, and other great men, in persuading general Monk to bring in the king, that an end might be put to the public confusions. He preached before the parliament the day before they voted the king's restoration to the throne, and was one of those divines that were sent over to Holland on that business;

but he had, soon after, cause to regret the hand he had in that unhappy transaction, particularly that he was received without a previous treaty.

On the restoration of Charles, Mr Calamy was encouraged to hope, that considerable favour and indulgence, both to himself and his brethren, would still be granted. In June, the same year, he was sworn chaplain in ordinary to his majesty, with several other presbyterian ministers; but none of them preached more than once before the king in that capacity. About this time Mr Calamy was often with his majesty at earl Mansfield, the chamberlain's lodgings, and other places, and had the royal countenance on all occasions. He had a principal hand in drawing up the proposals, at that time presented to the king, respecting church government; which led the way to the Savoy conference. He was also concerned in the concessions made by the declaration of October 25th, the same year; and being one of the commissioners, he was employed, with others, in drawing up the exceptions against the liturgy, as also the reply to the reasons of the episcopal divines against these exceptions of the presbyterians. In 1661 he was one of those chosen by the London ministers to represent them in the convocation; but was not permitted to sit in that assembly. He attended the several meetings at the Savoy, where he did every thing in his power to effect an accommodation; but without the least effect.

Mr Calamy preached his farewell sermon on the 17th of August 1662, a week before the act of uniformity took effect. Having consulted with his great friends at court, the following petition was drawn up, and presented to the king, signed by a considerable number of the London ministers:

“May it please your excellent majesty.—Upon former experience of your majesty's tenderness and indulgence to your obedient and loyal subjects, in which number we can clearly reckon ourselves, we, some of the ministers within your city of London, who, by the late act of uniformity, are likely to be cast out of all public service in the ministry, because we cannot, in conscience, conform in all things required in said act, have taken the boldness humbly to cast ourselves and our concerns at your majesty's feet, desiring that, of your princely wisdom and compassion, you would take some effectual course, whereby we may be continued in the exercise of our ministry, to teach your people their duty to God and your majesty; and we doubt not, but by our dutiful and peaceable carriage therein, we shall render ourselves not altogether unworthy of so great a favour.” This petition was presented by Mr Calamy, Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, and others, on the third day after the act

became in force. Mr Calamy made a speech on the occasion, stating, that those of his persuasion were ready to contest the point of fidelity to his majesty with any description of men in England: That they little expected to be dealt with in the manner they had been; and that they were now come before his majesty, imploring his interference in their behalf, as the last application they should make. The king promised to consider their request, and the day following the matter was fully debated in council, in presence of his majesty, who was pleased to say, he intended an indulgence if it was at all possible. The friends of the silenced ministers in the council, whose hopes had been flattered with a variety of specious promises, were now permitted freely to state their reasons for not putting the act in execution; and they reasoned most strenuously on the impolicy and absurdity of the measure, and the fatal effects, to the nation at large, that must necessarily attend its execution. But Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London, in an animated speech, declared, "That it was now too late to think of suspending a law which had occupied so much of the time and the wisdom of the legislature in enacting—A law, in obedience to which he had already ejected such of his clergy as would not comply with it; and were they now to be restored, after thus being exasperated, he must, in that case, expect to feel the weight of their resentment; and in place of maintaining his episcopal authority amongst them, be subjected to their scorn and animosity, being thus countenanced by the court. Besides, should the sacred authority of this law be now suspended, it would render the legislature both ridiculous and contemptible; and should the pressing importunity of such disaffected people be considered a sufficient reason why they should be humoured on this occasion, it would establish a precedent upon which all future malcontents would build their hopes, and maintain their claims to similar indulgence:—the obvious consequence of which would be, convulsions, and never-ceasing distractions, both in church and state." It was, on these grounds, carried that no indulgence whatever should be granted. Mr Calamy was offered a bishoprick; which he refused, because he could not obtain it on the terms of the king's declaration. He preserved his temper and moderation after his ejection, and lived much retired; but going to Aldermanbury church one day as a hearer, and the clergyman appointed to preach failing to come forward; to gratify the wishes of the people who were assembled, and prevent a disappointment, he condescended to give them a discourse, though unpremeditated. For this he was shut up in Newgate prison, by warrant from the lord mayor, as a violator of the act of uniformity, the great Diana of that tyrannical period.

A popish lady, passing through the city, found it almost impossible to proceed through Newgate Street for the number of coaches in waiting. Surprised at this incident, curiosity led her to inquire into the occasion. Some of the by-standers informed her, that an ejected minister, greatly beloved in the city, had been imprisoned for preaching a single sermon, and his friends were calling to pay him a visit in prison. This information so struck the lady, that she waited on the king at Whitehall, and told him the whole affair, expressing her apprehension, that such steps might alienate the affection of the city from his majesty. It was partly owing to this, that Mr Calamy was soon released by an express order from the king. This circumstance being afterwards complained of in the House of Commons, it was signified that his release was occasioned by a deficiency of the act itself, and not by the sole orders of his majesty. The following entry was therefore made on the journal of the House: "*Die Jovis*, 1662—63. Upon complaint made to this House, that Mr Calamy, being committed to prison upon breach of the act of uniformity, was discharged upon pretence of some defect in the act—Resolved, That it be referred to a committee to look into the act of uniformity as to the matter in question, and see whether the same be defective, and wherein." And shortly after this, a committee was appointed to bring in the reasons of the House for advising the king to grant no toleration, with an address to his majesty; which paved the way for all that unqualified severity, and tyrannical procedure, that followed during this and the succeeding reign.

Mr Calamy lived to see the dreadful fire of London in 1666. This awful conflagration is said to have over-run 373 acres of ground within the walls, and to have burned down 13,200 houses, and 89 parish churches, beside chapels, and that only 11 parishes within the walls were left standing. This dreadful spectacle is said to have broken Mr Calamy's heart. He was driven through the ruins of the city in a coach, and viewing the dreadful solitude, and far-spread desolation, he went home with a heavy heart, and never after left his chamber; but died in less than a month, October 1666, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

His works are not numerous. He was one of the authors of *Smectymnws*, formerly mentioned. He was also concerned in drawing up the *Vindication of the Presbyterian Church Government and Ministry*, and *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici et Anglicani*. He has also several sermons extant—1. *England's Looking-glass*.—2. *The Nobleman's pattern of true and real Thankfulness*.—3. *God's free mercy to England*.—4. *England's Antidote against the Plague of Civil War*.—5. *An Indictment*

against England because of her Self-murdering Divisions.—6. The great danger of Covenant refusing and Covenant breaking.—7. The Door of Truth Opened.—8. The Saint's Rest.—9. The Fragility of the Body.—10. The Monster of sinful self-seeking Anatomized.—11. A Sermon at the Funeral of the Earl of Warwick.—12. A Sermon at the Funeral of Mr Ashe.—13. The Godly Man's City of Refuge in the day of his distress, containing five Sermons.—Mr Calamy's oldest son was ejected at the same time with his father; and his grand-son, a dissenting divine of great eminence, is well known by his learned works.

### WILLIAM CARTER.

THIS laborious divine was born in 1605, and educated in the university of Cambridge; after leaving which, he became preacher in London, where he was exceeding popular. In 1643 he was appointed licenser of the press, and, during the same year, chosen one of the assembly of divines, where he was a constant attendant. After some time he joined with the independents, and was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, where he discovered much learning and moderation in supporting their particular opinions. In 1654 he was appointed one of the triers of public preachers; in which capacity Dr. Walker has attempted to lessen his reputation, as well as that of other very learned and otherwise worthy divines. He had frequent offers of preferment, but, dissatisfied with the parochial discipline of these times, he declined accepting any of them. He was, nevertheless, indefatigable in his ministerial labours, preaching twice every Sabbath to two large congregations in the city, beside weekly lectures, and other occasional services. He was one of the preachers before the parliament; and his incessant and arduous exertions wasted his strength, and hastened his death. He died about the month of June 1658, aged fifty-three years. He was a good scholar, an admired preacher, and a man of most exemplary piety. His pious and compassionate soul mourned over the vast numbers of those thoughtless persons who had no concern for themselves, and he longed and laboured to spread the knowledge of God and religion amongst them till the end of his life. His relations, by purchasing bishops' lands, became great sufferers after the restoration, when prelacy came to be re-established; but he himself did not live to see the evil that came upon either his relatives or the nation at large. He was author of a Sermon, entitled *Israel's Peace with God Benjamin's Overthrow*, preached be-

fore the Commons, July 27th, 1642; and another, entitled *Light in Darkness*, preached also before the House of Commons, November 24th, 1647.

---

### JOSEPH CARYL.

THIS eminent divine was born in London, 1602, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford. Here, by means of an excellent tutor, and ardent application, he soon became famous for his disputations. In 1627 he took his degree in arts; and entering into holy orders, he exercised his function, for some time, in and about Oxford. After this he became preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's-inn, where he continued for several years, and acquired a good reputation. In 1642, and afterwards, Mr Caryl was frequently called to preach before the long parliament; and being now become conspicuous and eminently distinguished for his abilities and puritanical principles, he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines; in which, as in every other station, he evinced much learning, piety, and moderation. He was also, about this time, appointed licenser to the theological department of the press. In 1645 he became pastor to the church of Magnus, near London bridge; in which situation he laboured several years with great diligence and remarkable success. He was considered one of the best expositors of scripture in that period, and an excellent and very pathetic preacher of the gospel. He was appointed, along with Mr Stephen Marshall, as chaplain to the commissioners who were sent by parliament to the king at Newcastle, to negotiate an accommodation of their differences. They accompanied the king and the commissioners from Newcastle to Holmby House in Northamptonshire, where his majesty continued some time without any of his chaplains. Caryl and Marshall, at the desire of the commissioners, according to Wood, offered their services to preach before his majesty in the absence of his chaplains; but their services were not accepted, not even to say grace; which his majesty himself said with an audible voice. In September 1648, Mr Caryl was one of those divines who accompanied the commissioners of parliament to the Isle of Wight to negotiate a treaty of peace. This commission consisted of five noblemen, ten commoners, and four divines, to assist them in their religious debates, Mr Caryl, Marshall, Vines, and Dr. Seaman. In September 1650, Mr Caryl and Dr. John Owen were appointed by parliament to travel into Scotland to attend Oliver Cromwell, who desired their company and service. In 1653 he was appointed one of

the triers for the approbation of ministers to fill the vacant churches; and the following year he was constituted an assistant to the commissioners for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and otherwise insufficient ministers and school-masters. In 1659 he was sent into Scotland, to give general Monk an account of the state of affairs in England, with a letter from Dr. Owen, expressing their apprehensions of danger to their religious liberties on the event of a revolution of the government. On the 14th of March following, according to Wood, he was appointed, by act of parliament, together with Edward Reynolds and others, to approve of, and admit, ministers in the presbyterian way; but that the order of the House being nulled by the restoration of king Charles, he retired to his flock at Magnus, where he continued till ejected by the act of uniformity, 1662; on which mournful occasion he preached his farewell sermon from Rev. iii. 4. "They shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy." "The design of this discourse (says Mr Caryl) is to delineate the character, and set forth the honour and happiness, of those he had described in a former discourse, who, like the few names in Sardis, had not defiled their garments by conforming to a sinful and degenerate world. They shall walk with Christ. They shall walk with him in white garments; denoting their state of justification, but particularly the purity, integrity, and persevering intrepidity of their character, honourable in the sight both of God and man. Their white robes likewise denote the inward peace, and self-approving satisfaction, that springs from the testimony of their own consciences from the witness of the Spirit, and the well-grounded hope of eternal glory; in consequence of which they may rejoice, nay, glory in tribulation, and smile at the impotent malignity of their persecutors and oppressors. What Christ said concerning the lily; may, with great propriety, be applied to those who keep themselves pure and unspotted from the sins and superstitions of a degenerate age: "Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of those." To such may the words of the preacher be addressed, 'Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart, for God now accepteth thy sacrifice.' What though the world give thee the bread of adversity and the water of affliction, clothe thee in mourning, and cause thee to prophesy in sackcloth; yet be of good comfort, and rejoice in this, that they cannot bereave thee of the fruits of thy labour, of that massy crown that awaits all those who fight, and overcome by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony. The blessed martyrs, though they were cast into black and dreary dungeons, still preserved their white garments from spot or stain; and though they have

been dressed, many of them, so as to make them look like devils, they have been filled with peace and joy unspeakable. But this walking with Christ in white has also an ultimate respect to the heavenly glory, of which Christ's transfiguration was a type, when all those, who have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, shall stand before the throne, arrayed in white, with palms in their hands; and the Lamb, who is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and lead them to living fountains of water, where the voice of the oppressor, nor the wailings of the oppressed, shall no more be heard, but God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. Let it therefore be your greatest care to avoid whatever tends to sully your garments, to stain the purity of your consciences and character as friends and disciples of Jesus Christ; and know for a truth, that whoever amongst you neglects this watchful anxiety over their own hearts and lives, shall walk in black, and be attired in robes of mourning. I have endeavoured, while amongst you, to press these important considerations on your minds; and should I have no more opportunities of this kind, it is the desire of my heart, and shall be my prayer to God, that we may all meet at the right hand of our Judge and our Redeemer, where all our prayers will be answered, and all our unworthy services graciously rewarded, with glory, honour, and immortality." After his ejection, Mr Caryl continued to live in London, and soon gathered a congregation in the vicinity of London bridge, to whom he preached as the times would permit; and his congregation so much increased, that at the time of his death, eleven years after his expulsion, he left one hundred and thirty-six communicants. He died at his house in Bury Street, London, universally lamented, in February 1673, and in the seventy-first year of his age.

The following account of Mr Caryl's death, given in a letter written by Mr Henry Dorney, and addressed to his brother, will probably be acceptable to the pious reader: "That famous and laborious minister of Christ, Mr Joseph Caryl, your ancient friend and companion, has departed this life, aged seventy-one years. His death is greatly lamented by the people of God throughout this city. About the beginning of his sickness I was with him, and he inquired concerning you as he was wont to do. Perceiving him to be weakly, though he did not then keep his chamber, I desired, while he was yet alive, to remember you in his prayers; which motion he cheerfully embraced. I visited him again about three days before his death. He told me, as I understood him, for being extremely weak, and past all hopes of life, his voice was low; that he had not forgotten his promise to me in your behalf. I think it good to mention this

circumstance, in order to provoke you to all seriousness with regard to your own soul, the eternal welfare of which lay so much at the heart of this eminent servant of Christ. His labours were great, his studies incessant, and his whole conversation without spot or blemish. His charity, faith, wisdom, and zeal, had a fragrant smell among the churches and servants of Christ, by whom his loss will be long lamented. His sickness, though painful, was borne with patience, joy, and peace in believing; so that he parted with time, and entered the harbour of eternity under the full sail of desire, and was wafted into port by a gentle breeze of divine consolation. When drawing near the close of life, he desired his friends to forbear speaking to him, that he might retire within himself; which time, they perceived, he spent in prayer, often lifting up his hands a little. His friends, observing that his hands had ceased moving, drew near, and found he had silently departed from them, leaving many a sorrowful heart behind." Wood calls him a learned and zealous non-conformist. Dr. Calamy says, "He had universally the character of a learned man." Neal and Palmer say, "That he was a man of great learning, piety, and moderation, a character which his writings abundantly manifest." The Oxford historian informs us, "That several elegies were written on him after his death, two or three of which he had seen." The summer after Mr Caryl's death, his congregation made choice of Dr. John Owen for their pastor, and united with those formerly under his charge and superintendance, among whom were several persons of rank in the army. In this united society, Dr. Owen was succeeded by the very learned Mr David Clarkson, whose successor was Dr. Chauncey; after whom they made choice of the late celebrated Dr. Isaac Watts, for whom they built a new meeting-house in Berry Street, near St. Mary Axe.

His works are, 1. The Works of Ephesus.—2. David's Prayer for Solomon.—3. The Nature of a Sacred Covenant, and the duty of such as engage therein.—4. The Saint's Thankful Aclamation at Christ's Resumption of his great Power, and the Initials of his Kingdom.—5. The arraignment of Unbelief as the grand cause of our National Non-establishment.—6. The present Duty and endeavour of the Saints.—7. Heaven and Earth embracing, or God and Man approximating.—8. Joy out-joyed.—9. England's Plus Ultra, both of Duties required and Mercies hoped for.—10. An Exposition, with Practical Observations, upon the Book of Job, with several other Sermons.—11. The Nature and Principle of Love as the end of the Commandment; being some of his last Sermons published after his death. He had also a hand in a book, entitled, An

English Greek Lexicon, containing the derivation of all the words used in the New Testament.

---

THOMAS CASE, A. M.

MR CASE was born in the county of Kent. His father was minister of Boxley in that county, and distinguished both for his parts and piety. His son Thomas was the object of his peculiar care, on whom he bestowed an excellent education in early life. He gave signal proofs of a pious disposition, and very considerable ingenuity, even in his childhood. We are informed, that he was an early convert, and that his conversion began with prayer when he was only six years of age. He was put to school first at Canterbury, and afterwards at Merchant Taylor's in London; where he continued, till his father, meeting with troubles, was obliged to take him home, where he gave him all the instruction in the arts and languages which his circumstances would permit, and in due time had him entered student at Christ church in the university of Oxford, in the year 1616, being then seventeen years of age. Here his application and improvement were such, that he was elected unanimously, by the dean and canons, a student of that House, where he remained till about 1625, having, prior to this, taken his degree in arts. Being now in some measure fitted for the work of the ministry, he commenced preacher for some time in these parts, according to Wood, and afterward in Kent, at or near the place of his birth. By the pressing importunity of an intimate and very affectionate friend in Norfolk, he was prevailed upon to reside some time with him in that county. Soon after this he was called to the exercise of his ministry at Erpingham, a town also in the county of Norfolk, where he remained eight or ten years. Here he preached twice every Sabbath, and was indefatigable in catechising the young people, and repeating in private what he had delivered in public, as numbers of the English divines were accustomed to do about that time. Thus, by his diligence in performing the respective duties of his office, and exhibiting before his flock a pious, peaceable, and exemplary walk and conversation, he obtained an excellent reputation, and was highly gratified to find that his labours had been blessed with singular success. But the unqualified severity exercised towards the puritans, by the rigid and whimsical measure of bishop Wren, drove him away from his charge. He was summoned before the court of high commission, and admitted to bail; but before he had time to make answer to the charges exhibited against him, that inquisitorial and tyrannical

court was dissolved, by act of parliament, to the great joy of a large majority of the English nation.

Mr Case's Norfolk friend, above mentioned, having been appointed warden of Manchester, invited him into Lancashire, where, in a short time, he was presented to a place in the neighbouring county; but great changes and confusions soon after prevailing in the kingdom, some persons of quality persuaded him to accompany them to London, where he was comfortably settled. Here he was first chosen lecturer, and afterwards pastor of Magdalen church in Milk Street, London, where, beside his labours in the congregation, and on the Lord's day, he carried on a weekly lecture every Saturday; and here he first set up the *morning exercise*, which has been long continued in the city. The occasion of its introduction was this: Many of the citizens of London had friends and near relations along with the army of the earl of Essex, and so many bills were sent up to the pulpit every Lord's day by their friends, requesting the prayers of the church for their protection, that the minister had neither time to read out their names, nor recommend them to the protection of heaven. Some divines therefore moved, that it might be adviseable, under these circumstances, to set apart an hour for this purpose every morning, one half of which to be spent in prayer, the other devoted to exhortation. Mr Case began it in his church at seven o'clock in the morning, and when it had continued there a month, it was removed, by rotation, to other churches, for the conveniency of the citizens. The service was performed by different ministers. When the heat of the war was over, it became a casuistical lecture, and was carried on by the most learned divines of the time, and continued till the restoration. Their lectures were afterwards published, each of which contained the resolving of some case of conscience. But Mr Case's labours were not confined to his parish of Milk Street. He likewise carried on a lecture at Martin's in the Fields every Thursday for more than twenty years.

Being a zealous advocate for reformation, Mr Case was nominated a member of the assembly of divines, where he displayed his talents with success in the service of the church. He was also appointed to preach before parliament, and on other public occasions. In his sermon, preached before the commissioners, for holding the court-martial in 1664, Mr Granger condemns the following sentence as sanguinary and reprehensible: "Noble sirs, imitate God, and be merciful to none who have sinned out of malicious wickedness" (meaning the royalists). "It is painful to think, says he, that so venerable and amiable a man should suffer himself to be so far transported by the fury of the

times, as to have uttered, but especially to have printed, such an unchristian sentence." In order that Mr Case may have a hearing before he be condemned, I shall give the reader the whole sentence from the sermon unmutilated, that he may judge for himself. It was preached from 2 Chron. xix. 6. 'And he (Jehoshaphat) said to the judges, take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment.' In the eighteenth page of this sermon, Mr Case says, "Noble sirs, in your execution of judgment upon *delinquents*, imitate God, and be merciful to none who have sinned out of malicious wickedness, Psalm lix. 5. Let not any find mercy, who, in this bloody quarrel, have laid the foundation of their rebellion and massacres in irreconcilable hatred of religion and the government of Christ. Those his enemies, who would not have him reign over them, slay them before his face—Let not *them* find mercy in your eyes, in whose eyes a whole nation, and our posterity, could find no pity—Spare not, but where you think in your conscience God would spare if he himself were on the bench in person—Imitate God in your justice, and imitate him also in your mercy—Be merciful as your heavenly Father is merciful." Granger makes the unqualified assertion, that he meant the royalists. Mr Case says, that he meant delinquents, whether belonging to king or parliament; and notwithstanding that his expressions have a very unchristian aspect, they exhibit the precise sense of the psalmist in the passage quoted. He exhorts the judges to imitate God, both in the exercise of his justice and his mercy. It were surely difficult to conceive where he could have found a better pattern of imitation. His mode of expressing himself, however, I have no mind to vindicate; it is coarse and indelicate, however correct, and addressed to the passions of his auditory, upon an occasion when he ought more especially to have addressed their understanding and judgment; but the best of men have their peculiarities, their passions, and propensities. He, together with his brethren, had suffered great and manifold severities under bishop Wren. He had seen the cruel treatment of the most zealous and useful, while those who were the most loose and careless in discharging their pastoral obligations, were caressed and encouraged in their indolence; all which were calculated to excite the burning indignation of men possessed of a colder temperament than that of Mr Case.

He was a zealous covenanter, as appears from his sermons preached at taking the covenant. In his preface to these sermons, he says, "To every soul who shall enter into this holy league and covenant, my request is, that they would look around them, life and death is before them. If we break with God

now, we have just cause to fear that God will stand to covenant no more with us, but will avenge the quarrel with us to our utter destruction. If we be sincere and faithful, this covenant will be a foundation of much peace, joy, glory, and security, to us and our seed, till the coming of Christ. He was one of those ministers who subscribed the two papers against the proceedings of parliament in 1648, and the bringing the king to his trial. He was turned out of his place in Milk Street, for refusing the engagement, vehemently urged, at this time, by Oliver Cromwell in name of the commonwealth. After the king's death, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were changed, and a new oath substituted in their place. In which oath, the swearers engaged themselves to be true and faithful to the government without a king or House of Lords. Such as refused were declared incapable of holding any place or office of trust in the commonwealth; but as many of the excluded members of the House of Commons as received it, were re-admitted to their seats. With the view of bringing the presbyterian ministers to the test, this oath, *the engagement*, was strongly urged upon all ministers, heads of colleges and halls, fellows of houses, graduates, and officers in the universities. No minister could be admitted to any ecclesiastical living, or capable of enjoying any preferment in the church, unless he qualified himself by taking the engagement in less than six months, and that publicly in the face of his congregation.

Mr Baxter says, "That most of the sectarian party swallowed the engagement, and so did the king's old cavaliers—very few of them being troubled with the disease of a scrupulous conscience; but the moderate episcopals and presbyterians generally refused it, as did Mr Case. It was not long, however, till providence opened another door, by which he was enabled to prosecute his ministerial labours. He was chosen lecturer at Aldermanbury and Cripplegate, where he remained till he was sent prisoner to the tower; where he was confined for about six months for being concerned in the affair for which Christopher Love suffered on Tower-hill. The matter stands thus: Upon the death of Charles I., the prince of Wales was proclaimed king of Scotland by authority of that nation, who sent commissioners to the Hague to invite him into the kingdom, upon the terms of his renouncing popery and prelacy, and swearing the solemn league and covenant. The body of the English presbyterians acted in concert with Scotland in this important business; in which several of their leading divines carried on a private correspondence with the Scottish chiefs; and in place of taking the engagement to the present powers, called them usurpers. But a discovery of this confederacy caused the death of Mr Love, and the imprisonment of Mr Case, as above stated.

While confined in the tower, Mr Case made the best use of his time and sufferings that circumstances would permit. Here he meditated the substance of what he afterwards preached, and published under the title, *Correction, Instruction*. After his release, he was invited to be lecturer at Giles in the Fields, near London, where he continued till the restoration, when the former incumbent was re-admitted. On the 14th of March 1659, he was appointed, by parliament, one of the ministers for approving and admitting clergymen in the presbyterian way; and in the following year, he was deputed, by his brethren in London, with others, to wait on the king, and congratulate him on his restoration to the throne of his ancestors. Mr Baxter, one of the number, tells us, that Charles gave them very encouraging promises of peace, and raised some of them to high expectation. He never refused them a private audience when they desired it; and the better to amuse and deceive them, while they were once waiting in the anti-chamber, he said his prayers with such an audible voice, in the adjoining apartment, that the ministers might hear what he said. He thanked God that he was a covenanted king; and besought the Lord to give him an humble, meek, and forgiving spirit, that he might have forbearance with his offending subjects, as he expected forbearance from offended heaven. On hearing which, old Mr Case lifted up his hands to heaven, and blessed God who had given them a praying king. In 1661 he was one of the commissioners at the Savoy conference, and in 1662, ejected, with the rest of his brethren, by the act of uniformity; but Wood says, "That ever after, so long as he lived, he was not wanting, on his part, to carry on *the beloved cause* in conventicles, for which he sometimes suffered."

St. Bartholomew's day having arrived, he preached his farewell sermon from Rev. ii. 5. "Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works." "Here (says he) Christ prescribes precious physic for the healing of this languishing church, compounded of three ingredients, self-reflection, holy contrition, and thorough reformation. Remember what you once were, repent of what you presently are, and return, by a course of thorough reformation, to that height of piety, purity, and zeal, from which you have fallen." These topics he urged on his audience with uncommon pathos; and, in concluding his remarks on the requisite reformation he had been inculcating, he says, "we should also do something, by way of extraordinary bounty and charity, to the relief of God's indigent servants, in this period of extraordinary distress; and what I would exhort you all to do is, that you set apart some considerable proportion of your estates, and account it a hal-

lowed thing dedicated to God; a thing, which to touch, or apply to any other purpose, were sacrilege, that you may be ready, on all necessary occasions, to contribute to the relief of the poor, whom you will find suffering in every corner of town and country."

Notwithstanding the many trials and changes to which he was subjected in the course of his public ministry, Mr Case enjoyed an uncommon share of domestic happiness, and died, in a good old age, on the 30th May, 1682, having been a sojourner through this region of tears, turmoil, and unceasing vicissitude, fourscore and four years.

His works are, 1. Two Sermons, preached at Westminster before sundry of the House of Commons.—2. God's waiting to be gracious, preached at Milk Street.—3. The Root of Apostacy and Fountain of true-Fortitude; a Sermon preached to the Commons.—4. Jehoshaphat's Caveat to the Judges.—5. The Set-backs of Reformation; a Sermon preached before the Lords.—6. A Model of true Spiritual Thankfulness, preached to the Commons.—7. Spiritual Whoredom, preached also to the Commons.—8. Vanity of Vain-glory; a funeral Sermon for Kinsmet Lucy, Esq.—9. Sensuality Dissected, a Sermon to divers citizens of London who were born in Kent.—10. Elijah's Abatement, or Corruption in the Saints.—11. A Funeral Sermon for Mrs Elizabeth Scott.—12. A Funeral Sermon for Darcy Wivil, Esq.—13. The First and Last Sermon in the morning exercise at St. Giles.—14. The Sanctification of the Sabbath.—15. His Farewell Sermon.—16. A Treatise of Affliction, or Correction, Instruction.—17. Mount Pisgah, or a View of Heaven.

### DANIEL CAWDREY, A. M.

MR CAWDREY was the son of Robert Cawdrey, a non-conforming minister, who, being deprived, had a hard struggle with the bishops, and suffered great injustice from these domineering ecclesiastics. His whole case was published to the world, much to the discredit of those concerned in these intolerant acts of spiritual tyranny. Daniel was the youngest of many sons. He was educated at Peter's House, in the university of Cambridge. We have to regret the want of information respecting the particulars of this divine's life. It is known, however, he was a distinguished minister of Christ in his time. From the title page of his sermons, which are entitled, Humility the Saint's Livery, it appears that, in 1624, he was minister of Little Illford, in the county of Essex. He was afterward settled at Great Billing in Northamptonshire. Dr. Calamy says, "He was a

man of great consideration, eminently learned, and a noted member of the assembly of divines. He preached sometimes to the members of parliament; and, on one occasion, attacked these seminaries of irreligion, *stage plays*, with uncommon severity. Amongst many other things on this subject, he said, "Among open scorers and revilers of religion, you may reckon your stage players, who have already scoffed religion out of countenance with thousands; you have done well to put them down, and shall do better if you keep them so."

Mr Cawdrey was ejected from his living at Great Billing, and separated from his friends and his flock, by the act of uniformity, after having laboured, for the edification of his people in that place, for thirty-six or thirty-seven years. From this place he removed into Welling-borough, where he had a daughter married, with whom he abode till his death; receiving all who came to him, and encouraging them to prosecute their journey heaven-ward, and not to deviate from the narrow path of purity and holiness of life; assuring them that their pilgrimage would then be pleasant, and the end of their journey inconceivably glorious. He died in 1664, aged almost seventy-six years.

His works are, 1. Humility the Saints' Livery.—2. An Assize Sermon at Northampton.—3. Superstitio Superstes.—4. The Good Man a Public Good.—5. *Vindicæ Clavium*, or a Vindication of the Keys in the hands of the right Owners.—6. *Sabbatum Redivivum*.—7. A Diatribe, against Dr. Hammond on Superstition and Festivals.—8. A Vindication of the same.—9. A sober Answer to a serious Question against Mr Freman.—10. A Sermon at St. Paul's.—11. Self-examination.—12. Family Reformation Promoted.—13. Church Reformation Promoted.—14. Bowing to, or towards, the Communion Table, superstitious.—15. An Essay against Usury.—16. The grand Case, with Reference to the New Conformity.

---

### HUMPHREY CHAMBERS, D. D.

MR CHAMBERS was born in Somersetshire, and received his education in University college Oxford, where he became a commoner in 1614, aged fifteen years. After taking his degree of arts, he entered into holy orders, and in June 1623 became rector of Claverton, in his own county. Some time after this he took the degree of bachelor in divinity, and was esteemed an orthodox divine, but soon silenced by bishop Pierce for preaching up the morality of the Sabbath; which, Mr Calamy says, cost him two years trouble, imprisonment, and se-

questration. This took place in consequence of archbishop Laud having taken the cause into his own hand; a man who, in cases of this nature, seldom shewed either mercy or moderation. Mr Chambers, at this trying period, gave evidence of much patience, exemplary fortitude, and resignation to the divine will.

When the civil war began, he took part with the parliament, and maintained a man and a horse, at his own expence, in the defence of civil and religious liberty. He took the covenant, and was constituted a member of the assembly of divines, and sometimes preached before the parliament. Wood says he was minister of Stretchley in Shropshire in 1648. Soon after this he had the rectory of Pewsey, near Marlborough, in the county of Wilts, conferred on him by the earl of Pembroke. He commenced doctor of divinity on the 12th April 1648, and was married to a daughter of Dr. Richard Brett, one of the translators of the bible under king James in 1604. Dr. Chambers was appointed an assistant to the commissioners for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. Oliver Cromwell, with the advice of his council, published an ordinance under the date of August 28th, 1654, in which he appoints and nominates certain lay commissioners for every county, and joins with them ten or more of the gravest and most notable ministers as their assistants; and appoints any five, or more of them, to call before them any public preacher, lecturer, parson, vicar, curate, or schoolmaster, who is, or shall be, reputed ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, or negligent, and to receive all articles or charges which may be exhibited against them, and to proceed in the examination and determination of such offences, according to certain rules laid down for that purpose. The Wiltshire commissioners accordingly summoned before them Mr Walter Bushnell, vicar of Box, near Malmsbury, to answer to a charge of drunkenness, profanation of the Sabbath, gaming, and disaffection to the then government. The vicar drew up a narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners, but did not publish it till the restoration, and even then the commissioners did themselves justice in a spirited reply; and Dr. Chambers, who was particularly reproached by Bushnell, justified himself in a distinct vindication. He kept his place till the very day when the act of uniformity came in force; and having preached his farewell sermon from Psalm cxxvi. 6. went home, was presently taken ill, and died September 1662. He was buried in the church of Pewsey, without the service, which had just at that time been restored. His wife died about the same time; and through the favour of the earl of Pembroke, his noble friend, the family obtained permission to remove the household goods.

His writings are, 1. A Divine Balance in which to weigh Religious Fasts.—2. Paul's sad farewell to the Ephesians.—3. Motives to Peace and Love.—4. Animadversions on Mr W. Dell's book, entitled the Crucified and Quickened Christian.—5. An Apology for the Ministers of the county of Wilts.—6. His Answer to Mr Bushnell about the proceedings of the Commissioners.

### FRANCIS CHEYNELL, D. D.

THIS zealous and enterprising divine was born at Oxford in 1608, the place where he was educated, and became a fellow of Merton college in 1629. Here he resided for several years, and after taking his degree in arts, entered into holy orders, and was curate in or near Oxford for some time. He took the degree of bachelor of divinity, and accepted a living from Mr Holman near Banbury, where he resided, and had a serious contest with Laud, then in the height of his elevation. Having spent much of his time in the college, he had acquired a very correct and extensive knowledge of books, and of every thing relating to the profession of a clergyman of those times. His disposition was studious, and his spirit active and enterprising, which rendered him extremely useful to the church in that turbulent period, and his personal character was fully developed by the circumstances with which he was surrounded. Whatever he believed, he considered himself bound to profess, and what he professed, he was ready at all hazards to defend. In a sermon, preached before the House of Commons, he says, "whatever, upon prayer and meditation, the Lord has revealed by the clear texts of his word, I will this day deliver unto you, though I were assured of dying St. John's death, or of being banished to St. John's Island for the same." When the civil war broke out, he took part with the parliament, and, in the beginning of that war, was for the most part along with the earl of Essex. He had a noble exterior, possessed great bodily strength and fearless intrepidity, and was truly a man of sterling valour and solid learning. An eminent writer says, concerning him, that "he seemed, indeed, to have been born a soldier, for he had an intrepidity which no dangers could shake, and a spirit of enterprize which no difficulty could discourage." Dr. Calamy says, that "his commands were as readily obeyed by the colonels in the army, as were those of the general himself."

Mr Cheynell was a real patriot. It was his earnest and daily prayer that God would unite the king and parliament in the cause of Christ. "Lord (said he) be pleased to decide this

calamitous controversy, and let that side prevail which most sincerely desires thy glory, the king's good, and the nation's welfare, by a happy reformation and a christian peace." Being now greatly distinguished by his learning, piety, and public services, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines in 1643. He preached frequently before the members of parliament, took the covenant, and zealously endeavoured to promote that harmony it was expected to produce in the three kingdoms. He was chosen parson of Petworth, a town in the county of Sussex. He was also one of the select committee appointed to examine and decide on the petitions of such ministers as requested sequestrated livings. Mr Cheynell has been greatly blamed for his behaviour at the funeral of Dr. Chillingworth. The matter stands as follows: This Dr. Chillingworth was born and educated at Oxford, but afterwards turning Roman catholic, he went to the Jesuits college at St. Omer's; where, not being thoroughly satisfied with some of their principles, he returned in 1631, embraced the religion of the church of England, and published a treatise, entitled *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation*. It was generally thought he was a Socinian, but in his last letter, at the end of his treatise, he appeared to be an Arian, according to Mr Neal. He served as engineer in Arundel castle, in the king's army, where he was taken prisoner, and falling sick, had the favour of being lodged in the bishop's house at Chichester, where he died. By the interest of Mr Cheynell, who attended him in his sickness, he was kindly used. Cheynell was desirous that he would renounce some of his dangerous tenets, and reasoned with him for that end, but could not prevail. He prayed with and for him while he was alive, but was much grieved and provoked at his obstinacy and the errors of his book; and at Dr. Chillingworth's interment, he threw a copy of his book into the grave along with its author, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book, that hast seduced so many precious souls: Get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten book, earth to earth, dust to dust: Get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author, and see corruption."

Mr Cheynell's behaviour, on this occasion, was certainly very unbecoming and highly offensive. His temper, however, was hot, his zeal ardent, and the temptation strong; besides, he was at times disordered in his brain. Under such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at should men's words or actions sometimes appear unaccountable. He was one of those divines sent down by parliament to the treaty of Uxbridge. The university of Oxford, when it fell into the hands of parliament, was in a most deplorable condition, on account of the opposite opinions

that prevailed regarding the contending parties in the state; and parliament appointed seven of their most judicious and popular divines to repair thither, with authority to preach in any pulpit in the university for six months, in order to soften the spirits of the people, and give them a better opinion of the new order of things. Mr Cheynell was one of the seven. They were very diligent in discharging their appointed duties. They preached twice every Sunday, and held a weekly conference every Thursday. On which occasions they proposed to solve such objections as might be started against the new confession of faith and discipline, and to answer any other important cases in divinity. The objection or case was to be propounded the week before, to afford time to consider it maturely. A moderator was appointed to keep order, who began and ended with a short prayer, and the business was conducted with much order and gravity. Their services were, nevertheless, generally unacceptable; some ridiculed them, others slighted, and a few acquiesced. But finding there was no prospect of preaching Oxford into filial obedience, parliament passed an ordinance for a visitation, May 1st, 1647. Mr Cheynell was also appointed one of the visitors, and afterwards made president of St. John's college, and Margaret professor of the university, in the room of Dr. Laurence. He lost both places soon after for refusing the new oath of allegiance. Having now taken the degree of doctor of divinity, he retired to Petworth, where, Wood says, he continued an useful member for the covenanting cause till the restoration. He was ever diligent and conscientious in the discharge of his pastoral duties, and a man of unbounded liberality, who never increased his estate by any of his preferments. He was sometimes deranged in the head, as formerly noticed; but some years before his death he was perfectly restored to a sound mind. He was ejected from the rich living of Petworth by the act of uniformity, and afterwards lived privately in a small village near Preston, where he had an estate, and died at his own house in September 1665.

Dr. Cheynell was strictly orthodox, and accounted a pious and learned divine, a man of eminent abilities, an excellent preacher, and a good disputant.

His works are, 1. *Zion's Memento, and God's Alarm.*—2. *The rise, growth, and danger of Socinianism.*—3. *Chillingworthi Novissima.*—4. *The Man of Honour described.*—5. *A Plot for the good of Posterity.*—6. *Divers Letters to Dr. Jasp. Mayne, concerning false Prophets.*—7. *A copy of some Letters which passed at Oxford between him and Dr. Hammond.*—8. *Relation of a Disputation at Oxford between Mr Cheynell and Mr Erbury, a Socinian.*—9. *The Divine Trinity of the Father,*

Son, and Holy Spirit.—10. A Discussion of Mr Fry's Tenets lately condemned in Parliament, and Socinianism proved to be an Unchristian Doctrine.

---

THOMAS COLEMAN, M. A.

THE celebrated subject of this memoir was born in Oxfordshire, and it would seem in the city of Oxford. He entered Magdalen-hall in 1615, in the seventeenth year of his age, where he took his degree in arts; and in due time receiving holy orders, entered on the ministerial work. Mr Coleman possessed singular talents, which a favourable combination of circumstances unfolded, and stimulated to a most successful exertion, particularly in the knowledge of the Hebrew language; in which his proficiency was such, that he was commonly designated Rabbi Coleman. His vigorous mind, thus cultivated by an excellent education, his learning shed a peculiar lustre round his name, and he was soon preferred to the rectory of Blyton in Lincolnshire, where he continued till 1642, that he was forced to withdraw to London from the persecution of the cavaliers, or king's party. On his arrival at London, he was preferred to the rectory of St. Peter's church in Cornhill; and the following year he was chosen one of the assembly of divines. Mr Wood says, "He was called to sit in the assembly chiefly on account of his great knowledge of the Hebrew language, and that he behaved modestly and learnedly in that assembly, holding the tenets of Erastus, and was one of the chief supporters of that opinion." That the reader may form a correct notion of the doctrine of Erastus concerning church government, it may be necessary here to state his opinion. He maintained that Jesus Christ and his apostles had prescribed no particular form of government and discipline for the christian church, but had left the keys in the hands of the civil magistrate, who had the sole power of punishing transgressors, and of appointing such particular forms of church government as from time to time were considered most conducive to the peace and welfare of the commonwealth. In his view the pastoral office was merely persuasive: That the Lord's supper, and other ordinances of the gospel, were free to all: That the minister might dissuade the vicious and unqualified from the communion, but might not refuse it, nor inflict any kind of censure whatever, all punishment being reserved for the civil magistrate. The learned Dr. Lightfoot was also a strenuous contender for this mode of discipline in the assembly, and some of the greatest names in the house of commons appeared on the same side. The several parties in

this assembly, presbyterians, independents, and erastians, agreed that the constitution of the primitive church was the only model for their imitation, and that therefore it was necessary to make a strict inquiry into the usages of that early period. The primitive church being considered as founded upon the model of the Jewish synagogues, this investigation gave Lightfoot, Coleman, Shelden, and other eminent masters of Jewish learning, a fine opportunity to display their superior learning, and produced uncommon interpretations of some parts of scripture.

When committees were chosen to prepare materials for a new form of church government, the independents agreed with the presbyterians, against the erastians, that there was a certain form of church government laid down in the New Testament which was of *divine institution*. But when they came to the question, What is that form of government, and is it binding on all ages of the church? Then the independents, as well as the erastians, opposed the presbyterians—The first holding that it was congregational, the latter that it was not of perpetual obligation. The proposition was stated thus: "That the scripture holds forth, that many particular congregations may, and, by divine institution, ought to be under one presbyterial government." Mr Neal says, "The debate lasted thirty days: That the erastians did not object to presbyterial government as a political institution, were it established by the civil magistrate; but they denied the divine right." This Mr Coleman declaimed against in the pulpit, as well as in the assembly; apprehending, that if admitted with a divine claim, presbytery would soon become as tyrannical as prelacy had been. He therefore proposed, that the civil magistrate should have the sole power of the keys in the meantime, till the nation was in a more settled state. The independents opposed the proposition, by advancing the divine right of independent and congregational churches. For fifteen days they stated themselves as opponents, and fifteen days they stood on the defensive. At last the main points of the presbyterian proposition were carried by a large majority. The independents gave in a written dissent, and complained of unkindly usage in the assembly. Their antagonists replied, that they were not conscious of having done them any injustice.

When the erastians saw how matters went, they reserved themselves for the House of Commons, where they were certain of being joined, both by their own party in the House, and also by the disappointed patrons of independency. Accordingly, the clause of divine right was lost in the commons, much to the grief and disappointment of the Scottish commissioners and their English adherents. The assembly's proposition, in its

amended form, stood thus: "That it is lawful, and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by congregational, classical, and synodical assemblies." The erastians had endeavoured to maintain their point, by contending that the Jewish church and state were all one: That a distinction of civil and ecclesiastical laws or causes were unknown amongst that people: That the Jewish church was their commonwealth, and that their commonwealth was their church; and that consequently the church and state were the same thing under different appellations. "I am sure (said Mr Coleman) that the best reformed church that ever was went this way—I mean the church of Israel, which had no distinction of church government and civil government." In opposition to this opinion of Mr Coleman's, Mr Gillespie, one of the Scotch commissioners, and other divines, replied, and maintained that the Jewish church was formally distinct from the Jewish state: That there was an ecclesiastical sanhedrim and government distinct from the civil: That there was an ecclesiastical excommunication distinct from civil punishment: That there was also in the Jewish church a public confession, or declaration of repentance, and thereupon a re-admission of the penitent offender to fellowship with the church in holy things; and that there was a suspension of the profane from the temple and passover.

Mr Coleman having attacked the intolerant and tyrannical spirit of prelacy, has been roughly handled by a very zealous historian of that party, who, speaking of those divines who preached before parliament, says, "Another of these brawlers, who seldom thinks of a bishop, or of the king's party, without indignation, is Mr Thomas Coleman. In one of his sermons, he thus rants against the church of England, and violently persuades the parliament to execute severe justice upon her children. Our cathedrals, says he, are in a great measure, of late, become the nests of idle drones, and the roosting places of superstitious formalists. Our formalists and government, in the whole hierarchy, are become a fretting gangrene, a spreading leprosy, an insupportable tyranny. Up with it, up with it to the bottom, root and branch, hip and thigh! Destroy these Amalakites, and let their place be no more found! Throw away the rubs, out with the Lord's enemies, and the land's! Vex the Midianites, abolish the Amalakites, else they will vex you with their wiles, as they have done heretofore! Let popery find no favour, for it is treason; nor prelacy, because it is tyranny! This, adds the historian, was rare stuff for the blades at Westminster; and pleased them admirably. They therefore give strait orders, to Sir Edward Aiscough and Sir John Wray, to give the zealot hearty thanks for his seasonable directions,

and to desire him, by all means, to have his sermon printed; which he did accordingly, and in return for his thanks, dedicates his fury to their worships, where he falls to his old trade again, calling the king's army partakers with atheists, infidels, and papists—saying they have popish priests and masses, with cold, lifeless, and unedifying forms of superstitious worship; that it swarms with drunken and debauched clergymen, and harbours all idle, dumb, and unpreaching ministers, tyrannical church dignitaries, and spiritual courtsmen, oppressors of God's people, and persecutors of his faithful ministers; and that it is the common sewer, the sink and recipient of all the filth of the present and past generations. This man's railing, he adds, pleased the Commons so well, that they could think of no man fitter to prate when their wicked league and covenant was taken; which he did to excellent purpose, tickling their filthy ears; and for this stuff colonel Long must be ordered to give him the thanks of the House." Admitting the quotations to be true, had the historian suffered as much from the same quarter as thousands of the puritans had done, he had been less scurrilous with his remarks; for though the expressions are severe, they were not given without abundant provocation; and the history of the times authenticate much of their veracity.

Mr Coleman fell sick while the great debate was pending in the assembly; and some of the members visiting him, he requested they would suspend the matter in controversy, and not bring it to a conclusion till they heard what he had farther to say. To which the assembly agreed. But his complaint increasing, he died in a few days; and the whole assembly paid their last tribute of respect to his memory, by following him to the grave, March 30th, 1647.

His works are, 1. *The Christian's Course and Complaint*, both in the pursuit of Happiness desired, and for Advantages slipped in the course of that pursuit.—2. *The Heart's Engagement*; a Sermon preached at the public entering into covenant at St. Margaret's, Westminster.—3. *God's Answer to a Solemn Fast*, preached to both houses of parliament.—4. *A Brotherly Examination Examined*; or, a clear Justification of those Passages in a Sermon against which Mr Gillespie did preach and write.—5. *A Short Discovery of some Tenets which entrench upon the Honour and Power of Parliament*.—6. *A Model, &c.*

---

### EDWARD CORBET.

THIS puritan divine was born at Pontesbury in Shropshire, 1602, and educated in Merton college Oxford, where he

took the degree of arts, and was afterwards chosen fellow. He was made proctor of the university; but refusing to conform to certain points, he was called before the vice-chancellor, who laid his case before Laud, chancellor of the university, whom he petitioned for relief; but it does not appear that he received any redress. Upon the commencement of hostilities between the king and parliament, Oxford being garrisoned by the royal forces, he was deprived of his fellowship, and expelled from the college for refusing to espouse the royal cause. Archbishop Laud, being afterwards a prisoner in the tower, refused him the rectory of Chatham in Kent, on account of his puritan principles; and when appointed rector of that place by an ordinance of parliament, 1643, his lordship still refused his allowance, though the refusal was now of no avail. Mr Corbet was an evidence against the archbishop on his trial, and deposed, "That in the year 1638, his grace visiting Merton college by his deputy Sir John Lamb, one article propounded to the wardens and fellows was, Whether they made due reverence by bowing toward the altar when they came into the chapel? That he and Mr Cheynell were enjoined, by the visitors and commissioners, to use this ceremony; and refusing, though he had assigned his reasons for so doing, he was particularly threatened. That after this, Dr. Frewin, the vice-chancellor, told him that he had been sent by the archbishop to require of him that he must use this ceremony. That the archbishop after this sent injunctions to Merton college, requiring them to bow towards the altar, and that the visitors questioned such as refused; and that there was a crucifix placed above the communion-table in Magdalen college, with pictures in the windows; that a crucifix was also set up in Christ church—none of which innovations were ever heard of before the time of the archbishop."

Mr Corbet was chosen one of the assembly of divines, where, according to Neal's list, he was a constant attender. He is also said to have been one of the committee for the examination and ordination of ministers, and one of the preachers to the parliament. He was likewise one of the seven preachers appointed by parliament for the purpose of reconciling the scholars at Oxford to the parliamentary order of things in 1646. But Wood informs us, that he soon left that employment, and threw his part of the duty on the shoulders of the remaining six. Mr Corbet was also appointed one of the visitors of that university, and orator and canon of Christ church in the room of Dr. Henry Hammond. He did not remain long in this situation, but being made rector of Great Hasely, he removed thither to take the charge of his flock. He took the degree of doctor of divinity in 1648, and continued at Hasely till his death, which took

place at London in 1657, and fifty-fifth year of his age. His remains were conveyed to Great Hasely, and interred in the chancel of his own church.

He has been accounted an excellent divine, a valuable preacher, and a man of inflexible integrity.

Dr. Corbet is supposed to be the author of the *Worldling's Looking Glass*; and he has published one of his Sermons on God's Providence, from 1 Cor. i. 27, preached before the Commons at their Fast, December 28th, 1642; and probably some other works.

---

### CALIBUTE DOWNING, D. D.

THIS zealous reformer was born at Shenington, in Gloucestershire, in 1604. He belonged to an ancient and respectable family, and took his education in Ariel college Oxford. After having finished his studies, and entered on the ministerial work, he was successively rector of Ickford in Buckinghamshire, of West Ilsley in Berkshire, and vicar of Hackney, near London. In 1640, Mr Downing maintained, in a sermon preached before the artillery company, "That in defence of religion, and for the reformation of the church, it was lawful to take arms against the king, providing it could not be otherwise obtained." In consequence of his having thus expressed his sentiments, he was forced to abscond from the danger with which he was threatened. He retired to the house of the earl of Warwick, in Essex, where he remained till the meeting of the long parliament. In 1643 he resigned his vicarage of Hackney, and was succeeded by Dr. Spurstowe, who was afterwards ejected by the act of uniformity.

The civil war having commenced, Dr. Downing became chaplain to lord Roberts, in the army of the earl of Essex. In which office his conduct has been severely handled by the high church historians. He was appointed one of the licensers of the press. In 1643, according to Wood, he shewed himself a zealous covenanter; and thereupon was chosen one of the assembly of divines. He died in 1644, and has left behind him the reputation of a pious man, a pathetic preacher, and a warm promoter of religion, church reformation, and the good of his native land.

His writings are, 1. A Discourse of the State Ecclesiastical of this Kingdom in relation to the Civil.—2. A Digression, discussing some Exceptions against Ecclesiastical Officers.—3. A Discovery of the false grounds the Bavarian party have laid to settle their own faction, and shake the peace of Europe.—4. A Discourse on the Interest of England.—5. A Discursive Con-

jecture upon the Reasons which produce the present troubles of Great Britain different from those of Lower Germany.—6. Several Sermons, &c.

### JOHN DURY.

THIS persevering christian pacificator, according to Wood, was born in Scotland. He became a sojourner in the university of Oxford in 1624, for the sake of the public library. After this he travelled into various countries, particularly through most parts of Germany, where he visited the recesses of the muses. Here he continued so long, and spake their language so fluently, that after his return to England, he was often taken for a native German.

Mr Dury was, for many years, engaged in a design of uniting the Lutherans and Calvinists; or, as he himself expresses it, “For making and settling a protestant union, and peace in the churches beyond seas.” The following account of Mr Dury’s exertions, in prosecuting this bold undertaking, comes from one who censured both the man and his whole project: “He made a remarkable figure (says he) in his time, running up and down, with enthusiastic zeal, for uniting the Lutherans and Calvinists. He was so strongly prepossessed with the hopes of ultimate success, that no difficulties could discourage him, nor apparent impossibilities induce him to relinquish the object of his pursuit. That he might be at full liberty to range the christian world to promote the desired object, he applied for, and obtained, a dispensation of non-residence on his living: he not only procured a license for the purpose, but even the approbation and recommendation of archbishop Laud, and had encouragement and pecuniary assistance from bishop Hall and the bishop of Kilmore. He began by publishing his plan of union in 1634; and during the same year he appeared in a famous assembly of Lutherans at Frankfort, in Germany. The churches of Transylvania likewise sent him their advice and counsel the same year; after which he negotiated with the divines of Sweden and Denmark. He consulted the universities; communicated their answers; he directed his attention to every quarter, and conferred with the learned in most places of the continent, and obtained their approbation of his design. His project, however, was much ridiculed, which only served to inflame his zeal, and give renovating vigour to his exertions. He seems to have been an honest man, but enthusiastical. His notions were but idle fancies, and his whole scheme equally wild and impracticable.” \*

\* Biog. Britan. vol. viii. p. 4383, Edit. 1747.

Notwithstanding the censorious remarks of this writer, it is evident that Mr Dury's undertaking was patronized and encouraged by many celebrated divines. In 1635 he corresponded on this subject with the learned Mr Joseph Mede, requesting his thoughts on the best method of prosecuting and promoting the design; stating also the manner in which he had addressed the Batavian churches on that subject. Mr Mede most cordially approved of his pacific endeavours, commended his method of addressing the foreign churches, and spoke of his abilities in terms of the highest approbation; but expressed his doubts as to the success of his labours. "From his wisdom and abilities therein (says he), I am fitter to receive instruction than to censure or give direction." Mr Dury communicated his design to the most celebrated of the New England divines, who signified their hearty concurrence in his generous undertaking. Mr Baxter also informs us, that "Mr Dury, having spent thirty years in his endeavours to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists, was again going abroad on the same business. He desired the judgment of our association (says he), how it might be most advantageously accomplished; upon which, at their desire, I drew up a letter more largely, in Latin, and more briefly in English."

On the commencement of the civil war, Mr Dury espoused the cause of parliament, and was chosen one of the superadded members of the Westminster assembly. He took the covenant with the rest of his brethren, and was appointed one of the committee of accommodation. It is said that he afterwards joined the independents, took the engagement, and all other oaths that were imposed under the commonwealth. He was a man of the most disinterested and worthy character, much revered and beloved by many individuals greatly distinguished for learning and piety; among whom we cannot omit the famous Mr Robert Boyle, his kind friend. The very design of promoting concord among christians, discovered a most excellent spirit; and the unyielding perseverance, and indefatigable efforts made to realize an object so desirable, manifest a generosity of soul that has seldom been equalled, and probably never outdone.

In July 1660, he addressed the following letter to the lord chancellor Hyde:

"MY LORD,

"In the application which I made to your honour, when you were at the Hague, I offered the fruit of my thirty years' labours towards healing the breaches among protestants; and this I did as one who had never served the turn of any party, or had been biassed by particular interests for any advantage to myself.

But by walking in the light by rule and principle, have stood free from all in matters of strife, that I might be able to serve them in love. My way hath been, and is, to solicit the means of peace and truth amongst the dissenting parties, to do good offices, and to quiet their discontents, and I must still continue in the same way if I can be useful. But not being rightly understood in my aims and principles, I have been constrained to give this brief account thereof, as well to rectify the misconstruction of former actions, as to prevent farther mistakes concerning my intention and manner, that such as love not to foment prejudices, may be clear in their thoughts concerning me, and may know where to find me, if they would discern me, or any of the talents which God hath bestowed upon me, for the public welfare of his churches; which is my sole aim, and wherein I hope to persevere unto the end, as the Lord shall enable me, to be without offence unto all, with a sincere purpose to approve myself to his majesty in all faithfulness.

“Your lordship’s most humble servant in Christ,

“JOHN DURY.”

In the same month he wrote to the earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain of his majesty’s household, giving an account of certain proceedings relative to the universal pacification of christians. In 1660, through favour of the same earl he was presented with so much of the Lithuanian bible as was then printed, which was down to the Chronicles. Thus Mr Dury lived till after the restoration; but does not appear to have either conformed or been ejected. Every thing seems to have given way to his favourite object. It is probable, therefore, that he had discontinued his stated ministerial labours some time prior to this period.

His works are, 1. *Consultatio Theologica Super Negotio Pacis Ecclesiast.*—2. *Epistolary Discourse to Thomas Goodman, Ph. Nye, and Sam. Hartlip.*—3. *On Presbytery and Independency.*—4. *Model of Church Government.*—5. *Peace-maker, the Gospel way.*—6. *Seasonable Discourse for Reformation.*—7. *The Reformed School.*—8. *The Reformed Library-keeper.*—9. *Bibliotheca Augusta Sereniss Princ. D. Augusti Ducis Brunovicensis, etc.*—10. *The unchanged, constant, and single-hearted Peace-maker drawn forth into the world.*—11. *Supplement to the Reformed School.*—12. *Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion.*—13. *Summary Platform of Divinity.*—14. *A Declaration of John Dury, to make known the truth of his way and deportment in all these times of trouble.*—15. *Irenicorum Tractatum Prodromus, and some others.*

## THOMAS FOORD, M. A.

THIS persecuted puritan divine was born at Brixton in Devonshire, 1598. His family was respectable and wealthy. His father died when he was young; so that the care of his education devolved on his mother. He had a strong bias to learning, and was, while yet a child, susceptible of very serious impressions. His school-master reckoned that he was fit for the university at the age of fifteen; but sundry causes prevented him from entering till 1619, when he entered as student in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. He was a diligent student, and made great proficiency in the learned languages, and the various branches of literature which were more immediately connected with theology. In 1624 he proceeded bachelor of arts, and took his degree of master of arts in 1627. According to Wood, he entered into orders, and became a diligent, faithful, and successful tutor in his own college for several years, of equal celebrity, according to Mr Calamy, with any in the university. Warmly attached to the principles of the puritans, and zealous in defending and promoting the great object for which they contended, he sometimes expressed himself, as did several others, so freely in his public ministrations in the university, that a considerable noise was raised amongst the directors of that great seat of learning. The occasion was this, Dr. Frewin, president of Magdalen college, had changed the communion table of the chapel into an altar, the first that had been set up in the university since the reformation. Several preachers at St. Mary's exclaimed against this glaring innovation, particularly Mr Thorn of Baliol college, in a sermon from 1 Kings xiii. 2. respecting the altar erected at Bethel; and Mr Hodge of Exeter college, preaching from that passage of scripture, "Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt," attacked the system of innovations going forward with considerable freedom and keenness of animadversion. Mr Foord also, in his turn, preaching from 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11. "And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish," &c. This sermon was delivered on the 12th of June 1631. He made some severe remarks on the innovations that were creeping into the church, on magnifying the importance of tradition, making the communion into a sacrifice with altars; to which men were commanded, idolatrously, to bow, and a variety of similar and equally useless and abominable ceremonies.

Laud and his coadjutors were exasperated almost to madness at these sermons, declaring that they were intended as reflections on the conduct and character of some very eminent ec-

clesiastics; besides, that they were an open violation of the king's declaration for silencing the arminian controversy. Accordingly, next morning the vice-chancellor had Mr Foord summoned before him, and demanded a copy of his sermon; which Mr Foord offered to give him, if he demanded it according to the statute. He then ordered him to surrender his person a prisoner at the castle. Mr Foord offered to go, providing he would send a beadle, or even a servant with him; which not being done, he did not surrender himself. The Saturday following, the vice-chancellor, highly enraged, sealed up Mr Foord's study, after having examined all his books and papers in search of matter to condemn him. Herein, however, he totally failed, inasmuch as Mr Foord had previously removed every thing of which his enemies could take the least advantage. In the meantime, archbishop Laud, who was himself chancellor of the university, having been apprised of the whole affair, sent orders to punish the preachers. Upon this, a citation, in Laud's name, dated July 2d, was fixed on St. Mary's church, commanding Mr Foord to appear before the vice-chancellor on the 5th. Foord appeared on the day appointed, and was urged to take an oath *ex officio*; which he refused to do, because there were no questions in writing. Again he offered a copy of his sermon if the chancellor would demand it by virtue of the statute. Next day, however, he delivered a copy of the sermon; which was accepted. But on pretence of his former contumacy, he was again commanded to surrender himself a prisoner. Here Mr Foord appealed from his jurisdiction to that of the convocation, and delivered his appeal in writing to the new proctors, Messrs Atherton Bruch and John Doughty, both men of ability and integrity. They brought the appeal before the convocation, where the case was referred to sixteen delegates, when ten out of fifteen, upon a full hearing, acquitted Mr Foord from all breach of peace. At last Laud brought the whole affair before the king and council at Woodstock; where Mr Foord appearing, the king examined him on three questions: 1. Why he refused a copy of his sermon? Mr Foord said, "He had not refused it, but freely offered it according to the statute." 2. Whether Dr. Prideaux had dissuaded him from giving it? He assured his majesty that he had not consulted the doctor on the subject: And, 3. Why he did not go to prison when the vice-chancellor commanded him thither on his faith? "He hoped (he said) that his majesty's poor scholars in the university should not be in a worse condition than the worst of felons, who are imprisoned by a mittimus, and with legal officers to conduct them thither." The king said no more; and the archbishop, though present, had not opened his mouth. The following

sentence was nevertheless passed: That Messrs Foord, Thorn, and Hoges, be expelled the university: That both proctors be deprived of their places for receiving their appeals, although they could not legally refuse them; and that Dr. Prideaux, rector of Exeter college, and Dr. Wilkinson, principal of Magdalen-hall, receive a sharp admonition for meddling in this affair on their behalf.

Messrs Hoges and Thorn, upon their recantation, and submitting to a year's suspension, were fully restored, and afterwards promoted to be archdeacons. But Mr Foord, by the final sentence, was obliged to remove from the university on four days notice; but was honourably conducted out of town by a great multitude of scholars in their habits. After this he was almost instantaneously invited by the magistrates of Plymouth to be their minister; but the malicious Laud, who had the king's ear, obtained a letter from him to these magistrates, which he accompanied with one of his own, forbidding them, as they dreaded the royal displeasure, to choose him; and in case he should be chosen, the bishop of Exeter was commanded not to admit him. The inhabitants of Plymouth were therefore obliged to relinquish the object of their choice. Finding that Laud was determined to exclude him from all preferment in England, Mr Foord embraced the opportunity of going abroad, in the capacity of chaplain to an English regiment, commanded by colonel George Fleetwood, in the service of Gustavus Adolphus. He travelled with the colonel into Germany, and lay some time in garrison at Stode and Elbing. His eminent talents and erudition recommended him to the learned of all professions wherever he travelled. The English merchants at Hamburgh invited him to become their minister, at a salary of two hundred pounds; but not relishing a foreign country, he returned to England. On his arrival, he was presented to the rectory of Aldwinkle in Northamptonshire; and what is rather surprising, Laud and his party offered no objection. Here he continued a diligent and faithful minister of Christ for some years, and married the daughter of — Fleetwood of Gray's Inn, Esq. by whom he had several children. He was chosen proctor for the clergy of the diocese of Peterborough to the famous convocation of 1640.

When the civil war broke out, he retired to London, where he became minister of St. Faiths, London, and afterwards a member of the assembly of divines. When the wars were over, Mr Foord settled at Exeter in Devonshire. Here he found the city and adjacent country under the influence of a sect of enthusiasts, who pretended they stood in no need of ordinances; but that they were raised, by the divine illumination, quite

above them. Here he distinguished himself in preaching down the mad errors of this visionary tribe. His labours, in this place, were crowned with remarkable success; the city was greatly reformed, and a relish for the doctrines of truth gradually restored. Mr Foord preached in the cathedral, though, upon one occasion, he was put out by major general Desborough, for refusing the engagement. He was greatly esteemed, both by the people, the magistrates, and neighbouring gentlemen, and held a very friendly correspondence with the other ministers of the city. He induced them to set up a Tuesday's lecture; in which they all took their turns, and were uncommonly well attended. He also prevailed, with his brethren, to have the sacrament administered every fortnight, taking the churches in rotation, at which the members of the other churches might have an opportunity of communicating. These measures had a strong tendency to prevent all jealousies among the ministers, and to unite the people in brotherly-affection amongst themselves. The ministers of Exeter lived together in much harmony and happiness, and the work of the gospel was greatly promoted by their faithful labours, till the act of uniformity ejected them from their several charges; though still remaining among their people. Upon the coming out of the Oxford act, he, and twelve other ministers, who resided in the city, not satisfied with all the particulars of the oath therein imposed, and aware that their refusal would be misconstrued, thought it prudent to present a petition to the magistrates. This petition stated, that they were so free from all thoughts of raising a new war, or resisting the powers that by divine providence were over them, that they were firmly resolved never to take arms against the king's person or government, nor aid, abet, countenance, or encourage others in any tumultuous or unpeaceable endeavours to disturb his majesty's kingdoms; but to behave themselves peaceably in all things, and at all times, under his majesty's government, in church and state. That this they humbly offered, not expecting thereby to be freed from the operation of the act, but that they might not be represented to his majesty as disaffected and disloyal persons. The magistrates, however, having no favour for men of their sentiments, refused the petition; and the petitioners were obliged to leave the city for some time. Mr Foord retired to Exmouth, nine miles from Exeter, where he lived privately, and, under the direction of an indulgent providence, had a competent support.

When the indulgence came out, though Mr Foord neither approved the men that procured it, nor the object it was intended to effect, it was, nevertheless, his opinion, that ministers should embrace the opportunity it afforded for preaching

the gospel. On this occasion, though his health was much impaired, he returned to Exeter; where he was not able to preach more than two sermons in public, though he was greatly serviceable by his private advice and conversation. At this juncture, while many were flattering themselves with the approach of flourishing times, Mr Foord was daily warning them, that there was yet in reserve a far more dreadful storm that would unavoidably fall on the churches. This was awfully verified, in the terrible persecution which took place in various countries during some following years.

Mr Foord's health was daily on the decline; so that he was soon confined to his bed, and could speak but little to those persons who visited him. When visited by some ministers of the city, he spoke much of his own unworthiness, and the all-sufficiency of Christ. "On this rock (said he) I have reposed my confidence, where I hope to remain safe amid all the storms of dissolution. The sting of death is sin; but thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." These were the last words he was heard to utter. Dr. Calamy says, "He died in December 1674, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and that he was buried in St. Laurence church, Exeter. He was esteemed a man of excellent parts, and of unbiassed principles, the same man at all times, and in the midst of all changes."

His printed works are, 1. Two Sermons, one preached before the Lords, the other before the Commons.—2. Singing of Psalms, a Christian duty under the New Testament.—3. The Sinner Condemned of himself, being a plea for God against all the ungodly.—4. Self-evidence of Scripture, proving it to be the only rule of Faith.

---

### JOHN FOXCROFT, A. M.

MR FOXCROFT received his education in Magdalen-hall, Oxford, and took his degree of arts in 1617; and having finished his studies, he entered on the work of the ministry. He was some time after this minister of Gotham in Nottinghamshire; where he continued several years, according to Wood, a puritanical preacher. On the commencement of the civil war he joined the parliament; and while exercising his pastoral office at Gotham, was much molested by the royal party. In 1640 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and was a constant attending member of that assembly. Removing to London, he became a frequent preacher in that city, and sometimes before parliament.

Mr Foxcroft still retained a powerful affection for his flock at Gotham, as appears by his epistle dedicatory to the House of Commons before his sermon; in which he says, "Give me leave only to shed a few tears on the neck of the bleeding county of Nottingham, now as much beloved as that which gave me breath; having been the place of my ministry for the longer half of my life."

Mr Foxcroft published one Sermon, preached before the Commons, entitled *The Good of a Good Government*, and most probably several other works.

---

### THOMAS GATAKER.

THIS eminent and learned divine was born in London, on the 4th September 1574, and received the first principles of education in his father's house. He gave early indications of genius and application, and entirely devoted himself to literature while but a boy. His conversation was grave, and his manners pleasing, exhibiting literature above his age, and wisdom above his learning. Having passed the classes in the grammar school, his father sent him, in 1590, to St. John's college, Cambridge, where he prosecuted his studies with unremitting ardour. He was one of those diligent students who constantly attended the Greek lectures of the famous Mr John Bois, one of king James' translators of the bible. This celebrated Grecian read a Greek lecture, in his bed, to such scholars as preferred their nightly studies to their rest. Under his instructions Mr Gataker made amazing improvement in that language; and carefully preserving the notes of these lectures, when visited by Mr Bois several years after, he produced them, to the great joy of the good old man, who was so much pleased, that he said he thought himself several years younger from the unexpected entertainment they had afforded him. Mr Gataker continued to prosecute his studies with unrelaxed application, and attained an honourable proficiency in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, having been carefully instructed by Mr Lively, professor of Hebrew in Cambridge, and eminently qualified for that difficult office. Mr Gataker had not been long settled at Cambridge till he sustained a heavy loss by the death of his father, who had it not in his power to leave what was sufficient to maintain him through the course of his academical studies. The hopes, however, with which his promising genius, and steady application, had inspired his friends, induced them to contribute to his assistance; and conscious of the tenor by which he held their bounty, he applied himself seriously and

successfully to the acquisition of intellectual treasure; and his attainments, together with his good and agreeable disposition, so recommended him, that he was soon chosen a scholar upon the foundation of his college. He took his degree in arts with uncommon applause, and his sentiments were much improved by associating with learned and pious christians and divines, particularly with that eminent servant of Christ, Mr Richard Stock, to whom he was united in the closest ties of friendship and affection.

Mr Gataker was now held in such estimation for his learning and candour, that the trustees of Sidney college appointed him one of the fellows of that institution even before the building was erected; with an offer, that, till such time as the college was completed, he should live in the house of William Aylofffe, Esq. as tutor to that gentleman's eldest son, and assistant to himself in studying the Hebrew language. While residing in this family, he read them a portion of scripture every morning, giving the sense from the original languages, and then making practical observations. In this manner he went over the whole of the epistles, the prophecy of Isaiah, and a considerable part of the book of Job. At one of these exercises, Dr. Sterne, suffragan of Colchester, who was nearly related to lady Aylofffe, was present. The doctor was so pleased with Mr Gataker's performance, that he pressed him to enter into orders, that his talents might be authoritatively exercised for the good of the church, at the same time offering him what pecuniary or other assistance he stood in need of. After some hesitation on the part of Mr Gataker, and a renewed solicitation from the doctor, he acquiesced, and was accordingly ordained a preacher.

When Sidney college was finished, and ready for the reception of its society, Mr Gataker repaired thither to his station, and commenced tutor with great reputation, and had his services rewarded with singular success. While thus employed in Sidney college, he also united with Mr Abdias Ashton, and Mr William Bedell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, for the laudable purpose of preaching the gospel in the places lying near to Cambridge, where, owing to different causes, the people were in great want of faithful ministers. In the prosecution of this plan, Mr Gataker preached every Sabbath, for six months, at Everton, a village on the borders of the counties of Cambridge, Bedford, and Huntingdon.

But some reasons, which have not been given us, induced Mr Gataker to leave the university, and settle in London, where he became chaplain to Sir William Cooke, near Charing-cross. In this situation he had frequent opportunities of being introduced to many persons of eminence, particularly in the profession of

the law, many of whom were members of Lincoln's Inn, and had occasion to know his ministerial abilities. Accordingly, this honourable society chose him for their preacher; which having accepted, he discharged the duty of this office for ten years, much to the satisfaction of his learned audience, by whom he was caressed and much admired. Here he was particularly active in promoting the reformation of the Sabbath, and succeeded in his pious endeavours beyond all expectation. By accepting this office at Lincoln's Inn, Mr Gataker did not dissolve his connection with the family of Sir William Cooke; but during the vacations, he always went down to Sir William's seat in Northamptonshire, where, during his stay, he preached every Sabbath, either in the domestic chapel, or the parish church. In 1603 he took his degree of bachelor of divinity at Cambridge. The great reputation he had at Lincoln's Inn occasioned some valuable preferments to be offered him, which he might have held without resigning his present charge. But he stood opposed to all pluralities. He could never be persuaded that one man could, at the same time, discharge his duty to two separate congregations, either to his own or their satisfaction. Mr Gataker had another reason for holding his place at Lincoln's Inn, though the salary was much less than that of several places he had in his choice, namely, that it afforded him leisure to prosecute his studies, particularly in the original languages, the ancient fathers, and the best Greek and Roman writers.

In 1611, having entered into the matrimonial state, he accepted the rectory of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, near London bridge, a living of considerable value, together with which he was much importuned to hold his office at Lincoln's Inn. But this being opposed to his fixed principles with regard to pluralities, he refused. In this new situation, notwithstanding an almost perpetual headach, which had attended him from his youth, he discharged his numerous pastoral duties with unremitting industry, carefully feeding the flock over which he had been appointed pastor. Although he had not as yet committed any of his learned productions to the press, his celebrity was such, that he held a literary correspondence with some of the greatest men of the age. Some of his letters to Dr. Usher, afterwards the celebrated primate of Ireland, evince the nature and extent of his studies, as well as his anxiety and care to preserve the unpublished works of some ancient divines. These letters likewise evidence a spirit of modesty and deference, not always observable in men of profound literary acquirements. In a letter, dated from Rotherhithe, 18th March 1616, he informs Usher, that he had, in his possession, a manuscript, containing certain treatises, which he could not learn

had ever been printed, among which was *Guilhelmus de Sancto Amore de Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*, and an Oration, in writing, delivered to the pope at Lyons, by Robert Grossthead, formerly bishop of Lincoln. "Some of these (said he), if they are not already abroad, may not be unworthy of being brought into the light; nor should I be unwilling, if they be so esteemed, to bend my weak endeavours that way. But of that Oration to the pope, certain lines in my copy are paired away; but not so much but the sense may still be guessed and gathered from the context. In the other treatises there are many deficiencies which cannot easily be amended, and some of them not without the help of other copies. My desire is to understand from you, Whether, when you were in England, you lighted on any of these; and if so, where, or in whose hands they were?" In answer to the above, Usher informed Mr Gataker, that one of the treatises was published, and that the other was ready for the press by another hand.

Dr. Usher and Mr Gataker had both a great predilection for ancient manuscripts, and for publishing the remains of ancient divines; which first introduced them to the acquaintance of one another, and occasioned their friendly correspondence. As Mr Gataker never wrote upon any subject which he had not thoroughly considered, and examined what had been said upon it by men of all ages and parties, so his penetration in distinguishing truth, and his honest zeal in supporting it, laid him continually open to the clamours of those men, who had nothing in view but the support of those systems to which their interest or education had attached them, or the magnifying of such notions as were popular at the time; the defence of which procured them numerous admirers, though their arguments were ever so weak and inconclusive.

In such disputes, however, these furious opponents were sure to have the worst with Mr Gataker; and however considerable they might be, either in figure or number, they only served the more effectually to enhance his triumph. For his modesty and natural diffidence prevented him from publishing any thing till he was forty-five years of age; by which time his judgment was so confirmed by extensive reading and hard study, and so supported by an extraordinary and almost incredible memory, that he always carried his point, and effectually baffled every attempt again to spread darkness and obscurity over any subject he had once proposed to enlighten.

The regularity of Mr Gataker's life, his unsullied character, together with the general esteem in which he was held by the greatest and best men in the nation, fortified him against the low and little artifices, from which a writer, deficient of such

guarantees, must unavoidably have suffered. He had not the smallest tincture of spleen or arrogance in his composition; and though it be true that he gave no quarter to the *arguments* of his adversaries, no scurrility on their part could provoke him to strike at their *persons* or character. He knew the prize for which he contended was truth, and that the world was constituted the decisive judges. He was always cautious to say nothing unbecoming, indecent, or that might prove ungrateful to the intelligent reader, whose object was the discovery of truth. He was not so scrupulous, however, as forbear to dismantle vulgar errors for fear of offending the multitude. His modesty, though it might hinder his promotion, never obstructed his progress in the path of duty. He understood perfectly, how easy it was either to lead the people into profanity, or work them into superstition; and none could be more sensible than himself, that true religion was alike opposed to both. Aware that hypocrisy was calculated to ensnare, as well as libertinism is to seduce, he was jealous lest canting words, and a solemn show of sanctity, might enable presumptuous, or self-interested men, to put a yoke on the necks of christians very different from that of Jesus Christ\*.

Mr Gataker was always careful, in his pulpit exercises, that his doctrine might be not only sound, but also suitable to the circumstances of his congregation. A desire to unfold the whole counsel of God, induced him, among other subjects, to discourse on one, both curious and critical, namely, the nature and abuse of *lots*; a subject, in his opinion, but ill understood, and one from which much mistake and inconveniency had arisen. Conceiving that a minute investigation of this ill-defined subject, by affording his congregation more correct views of the matter, might prove beneficial, Mr Gataker was induced to handle it, as he did all other subjects, freely, fully, and fairly, without ever suspecting it would involve him in a long and troublesome controversy. Some ignorant, or ill-disposed persons, however, had noised abroad, that he was become the defender of gamesters, and the patronizer of cards and dice, with other groundless stories; which obliged him to publish his opinions on that subject, in a small treatise; in which, says the above author, "It is hard to say; whether the accuracy of the method, the conclusiveness of his reasoning, or the prodigious display of learning, deserve most to be admired?" He dedicated this little work to Sir Henry Hobart, Bart. chief justice of the common pleas, with all the benchers, barristers, and students of Lincoln's Inn, as a mark of his gratitude and respect for their former favours. The publication of this piece made a great noise in the world,

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2160.

and gained its author great reputation. This learned performance is entitled, *Of the Nature and Use of Lots*, a treatise historical and theological. In the preface to the judicious and ingenuous reader, he observes, that though he had often been solicited to appear in public, through the medium of the press, he had hitherto declined. "But (says he) a two-fold necessity is now imposed upon me to do some thing in this way, partly by the impotunity of divers christian friends, religious and judicious, who, being partakers of my public ministry, have heard, or, upon request, have seen some part of this weak work, or, from the report of others concerning it, have not ceased to solicit the publication thereof; but partly also, and more especially, by the iniquity of some, who, being of a different opinion with regard to certain points therein disputed, have been more forward than was meet, to tax and traduce, with unchristian slanders and uncharitable censures, both the writer and the work.

"Should any, says he, surmise that this kind of writing may occasion too much liberty in this licentious age, I answer, 1st, That it is neither equal nor fair, that, for the looseness of some, the consciences of the godly and circumspect should be entangled and ensnared; and, 2dly, That whosoever shall take no more liberty to themselves than this treatise allows them, shall be sure to keep within the bounds of piety and charity, equity and sobriety; than which I know not what more can be reasonably required. I protest before God's face, and in his fear, that for no sinister ends undertook I this task; nor have I averred or defended any thing therein, but what, I am verily persuaded, is agreeable to the word of God."

In the first chapter he describes what a lot is, and treats of lottery in general. In the 2d, Of chance or casualty, and casual events. 3d, Of the several kinds of lots. 4th, Ordinary lots. 5th, Of the lawfulness of such lots, with the cautions necessary in using them. 6th, Of ordinary luserious lots, and their lawfulness. 7th, An answer to the principal objections to luserious lots. 8th, An answer to the lesser arguments against them. 9th, Cautions to be observed in the use of them. 10th, Extraordinary or divinitary lots. 11th, Of their unlawfulness. 12th, An admonition to avoid them, with an answer to some arguments used in their defence; with the conclusion. A second edition of this treatise, revised, corrected, and enlarged by the author, was published in 1627.

The publication of the first edition drew the author into a controversy, which lasted many years. A very warm writer, who had been misled by the common report, attacked our author in a publication, which he calls a *Refutation of Mr Gataker's Doctrine*; but his production having had more the appearance

of anger than argument, the licensers of the press would not sanction its publication. The enraged author considered this an additional injury; of which he so loudly complained, that Mr Gataker, whose sole object was the investigation of truth, generously interposed with the licensers, and opened the way for both his antagonist and himself. He was conscious that he could not better defend his own character and sentiments against evil reports, than by affording his virulent adversary the fairest opportunity. This angry piece was accordingly ushered into the world, and Mr Gataker soon after refuted his conclusions, by exhibiting the absurdity of some of them, and the imbecility of others, clearing, at the same time, the points in controversy. About twelve years after this, Mr Gataker had to contend with Amesius and Voetius, both celebrated for their great learning, who had also written on the same subject; against whom he defended his sentiments, in a Latin performance, conducted with great modesty, and fraught with uncommon erudition.

In 1620 he made a tour into the Low Countries, which gave him a very favourable impression of the Dutch protestant churches, and most probably inclined him to that religious moderation by which he was so much distinguished. At Middleburg, in Zealand, he preached to the English protestants greatly to their satisfaction; but excited the high displeasure of the English catholics, by disputing with their ablest and most learned priests; and though he could not convert, he certainly confounded them; which drew down their keenest resentment. His mother knowing his zeal, and the provocation that his works had already given, was apprehensive of danger to his person on this occasion, and not altogether without cause, from a party never famous for their moderation. On his return, he applied himself, with his former assiduity, to his beloved studies and the charge of his flock. About this time he addressed a letter to his learned friend Usher, now preferred to a bishopric, wherein he gives a very affecting description of the state of the protestant churches abroad. In this letter, dated from Rotherhithe, September 29th, 1621, he thus expresses himself:

“My duty to your lordship remembered. This messenger so opportunely offering himself, I could not avoid saluting your lordship in a line or two, thereby to signify my continued and deserved remembrance and hearty desire for your welfare. By this time, I presume, your lordship has got settled in your weighty charge of oversight, wherein I beseech the Lord in mercy to bless your endeavours, to the glory of his own name, and the good of his church, never at any time more opposed and oppressed by mighty and malicious adversaries, both at home

and abroad—Never in foreign parts more generally distressed and distracted than at present. From France there are daily news of murder and massacres. Towns and cities taken by storm, and, without distinction of age, sex, or situation, all put to the sword. Nor is it likely that those few, who still stand out, having no succours, can long maintain their ground against the power of so great a prince. In the Palatinate all is reported to be likewise going to ruin. Neither, for aught I can see, do the Hollanders sit on surer ground; for the fire that has been heretofore kindled against them, about the transportation of coin, and the fine imposed thereupon, the East India quarrel, the command of the narrow seas, and the interrupting of the trade into Flanders, are daily more and more fanned; so that the fire already begins to break out, which I pray God may not consume both them and ourselves.

“I doubt not, worthy sir, but you see as well, nay, much better than myself and many others, what need the forlorn church of Christ has of hearts and hands to help to repair her ruins, and to fence that part of the fold that has not hitherto been so openly broken down by the incursion of such ravening wolves as have so lamentably prevailed against the other parts, and will not, therefore, in all likelihood, leave the rest unassailed; and how much she stands in need of prayers and tears (of old time her principal armour) unto him who hath the hearts and hands of all men at his direction and disposal, and whose help (our only hope as matters now stand) is often nearest when all human aid is unavailing. But these lamentable occurrences carry me farther than I had intended.

“I shall be right glad to hear of your lordship’s health and welfare; which the Lord vouchsafe to continue, gladder to see the remainder of your former learned and laborious work abroad. The Lord bless and protect you. And thus ready to do your lordship any service I may in these parts. I rest,” &c.

Mr Gataker, who had not yet finished his writings on the points of controversy, observing that the papists laboured to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeable to the holy scriptures, he resolved to shew the absurdity of the attempt, and the utter impossibility of effecting their purpose; and having driven them from this their principal strong hold, by prosecuting his attack, he forced them to quit every other refuge. This work was entitled, *Transubstantiation declared by the popish writers to have no necessary foundation in the word of God.* He also published a defence of this work; and his learned labours, in the whole of this controversy, proved a seasonable and essential service to the protestant cause, and rendered their author deservedly famous in the estimation of the most worthy charac-

ters of the age, who admired his erudition and fortitude, as they also did his humility and readiness to serve the church of Christ.

In 1640 he was engaged in a controversy about justification, which added additional lustre to his name. In 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines; where his endeavours to promote truth, and suppress error, were strenuous and sincere; yet his anxiety, for maintaining peace and cordiality among the different parties, was such, that when *his sentiments*, respecting Christ's obedience in order to our justification, was negatived, and the question carried contrary to his opinion, his pacific disposition induced him to keep silence, and prevented him from publishing his discourses on that subject which he had prepared for the press. In 1644 he was chosen one of the committee for the examination of ministers. He was frequently urged to take the degree of doctor; but always refused; and when he was offered the mastership of Trinity college, Cambridge, by the earl of Manchester, he declined the honourable preferment. Content with his pastoral charge, he was more ambitious to do good services to others, than exalt himself. Accordingly, he applied himself, during those turbulent times, to his favourite studies; which could give offence to no party, and might entitle him to the gratitude and approbation of all the friends of good literature. With this object in view, he published, in the year 1645, his laborious discourse on the name by which God made himself known to Moses and the children of Israel. In this profound, curious, and instructive performance, he discovered uncommon proficiency in the Hebrew tongue; and the work was so well received in the learned world, that it has passed through many editions. It is entitled, *De Nomine Tetragrammato Dissertatio, qua vocis Jehovah apud nostros receptæ usus defenditur, et a quorundam cavillationibus iniquis pariter atque inanibus vindicatur*. It was reprinted in 1652. It is also inserted in his *Opera Critica*, and makes one of the ten discourses on the same subject, collected and published by Hadrian Ryland. The first five of these were written by John Drusius, Sextinus Amama, Lewis Capel, John Buxtorff, and James Alting, who opposed the received usage which is strenuously defended in the other five; the first of which was written by Nicholas Fuller, the second by our author, and the other three by John Leusden.

Mr Gataker was aware, that though the singularities of his opinion neither arose from a luxurious imagination, nor an affectation to oppose commonly received opinions, but were, in reality, the convictions arising from much reading and reflection, yet unless they were clearly and fully demonstrated, they might lessen his reputation. On purpose to prevent this, and

show how much a thorough knowledge of grammatical learning contributes to the improvement of science, he commenced an undertaking, which some may consider beneath the notice of so great a man, namely, to examine the elementary principles of the Greek language, that he might be enabled the better to vindicate the results of his laborious inquiries.

Notwithstanding Mr Gataker's close application to these learned and critical studies, he paid the strictest attention to his pastoral duties, and the business of the assembly of divines, by whom he was appointed to write the Annotations upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, published in their Annotations on the Bible\*. Mr Gataker, though greatly distinguished for his moderation, disapproved of many things in the national church. He was always opposed to the inordinate power of the bishops, and conceived it was requisite to divest them of their pompous titles and seats in parliament. He was of opinion, that a bishop and presbyter were one and the same office; but confined his ideas of reformation to a moderate episcopacy.

As he advanced in years, his incessant labours, both of body and mind, brought upon him infirmities, which, though they did not wholly put a stop to his studies, considerably retarded their progress. But the strength of his constitution, a temperate mode of living, and medical assistance, having restored him to a moderate share of health, he resumed his pulpit exercises; but was soon obliged to relinquish them, though he continued to administer the sacraments, and deliver short discourses at funerals. The chief part of his time was now devoted to study and the composition of several learned works. About this time he employed his pen in refuting the antinomian tenets which were making a considerable noise in the country. Soon after Mr Gataker published his discourse on the style of the New Testament; in which he opposed the sentiments of Pfochenius, who maintained that there were no Hebraisms in those sacred writings; which he endeavoured to prove by authorities, as well as argument. All this our author undertook to overthrow, and, according to the opinion of the best critics, effectually accomplished; and so clearly and concisely explained the true meaning of many texts, both in the Old and New Testaments, corrected such a number of passages in ancient authors, and discovered such a consummate skill in both the living and dead languages, as justly procured him the reputation of one of the ablest philologists of the age. He tells us, in the first chapter of this work, "That meeting with the treatise of Sebastian

\* This useful work has been improperly ascribed to the assembly. The divines concerned in the performance were appointed by parliament, by whom each had his portion allotted him. Several of them, however, were members of that assembly.

Pfochenius, a German divine, published in 1629, he read it with particular attention, and found it very weighty in matter, and abundantly stored with good literature; but finding many of the author's sentiments opposed to his own, and, in his opinion, at variance with the truth; observing also that many learned and great men were censured without cause, and sometimes represented as speaking a language very different from what he took to be their real sentiments, these observations induced him to examine a multitude of questions started in that treatise." In this examination, he shews that his candour was in every respect equal to his critical skill and penetration. He uses no hard names or harsh expressions, but contents himself with pointing out mistakes, and the grounds on which they are founded. In pursuing this method, he opens a field of equally curious and instructive learning, and exhibits such penetration, judgment, and research, as are truly astonishing. He begins by refuting a principle that Pfochenius had assumed, namely, that the Greek, Latin, and German, &c. were original languages. On this point, his opinion is, that it cannot be easily ascertained which are original; but with respect to the Latin, he maintains that it is not. He shews, from the authority of both ancient and modern authors, that it was a compound of several languages spoken by the Sabines, Oscans, and other old inhabitants of Italy, but more especially by the Greeks; and to demonstrate this more effectually, he takes the first five lines of Virgil, one of the purest and most elegant of the Latin poets, and proves that there is scarcely a single word in them that has not been derived from the Greek. In this way he saps the foundation of Pfochenius' system, by making it evident, that there can be no certain knowledge of the originality of any language in the sense in which that author understands it.

In the fifth chapter he considers Pfochenius' three principal questions, 1st, Whether the text of the New Testament be truly Greek, and not different from that used by profane authors? 2d, Whether if Homer, Pindar, Plato, Demosthenes, &c. were to rise from the dead, they would be able to understand the New Testament? And, *lastly*, by what name the language of that book is or ought to be called, whether Græcænic, Hellenistic, or Grecian? Mr Gataker replies, "That with regard to the last question, being merely a dispute about words, he will have nothing to do with it; the other two he discusses without reserve, showing, that notwithstanding the words, and even the phrases, in which Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Terence, and others wrote, are here and there to be found in scholastic writings, he must not only see very indifferently and obscurely, but wilfully shut his eyes, who does not perceive the amazing deficiency

of these writings, when compared with the purity of the Latin tongue, as exhibited in the works of these celebrated individuals. That the New Testament, originally written in Greek, is subject to the same observations when compared with the writings of Homer, Pindar, Plato, Demosthenes, and other Greek writers. For notwithstanding that the writers of the New Testament scriptures use many words, and even phrases, used by the above writers, and equally pure; yet, inasmuch as a larger proportion of the words and phrases used in the New Testament are adulterated, and greatly deficient in respect of purity, it follows, of course, that the New Testament Greek differs widely from the Greek used by the above writers." In confirmation of all this, Mr Gataker goes on to show, that many Latin words are used by the sacred writers, though written in Greek characters, or disguised by Greek terminations. He also produces abundance of Hebrew and Syriac words introduced in the same manner. From which he concludes, that though Pfochenius could really show (which, however, he has not done) that the sacred writers make use of a multitude of phrases to be met with in profane authors; yet this would not amount to what he has asserted, seeing that the former have also used many words and phrases employed by authors who are not allowed to have written pure Greek.

With regard to Pfochenius' second question, Whether Homer, &c. were he to rise from the dead, could understand the New Testament Greek? He tells him, "It can be granted or denied only in part; for though some places might be in a measure understood by these great men, were it possible for them to return from their graves, yet this would go but a short way in proving what he had asserted; because, though they might, and no doubt would, understand some passages, others they could not understand. For example, says he, supposing Cicero were to rise from the dead, he would most probably understand the greater part of the writings of Apuleius; but would any competent judge conclude from this, that the Latin of Apuleius can be compared in point of purity with that of Tully, or of the age in which Tully wrote?" "But (says Pfochenius) Paul conversed with the Greeks of his time; and if understood by them, why not by the ancients?" "This I can readily grant (says Mr Gataker), and at the same time deny the consequence you intend to draw from it. For owing to the admission of many exotic words and phrases borrowed from the Italians, Cecilians, Cyrenians, and Carthagenians, in consequence of their being under one government, and partly also by their commercial intercourse with those nations, it so happened, that the Greek language itself, in the days of the apostles, had suffered a con-

siderable decline. Upon the whole, says he, were Demosthenes to live again, he would find, in all probability, considerable obstacles in reading and comprehending the sense of Paul's writings, and would, no doubt, criticise many of his words and phrases." Mr Gataker then proceeds to show, on the authority of Beza, the reasons why the apostles were less careful about the elegance than the perspicuity of their writings.

He proceeds through the rest of Pfochenius' treatise in the same way, explaining, as they occur, a multitude of passages in sacred and profane authors, correcting some critics, and commending others who had gone before him; but with so much apparent candour, that it is impossible for the reader not to admire his temper. In the forty-fourth chapter Mr Gataker recapitulates the whole dispute, and shows that the question resolves itself into this—Whether the style of the New Testament Greek be everywhere the same as that which was used by the ancient writers at the time when that language was in its greatest purity? or whether it is not such as admits of Hebraisms and Syriasms? Pfochenius affirms the former, and denies the latter; while Mr Gataker maintains the opposite opinion, and concludes, by observing, that after all that Pfochenius has advanced on the subject, he (Mr Gataker) has not a doubt but five or six hundred phrases can be produced from the New Testament, and a much greater number from the Greek version of the Old, in which there are obvious marks of the Hebrew and Syriac tongues, without the smallest resemblance to the ancient Greek, so far as men of the greatest erudition and research have hitherto been able to discover.

The venerable primate of Ireland, than whom there could scarcely be a better judge of these matters, has manifested his respect both for our author and his performance, by sending it, along with his own annals, as a present to Dr. Arnold Boate, then residing at Paris.

Although this was a very considerable work, and procured for its author the reputation of an excellent critic, it was merely a specimen of a much larger production, on which he had laboured for many years, and to which, at one time, he had a mind to have it attached by way of an appendix. But being first ready for the press, and doubtful whether he might live to finish the other, he thought it expedient to publish it by itself, the more especially, as it would enable him, in some measure, to judge what kind of reception his larger work was likely to meet with from the republic of letters. Finding this specimen of his miscellanies universally applauded, he prepared and published the two first books of his larger work, the whole being divided into six. The remaining four, after his death, were published by his

son Charles. This work differs in nothing from the nature of the former, only that it has no specific object, but exhibits the author's opinion on difficult passages both of the Old and New Testaments, on the works of the primitive fathers and modern critics; illustrating, as they fall in his way, a great variety of obscure and perplexed passages both in Greek and Latin authors. He likewise makes some observations on words and phrases in our own language. This work was received with general approbation, and the author highly applauded, particularly by Morhoff, for his singular happiness in distinguishing the true sense of the most difficult passages, and of making it evident, that the sense he defends is the genuine import of the place; and all this, in a few words, without the least appearance of ostentation or severity towards those he corrects, but rather searching after excuses for the mistakes they have made.

The natural modesty, as well as the christian moderation, that distinguished Mr Gataker, prevented him from that publicity of character which his talents, his labours, and the multitude of his friends, must have otherwise procured him; yet, on important occasions, he was not to be deterred from what he considered his duty. Accordingly, on finding that the army were determined to bring the king to a trial, and were taking their measures for that purpose, he was the first man to oppose them, in a declaration of his sentiments, addressed to the general and his council, and subscribed by forty-seven of the London ministers. In this address, they remind the council of their duty to the parliament, and the obligation they were under, as well as the parliament, to defend his majesty's person, and all his just rights. That the one could not be injured, or the other invaded, without the manifest breach of many oaths. They taught them to distinguish between God's permission and his approbation, and exposed the folly of pretending to secret impulses to actions at variance with the written laws of God. They demonstrated, that the plea of necessity was false, having no foundation in fact; and concluded their address, by recommending the rule of John the Baptist—"Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely."

Mr Gataker was deeply versed in the controversy about infant baptism; on which he published a small treatise, and afterwards added several other discourses, wherein the main question is treated with much serious and solid argument. Some time after this he likewise published two Latin discourses on the same subject. In 1652 he favoured the world with his admirable edition of the Emperor Marcus Antonius' Meditations; to which he prefixed a Preliminary Discourse on the Stoic Philosophy. This was allowed, by the best critics, both at

home and abroad, to be a most complete and correct treatise, as well as an excellent and useful compendium of morality. In some of his former works he had occasionally given specimens of his acquaintance with the works of this imperial philosopher, whose celebrity has always been high in the learned world. By the publication of Mr Gataker's edition of this famous production, men's expectations were considerably raised, and highly gratified. It had been published in Greek by Conrad Gesner, and with a Latin translation by William Hylander; which had passed through several editions. Mr Gataker found both the text and the translation exceedingly faulty, and spent nearly forty years in considering how the first could be amended, and a translation given that might do justice to this exquisite performance. He sent a list of his principal difficulties to the celebrated Salmasius, who, in his answer, greatly commended his undertaking; but gave him a dismal prospect of the obstacles that stood in his way—innumerable corruptions, frequent chasms, still more frequent transpositions, and many other misfortunes; for the removal of which he promised him his assistance. His frequent journies, however, and other circumstances, prevented him from performing his promise. Mr Gataker, nevertheless, persevered in his design, and by the few helps he could procure, and his own skill and penetration, comparing copies and extracts with incredible labour, at last completed his design, and, to the great satisfaction of the learned world, published his admirable edition of this valuable work about two years before his death.

Mr Gataker, in the evening of life, when he earnestly desired that repose which his unceasing labours so well merited, and the state of his health so greatly required, was again most furiously attacked by the whole host of astrologers. In commenting on Jeremiah x. 2. where the Jews are warned against listening to the predictions of astrologers, and complying with the practice of idolaters, the two great sins to which they were likely to be tempted in their captivity at Babylon, Mr Gataker considered it his duty to warn the christian world against listening to the presumptuous and foolish predictions of this juggling tribe. His exposition is full of good sense and sound learning, and effectually destroys the credit of that delusive art, by which, in all ages and countries, weak and wandering minds have been plundered and misled. These Annotations roused the whole fraternity, from the highest to the lowest, who, finding their craft in danger, and the means by which they procured their wealth rendered doubtful and unproductive, united their endeavours to write him down. William Lilly, John Swan, and Sir Christopher Hey-

den, enraged at our author, wrote against both himself and his Annotations without either mercy or good manners; but found they had overvalued their own abilities when they commenced a warfare with that eminent philosopher and divine. In vindication of his Annotations, Mr Gataker was induced to publish a discourse, in which he also defended his own character, which they had most maliciously attacked, and also what he had formerly advanced against these illuminated star-gazers. In this treatise, our venerable author, in repelling the scandalous misrepresentations of his enemies, runs over the most considerable transactions of his life, relates at large the manner in which he arrived at his several preferments, and completely refutes the idle and malicious charges and insinuations of Lilly and his associates. Amongst other particulars, he mentions his sentiments upon church government, and declares that he never was an advocate for the power and splendour of prelacy, but that, on the contrary, he had always been inclined to a moderate episcopacy. For the sake of being serviceable in his generation, he had submitted to the bishops; and when they were put down, by what he supposed a superior power, he, for the same reason, and with the same intention, also submitted; yet never sought, but even refused, offered preferment from both parties. This treatise, it appears, was written a very short time prior to his death.

Notwithstanding that Mr Gataker had convinced all judicious and impartial inquirers, that the science of astrology was false and delusive, he could never silence his conceited and obstinate antagonist; whose bread being at stake, defended the system with unaccountable pertinacity, and by his frequent publications, persecuted, and endeavoured to vilify our author to the end of his life; and then, in defiance of the dictates of religion or humanity, insulted him even in his grave. As for Mr Gataker, he pursued the same pious and peaceable course, till his age, his infirmities, and incessant labours, had worn out his constitution.

In his last sickness his faith and patience were strikingly manifest. The day before his departure, when exercised with extreme pain, he cried out, "How long, O Lord, how long? Come, oh! come speedily." A little before he breathed his last, he called his son, his sister, and his daughter, to each of whom he delivered the charge of a dying christian. "My heart (said he) fails me, and my strength is gone; but God is the strength of my heart, the rock and fortress of my salvation, and my sure portion. Into thy hands I therefore commit my soul, for thou hast redeemed me, O thou God of truth. My son, said he, you have a great charge, be sure to look after it, and discharge the

duties thereof with a conscientious regard to that important day, when you must render an account of your stewardship. Instruct your wife and children in the fear of God, and watch for the welfare of the flock over which you have been appointed pastor. Sister, said he, I thought you might have gone before me; but God wills it otherwise, and I am called to make my appearance first. I hope we shall meet together in heaven; and I pray God to bless you, and be your comfort in your declining years. Daughter, he said, mind the world, and the things of the world, less, and God, and the things that concern your eternal peace, more, than you have hitherto done; and never let it drop out of your memory, that the earth, and all it contains, without the fear of God, and the hopes of eternal life, are of no value, less than nothing, and vanity." Having thus delivered his dying charge, he desired them to withdraw, and leave him to rest; but the hour of his departure was at hand. He died July 27th, 1654, and in the seventy-ninth year of his age, having been forty-three years pastor of Rotherhithe. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr Simon Ashe, his much-esteemed friend, and afterwards published, with the title, *Gray Hairs Crowned with Grace*; a sermon preached at the funeral of that reverend and eminently learned and faithful minister of Christ, Mr Thomas Gataker.

This venerable divine was married four times. His third wife was the sister of Sir George Farwell. He would never condescend to have his picture taken. He is described, however, as a man of middle stature, with a thin and slender body, a lively countenance, and a fresh complexion. He was a temperate liver, free and cheerful in conversation, strongly addicted to study, but by no means averse to mingle in useful company. He possessed a quick apprehension, a solid judgment, and a memory so uncommonly retentive, that though he used no common place-book, he could readily make use of any thing he had read. His house was a private seminary, where both Englishmen and foreigners resorted, and lodged for the benefit of his instructions. His extensive learning and talents were admired by the great men of his time, both at home and abroad, with many of whom he held a regular correspondence. It is said concerning him, "That of all the critics of the age, who have employed their pens in illustrating polite learning, there are few, if indeed any, who deserved to be preferred to Thomas Gataker, for diligence and accuracy in explaining those authors whose writings he has examined." He is, moreover, styled, "A writer of infinite learning, and accurate judgment, and his name, as a scholar, is paralleled with Usher and Selden. He was an ornament to the university, a light to the

church, a loving husband, a discreet parent, a faithful friend, and a modest and kind benefactor, a candid encourager of learning, and an intrepid champion for the truth." According to Echard, "He was an able master in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and the most celebrated among the assembly of divines. It is hard, says he, to tell which was the most remarkable in this great man—his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferment."

His works, in addition to those which have their titles given in the course of this memoir, are, 1. A Just Defence of certain Passages in a former Treatise concerning the Nature and Use of Lots.—2. Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Antithesis partim Gulielmi Amesii partim Gisberti Vætii de Sorte Thesibus Reposita.—3. Transubstantiation declared, by the Popish writers, to have no necessary foundation in God's word.—4. De Diphthongis sive Bivocalibus Dissertatio Philologica, in qua Literarum quarundam Sonus Germanus, Natura genuina, Figura nova, et Scriptura vetus veraque investigatur.—5. A mistake, or misconstruction, removed with respect to the Antinomians.—6. Shadows without Substance.—7. Mysterious Clouds and Mists.—8. Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis de Novi Testamenti Stylo Dissertatio, &c.—9. Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Cinnus; sive adversaria miscellanea animadversionum verarum libris sex comprehensa: quorum primores duo nunc primitiis prodeunt reliquis deinceps (Deo favente) seorsum insecuturis.—10. Adversaria Miscellanea posthuma in quibus Sacræ Scripturæ prima deinde aliorum Scriptorum locis multis Lux affunditur.—11. De Baptismatis Infantilis vi et efficacia Disputatio privatim habita inter V. C. Dom. Samuelem Wardum theologiæ sacræ doctorem, et in Academia Cantabrigiensi Professorem, et Thomam Gatakerum.—12. Stricturæ ad Epistolam Joannis Davenantii de Baptismo Infantum.—13. Marci Antonini Imperatoris de rebus suis, sive de iis quæ ad se pertinere censebat, Libri XII. cum Versione Latina, et Commentariis Gatakeri.—14. A Vindication of the Annotations on Jeremiah, chap x. ver. 2. against the scurrilous Aspersion of that grand Impostor, William Lilly; also against the various expositions of two of his advocates, Mr John Swan, and another by him cited, but not named.—15. David's Instructor.—16. The Christian Man's Care.—17. The Spiritual Watch.—18. The Gain of Godliness.—19. The Just Man's Joy, with signs of sincerity.—20. Jacob's Thankfulness.—21. David's Remembrances.—22. Noah's Obedience.—23. A Memorial of England's Deliverance from the Spanish Armada.—24. Sorrow for Zion.—25. God's Parley with Princes, and an appeal from them to him.—26. Elcazer's

Prayer, a Marriage Sermon.—27. A good Wife God's Gift.—28. A Wife indeed.—29. Marriage Duties.—30. Death's Advantage.—31. The benefit of a good name and a good end.—32. Abraham's Decease, a Funeral Sermon.—33. Jeroboam's Son's Decease.—34. Christian Constancy Crowned by Christ. The above sermons, of which bishop Wilkins gives a high character, were first published separately; but collected and published, in one volume folio, in 1637.—35. Francisci Gomari Disputationis Elencticæ de Justificationibus, &c.—36. Mr Anthony Wotton's Defence.—37. A true relation of Passages between Mr Wotton and Mr Walker.—38. An Answer to Mr Walker's Vindication.—39. *Stricturæ in Barth. Wigelini Sangallensis de Obedientia Christi Disputationem Theologicam.*—40. *Animadversiones in J. Piscatoris et L. Lucii Scripta Adversaria de causa meritoria Justificationis.*—41. *Ejusdam Vindicatio adversus Capellum.*—42. The Decease of Lazarus.—43. St. Stephen's Last Will and Testament.—44. God's Eye on his Israel.—45. A Defence of Mr Bradshaw against Mr J. Canne.—The celebrated Hermanus Witsius collected and published, in one volume, the whole of Mr Gataker's critical works in the year 1698, since entitled, *Opera Critica*; which will serve to perpetuate the memory of his learning, talents, and industry, when monuments of brass and marble shall have resigned their charge, and are themselves forgot.

---

### THOMAS GOODWIN, D. D.

MR THOMAS GOODWIN was born at Rolesby, a small village in the county of Norfolk, on the 5th October 1600. His parents watched over his early years with anxious solicitude, and bestowed on him a truly religious education. Observing a pious disposition, and marks of uncommon genius in their young scholar, they resolved to train him up for the ministry; and having got the ordinary routine of grammatical learning, he was sent to Christ church college, in the university of Cambridge, on the 25th August 1613. In this college, which was then in a very flourishing condition, having about two hundred scholars, young Goodwin remained about six years, where, by a close application to his studies, he soon became a very promising scholar, secured the good opinion of his tutors, and obtained an excellent reputation in the university. In 1619 he removed to Katherine-hall, in the same university, of which he afterwards became fellow; and was, moreover, chosen lecturer for the year 1620.

For some time he was a great admirer of Dr. Senhouse, whose sermons were ornamented with flowers of oratory, col-

lected from the fathers, the poets, and historians, a mode of preaching at that time greatly applauded in the university. Mr Goodwin was, at this time, but little acquainted with his own heart, the corruption of his nature, and the necessity of regenerating grace. His ardent pursuit was after the wisdom of the world, and that fame and emolument which sometimes rewards the industry of learned men. But God was pleased to change his heart, and direct the course of his life and labours to the service of Christ and his church. Mr Goodwin kept a diary, which, we are told by his son, consisted of more than an hundred sheets, written by his own hand, wherein he most minutely notices the various feelings, hopes, and apprehensions with which his heart was exercised prior to his conversion to God, the manner in which the great change was effected in his soul, and the joy and peace he had in believing, after Christ had manifested himself to his soul as the all and only sufficient Saviour. Mr Goodwin was a great admirer of Dr. Preston and of Dr. Hill, both thorough Calvinists. He set them before him as models in his preparations for the ministerial work, and adopted their sentiments and views of the doctrine of justification by grace, and the necessity of good works. Mr Goodwin, after examination, was admitted a preacher of the everlasting gospel, and soon became greatly celebrated at Cambridge. He was now become acquainted with personal religion, which has been ever considered a necessary pre-requisite in those who presume to preach the gospel to others; for though God has not proportioned the efficacy of his gospel to the characters of its dispensers; yet the word of God authorises us to say, that ungodly and wicked ministers run unsent. When souls are entrusted to satan's slaves, we cannot but fear they will, in one way or other, be directed in an unprofitable path. Ministers of the word are sometimes denominated men of God; an expression which, at least, ought to imply, that they are men devoted to his service, conformed to his image, animated by his spirit, and zealous for his honour. But a man of God, living without God in the world; a master of Israel ignorant of the new birth; a spiritual guide walking in the paths of destruction; a soldier of Christ in league with the arch-enemy of God and man—must be a monstrous absurdity. With respect to Mr Goodwin, his ardent love to Christ, the head, induced him to watch over, and carefully instruct even the meanest of the flock entrusted to his charge. He now began to lose all relish for the showy flourishes which Dr. Senhouse had introduced into the university, and which had procured him such unbounded applause, and came to the fixed resolution, as he expresses himself in his diary, of preaching wholly and altogether sound words, without the af-

fectionation of wit, and the vanity of eloquence; all which he left off, and continued in the same purpose and practice for three-score years; without somuch as having ever been tempted to put in any of his own withered flowers, which he had carefully gathered, and, at one time, valued more than diamonds. His inquiry now was, not how he might raise his own reputation, but how he might be most instrumental in converting sinners from the error of their ways, instructing the ignorant, encouraging the serious, and comforting those who were cast down.

Mr Goodwin was chosen lecturer of Trinity church, Cambridge, in 1628, though not without considerable opposition from Dr. Buckridge, bishop of Ely. The bishop refused to admit him, unless he would solemnly promise, pursuant to the king's proclamation, not to preach upon any controverted points of divinity. To this objection Mr Goodwin very ingeniously replied, "That all the most essential points of the christian faith being controverted, either by one person or another, such a promise would scarcely leave him a subject to preach upon: That it was not his majesty's intention to prohibit him, or any other person, from preaching against the gross errors of popery." After some farther opposition, he was admitted. In 1632 he was presented to the vicarage of the same church by the king. In this situation he was much admired, and followed by the puritans, who were rapidly increasing in the university, as well as throughout the kingdom.

Upon Mr Goodman's commencing preacher, his sermons were, for the most part, if not wholly, calculated to produce conviction and terror, to alarm the conscience, and wound the heart; but he seems to have improved a hint from Dr. Sibbs, given in a familiar manner—"Young man (said the doctor), if ever you would do good, you must preach the gospel, and the free grace of God in Christ Jesus, and the consolations that flow from these important doctrines." Our author readily complied with his friend's advice, and, on publishing his sermons on the glory of the gospel, he entitled them, his *Evangelical first-fruits*. The only copy of these sermons was remarkably preserved and recovered. The portmanteau in which it was deposited was cut off from his horse's saddle by a thief, in the dark of the evening, opposite to St. Andrew's church, Holborn. The sexton, next morning, being Sabbath, on coming to ring the bell, found a parcel of papers at the root of a large tree; and opening them, found some papers belonging to a bookseller in Cambridge, who had accompanied Mr Goodwin, by which alone he could know to whom the parcel belonged. In this way our author recovered his manuscripts, to his no small satisfaction.

Mr Goodwin became much dissatisfied with the terms of conformity, whereupon he relinquished all his preferments, and left the university. In this step he acted upon the light he had derived from the word of God, and though thereby subjected to much trouble and worldly inconvenience, he enjoyed the satisfaction arising from a clear conscience. He left all for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and was content to live in meanness and obscurity, if so he might serve his Lord in godly sincerity. "I cheerfully parted with all for Christ (says he), and he has made me abundant compensation, not merely in the consolations of his Spirit, which are incomparably better than all things beside, but also in the enjoyment of what is desirable in this world. What love and esteem I have had among men are from him. It is he alone who has made my ministry acceptable, and his blessing alone has made it successful to the conversion and spiritual consolation of many souls."

In 1638 he married Elizabeth, daughter of alderman Prescot, London; a woman of a very sweet temper, a lively wit, and sincere piety, which rendered her highly agreeable to her husband and to all her acquaintances. When the terms of conformity became still more rigidly urged, and the puritans more severely persecuted by the prelatie consistories, Mr Goodwin retired into Holland, in search of that religious freedom denied him in his native land. In that asylum for persecuted christians, he became pastor of an independent congregation at Arnheim. During his residence with that congregation, some misunderstanding having taken place in the English church at Rotterdam, Mr Goodwin, and the elders of the church of Arnheim, went thither; and God was pleased to bless their counsel and advice to the restoring of peace to that distracted church.

About the beginning of the long parliament he returned to London, where he was chosen pastor of a church in the city, and elected a member of the assembly of divines; which he regularly attended, and took a brief account of the transactions of that venerable body, in fourteen or fifteen volumes octavo, which, his son informs us, he had in his possession written in his father's own hand. Being of independent principles, Mr Goodwin was, of course, one of the dissenting brethren. Wood says, "He was one of the Atlases and patriarchs of independency in that assembly." In 1647 he had invitations from the reverend and learned John Cotton, and other worthy ministers in New England, to join them. He was much inclined to embrace their kind invitation, and had even some part of his library put on board for that purpose; but the advice of a friend, to which he paid great respect, induced him to alter his resolution.

In 1649, he took, for his second wife, Mrs Mary Hammond, who bore him two sons and two daughters. He was a great favourite with Oliver Cromwell, who considered him an eminent instrument in propagating the gospel, and a great luminary in the church. Through Cromwell's influence he was appointed president in Magdalen college, Oxford, in the year 1649. Here he formed a church on the independent plan, and was very diligent in promoting the interest of religion and literature. He was also appointed one of the commissioners for the approbation of preachers. Having been bachelor of divinity of several years standing, he took his degree of doctor of divinity in 1653. He was one of those ministers who attended Cromwell on his death-bed. In 1660 he was ejected by the new act of uniformity, and retired to London, where he continued the exercise of his ministry till his death. He now spent much of his time in religious retirement, reading, and meditation. He read much, and studied more, but chiefly the scriptures; and having furnished his library with an excellent collection of commentators, he made good use of them. The love and unmerited grace of God, the all-sufficiency of Christ as a Saviour and Redeemer, were the truths on which he most delighted to ponder. These were the food of his soul, and he wrote and preached them with a spiritual warmth which can be better felt than expressed.

Mr Goodwin was seized with a malignant fever, which in a few days terminated in his death. As his life had been highly exemplary, so his end was peculiarly edifying. Even under the violence of his fever, he discoursed, with such confident assurance of the love of Christ, and his interest in that salvation he had purchased, with such holy admiration at the free and unmerited grace manifested in the glorious plan of redemption, and with such heavenly expressions of gratitude and praise, as deeply affected all present. He rejoiced to think he was dying, that he was about to leave a shattered tabernacle of clay, for an house not made with hands. "There (said he) I shall hold uninterrupted fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. I shall be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. My corruptions, under which I have long groaned, and against which I have so long contended, these croaking toads, that continually harassed me while here, shall mar my felicity no more for ever." Running over the illustrious names mentioned in Heb. xi., he said, "All these died in the faith. As for me, I could never have imagined that I should possess such a measure of faith at this trying hour. No, I could never have imagined it. My bow abides in full strength. Is Christ divided? No—I have the whole of his righteousness. I am found in him, not in mine own righteousness which is of the

law, but in the righteousness which is of God by faith in Christ Jesus, who loved me, and gave himself also for me. Christ cannot love me more than he does; and I think I cannot love Christ better than I do. I am swallowed up in the vast ocean of his redeeming love." Addressing himself to his two sons, he exhorted them to watch over their own hearts, and beware of provoking God's holy Spirit to depart from, and reject them—To value the privileges the gospel offered, and to remember, that *now* is the accepted time, and the day of grace. That Christ is still seated on his throne of mercy, and that the door of hope still stands open. Another day he will be seated on a throne of justice, administering impartial judgment. "My days are numbered (said he); my work on earth is accomplished—I have finished my course; I have kept the faith; I have conquered through the strength of the Captain of my salvation; I am about to enter on my triumph, and shall shortly receive my crown, so shall I be ever with the Lord."

He died February 23d, 1680, and was interred in a little vault towards the east end of the new burial place for dissenters, joining on the north side of the New Artillery yard, by Bunhill-fields. In doctrine Mr Goodwin was a supralapsarian Calvinist. He was ever zealous in supporting what he considered to be the genuine doctrines of christianity, and neglected not to remind his hearers, or his reader, of the powerful excitement these sublime doctrines presented to induce christians to purity both of heart and life. Dr. Calamy says, "He was a very considerable scholar, and an eminent divine. That he had a very happy faculty in descanting on scripture, so as to produce surprising remarks." He was also a writer of considerable eminence. Dr. Wilkins places him amongst some of the most eminent English divines for sermons and practical divinity; and Dr. Cotton Mather, in his *Student and Preacher*, says, "You have a Goodwin, who will place you among the children of light, and give you the marrow of the doctrine according to godliness. His style is plain and familiar, but diffuse and tedious, though by no means disagreeable to a sober mind. He handles his subject with much gravity, and at great length. Fiery declamations, or appeals to the passions, discover more enthusiasm than judgment; but Dr. Goodwin's discourses are well digested, temperate, and attended with conclusive reasoning, having a tendency to impress the mind of the sensible reader with the importance of the subject; which reflection confirms, and the memory retains." It is said that his writings continue to be much esteemed by the Calvinistic independents.

They are, 1. *A Child of Light walking in Darkness*.—2. *Select Cases Resolved*.—3. *Return of Prayer*.—4. *The Vanity of*

Vain Thoughts Discovered.—5. Christ set forth in his Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and Intercession, as the cause of Justification, and the object of Justifying Faith.—6. The Trial of a Christian's growth in Mortification and Vivification.—7. The Aggravation of Sin, and Sinning against Knowledge.—8. Christ the Universal Peace-maker.—9. Zerubbabel's encouragement to finish the Temple.—10. The great Interest of Nations.—11. The World to Come.—12. Patience, and its perfect Work, in the time of sudden and sore Trials.—13. The Punishment of Sin in an after State; a posthumous work, published by Mr Thankfull Owen and Mr Barron, followed some time after by five volumes folio. According to Wood, some part of his works were translated into Latin, and printed at Heidelberg in 1658.

---

### WILLIAM GOUGE, D. D.

THIS pious and laborious preacher was born at Stratford-bow, in the county of Middlesex, on the 1st November 1575. His father, Mr Thomas Gouge, was a devout gentleman, and his mother, a very pious woman, the daughter of Mr Nicholas Culverwell, a merchant in London. He received his grammatical education partly at St. Paul's school, London, Felsted in Essex, and partly also at Eton. He was three years at Felsted, where he was trained up under the care of his uncle, the Rev. Ezekiel Culverwell, whose ministry proved highly beneficial to the young man; who often observed afterwards, that if he was not thereby begotten again to a lively hope, he was much confirmed and built up in the faith of the gospel. At Eton he continued six years, where the blossoms of early piety were much unfolded. He lived in the fear of God, was attentive to secret prayer, and remarkable for his sanctification of the Lord's day, at a period perhaps unparalleled in the annals of our national history for Sabbath profanation. Having acquired the necessary proficiency in grammatical learning, he was elected to King's college, Cambridge, in 1595, where he prosecuted his academical studies with uncommon assiduity and success. He began early in the morning, and continued them till a late hour at night; and during his first three years did not sleep one night without the college-gate; at the expiration of which he was chosen fellow. He was an acute disputant, and took his degrees, at the regular period, with much applause. Mr Gouge remained in the college nine years; and unless when visiting his friends in the country, he was never absent one day from morning prayers; which were usually made in the chapel about half-an-hour after five o'clock. Besides his morning devotions, he had

charged himself with reading fifteen chapters of God's word daily, five of them before public prayers, five after dinner, and five before he went to rest; on which he used to meditate till he fell asleep. He had, moreover, stated times set apart for investigating and searching out the meaning of difficult passages; by which he made himself well acquainted with the oracles of God, the only pure foundation of all christian theology. About this time a Jewish Rabbi came to Cambridge university, and was admitted into several colleges to teach the Hebrew language. Mr Gouge, and many of the students, embraced this favourable opportunity of improving themselves in this sacred tongue. A number of them, however, soon became tired of their attendance, and left their Jewish instructor. As for Mr Gouge, he continued so long as the Jew remained in the university. Those who neglected the opportunity of receiving instructions while the teacher remained among them, had abundant reason to regret their supineness when he was gone, and were glad to solicit Mr Gouge, who generously condescended to instruct them; by which means he considerably improved himself, and became a celebrated Hebrew scholar. He was chosen lecturer in the college both in logic and philosophy, and acquired an ample share of esteem, from the able manner in which he discharged the duties of these important offices.

In the first year of his fellowship he began his theological common place-book, in which he referred to whatever authors he read. He had blank paper bound between the leaves of his bible, on which he wrote such short and uncommon remarks, or interpretations, as might occasionally suggest themselves on the text, and might not be referable to any particular head in his common place-book. Having thus prosecuted his studies with uncommon ardour for nine years, and thereby procured an intimate acquaintance with the various branches of literature, particularly those of divinity and the Hebrew tongue, he was called home by his father, and shortly after formed a matrimonial alliance. In this new state, that he might be left at liberty to prosecute his studies without interruption, he conceded the secular concerns of his family to his wife. Having completed his regular courses, he was admitted into holy orders in 1607; and in June, the following year, he was called to the particular exercise of his ministry in the parish of Blackfriars, London. In this settlement he remained till his death, notwithstanding that he had the offer of several more lucrative situations. "The height of his ambition (he frequently said) was to remove from Blackfriars to heaven." The able and impressive manner in which he conducted the pulpit services of the Sabbath, and the amiable and condescending spirit manifested in his visiting and

catechising labours round the parish, drew the affections of his people towards him with cords of love. He was eminently laborious in dispensing the truths of the gospel, and distributing the bread of life amongst his flock—not his own fancies, or the inventions of men, but the sincere milk of the word, that he might thereby promote their growth in grace, and in the saving knowledge of Christ, always endeavouring to comfort the dejected, strengthen the weak, and bind up the broken-hearted. Mr Gouge was so eminently exemplary, during the whole course of his life, that scoffers of the prelatical party used to call him the arch-puritan.

He was admitted bachelor of divinity in 1611, and doctor in 1628; about which time he became one of the trustees of a society, which had united with the design of buying up impropriations, to bestow on clergymen distinguished for their piety and ministerial qualifications. This occasioned his being prosecuted in the star-chamber. The society intended, by these means, to plant a learned and powerful ministry, especially in the cities and market-towns, where the people were most destitute; but the court adjudged their proceedings illegal, and dissolved the society.

In 1643 Dr. Gouge was nominated a member of the assembly of divines; and was so much esteemed by that learned body, that, in absence of their prolocutor, they frequently called him to the chair. He was a constant attendant, and so parsimonious of his time, that he always carried the bible and other books along with him, with which he might employ himself when any intermission of the assembly's business took place. On September 25th of the same year, when the House of Commons, the Scotch commissioners, and the assembly of divines, met in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, to subscribe the covenant, Dr. Gouge concluded the solemn service of the day with prayer. In 1647 he was chosen prolocutor of the first session of the provincial assembly held at Blackfriars; which he opened with a sermon. During the same year he was chosen one of the committee appointed to compile the Confession of Faith; and the year following he was one of the committee appointed to draw up annotations on the bible. His share of this useful work consisted of first Kings, and the subsequent books down to Esther, inclusive. In the same year he also united with his brethren, in London and its vicinity, in their declaration against the king's death. When the Book of Sports came out, Dr. Gouge absolutely refused to read it. He was determined rather to suffer than to sin, by encouraging profane sports on the Lord's holy day. He was always particularly careful that the public exercises of the house of God should be conducted with

regularity and decorous propriety, and likewise that secret devotion and family-worship should be conscientiously kept up in his parish. He never allowed his servants to absent themselves from church for the purpose of cooking, whatever company he might expect. He had an excellent talent for solving cases of conscience, and was eminently successful in restoring joy and comfort to disconsolate souls. Many of the ministers consulted him in difficult cases; on which account he was considered the father of the London divines, and the oracle of his own time. He was compared to Moses for his meekness and quietness of spirit, and, not easily provoked himself, few men were ever so careful to give no cause of provocation to others. For injuries received, his enemies had always prayers in return. He used to say, "That revilers and evil-doers hurt themselves much more than those they intended to injure." Dr. Gouge abounded in charity and good works, and laid out his substance to the most useful purposes. The poor of Christ's flock, and persons in affliction, obtained a liberal share both of his means and his kind attention. He generously assisted several poor scholars at the university; and, like a faithful steward, laid out the means and the talents, with which he had been entrusted, for the honour of the Giver, and the advantage of his people. Being an extraordinary preacher, multitudes from all quarters flocked to hear him; yet was he never lifted up on that account, but used to say, "I know in myself more cause of humility and self-abasement than others do to praise or exalt me."

Dr. Gouge was an excellent scholar, familiarly acquainted with the original languages, and every department of useful learning. He was a laborious student, rose early both summer and winter, and was sorry when he heard others at work before he got to his study. He had a great concern for the welfare of the foreign churches. When he heard of their prosperity, he greatly rejoiced, and praised God; but when he was informed of their afflictions, he sat down and wept, and mourned, fasted, and prayed to the God of heaven. In the decline of life he was sorely afflicted with an asthma and the stone. While under the pressure of these painful maladies, he often groaned, but never murmured. "Be silent, my soul (he would say), be patient, it is thy God who has thus ordered thy state. Thou hast deserved much more than this. It is enough thou art kept out of hell. Though thy pain be grievous, it is tolerable. Thy God affords thee some intermissions. He will at last turn all to thy good, remove every complaint, and crown thee with everlasting consolation. Shall we receive good at the hand of God? and shall we not also receive his paternal chastisements for our manifold transgressions?" His friends would sometimes en-



such as were disposed to think or speak ill of religion itself. He is classed among the learned writers and distinguished worthies of this college." Wood styles him a pious and learned divine, and says he is often honourably mentioned by Væti-us and Stresso, and other learned and foreign divines. Mr William Jenkins was about twelve years helper to Dr. Gouge, succeeded him in the pastoral office at Blackfriars, and preached his funeral sermon.

His works are, 1. Eight Treatises on Domestic Duties.—2. The whole Armour of God.—3. On the Sin against the Holy Ghost.—4. Two Catechisms.—5. A Guide to go to God.—6. God's three Arrows, Famine, Pestilence, and the Sword.—7. The Extent of Divine Providence.—8. The Dignity of Chivalry.—9. The Saint's Sacrifice.—10. Two Treatises, one on the Sabbath, the other on Apostacy.—11. The Saint's Support, a Sermon preached to the Commons.—12. Mary's Memorial.—13. The Progress of Divine Providence, a Sermon before the Lords.—14. A Funeral Sermon for Mrs Duck.—15. The Right Way, a Sermon before the House of Lords.—16. A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Wood styles this Commentary a learned and useful work; and the pious bishop Wilkins classes Dr. Gouge's sermons among those which he denominates the best of his time.

---

### STANLEY GOWER.

THIS puritan divine was a man of considerable eminence in the church of Christ. He was some time minister of Brompton-bryan, in the county of Hereford. In 1643 he was chosen one of the members of the assembly of divines, and stands marked in Neal's list as giving regular attendance. On his removal to London, he preached at M<sup>r</sup> n's in Ludgate Street, and was also one of the preachers before the parliament. In a sermon which he preached before the Commons, he entreats them to receive it as a divine maxim, that piety is the best policy, and that, according to the judgment of the Holy Ghost, godliness is not only the greatest wisdom, but also the greatest gain. He was nominated, by the assembly, one of the committee for the examination and approbation of ministers who petitioned for sequestrated livings; and, in 1644, he was also chosen one of the committee for ordination by imposition of hands. He was, moreover, one of the London ministers who made a public declaration against the trial and death of the king. According to Kennet's chronicle, he was minister at Dorchester in 1660, and is there denominates a zealous and

eminent presbyterian divine. Mr Gower wrote the *Life of Mr Richard Rothwell*, published in *Clarke's Lives*, annexed to his martyrology. He also published a sermon, entitled, *Things now a-doing, or the Church's Travail of the Child of Reformation now a-bearing*. In applying this sermon, he warmly exhorted his audience to display their zeal in reforming the house of God according to the divine pattern; to deny themselves, and be ready cheerfully to sacrifice whatever habits, prejudices, opinions, or interests stood in the way, or were necessary to render it like Mount Zion, the glory of the whole earth. "For your encouragement (says he), in this important business, should any of you sleep with your fathers, before your eyes see this great salvation of the Lord, know, for certain, that your posterity will inherit the blessing, and reap the happy fruits of your zeal and liberality; and as for yourselves, it will be honour sufficient that you expire while zealous and active promoters of a cause so transcendently glorious.

---

#### JOHN GREENE, M. A.

THIS learned and pious puritan divine was for some time pastor of Pencombe, in the county of Hereford; where he carefully watched over his flock, warned them of the dangers with which they were threatened, and fed them with knowledge and understanding. He was a bold opposer of the *Book of Sports*, the royal declaration concerning which grieved him so much, that, at the risk of both his living and his liberty, he denounced it as blasphemy against the God of heaven, who has said, "Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work; but the seventh is the rest of the Lord thy God." "Nor is it merely blasphemy (says he), it is also, to all intents and purposes, sacrilegious robbery. Can a man rob God? Yet the authors and abettors of this cursed *Book of Sports*, not satisfied with six days graciously allowed them for their own concerns, while he claims but one for himself, with heaven-daring arrogance, have seized upon, and appropriated this one day in seven also to their own purposes and pleasures." In a sermon, preached to the House of Commons, he says, "These were my meditations on the forth-coming of that abominable book; nor did I suppress my sentiments. When hearing, in the neighbouring parishes, drums beating for a morris-dance or a May-pole on the Sabbath of the Lord our God, I could not suppress my fear that such conduct would provoke him to pour out the vials of his wrath on a nation so audaciously wicked, and that we should yet hear drums beating on the Lord's day for very different purposes; and the Lord has

brought our fears upon us. Alas! how many marches have we seen on that day since the commencement of these bloody and unnatural wars? But let us hope, says he, that the many ordinances, passed for the suppression of such daring profanity, will, through the mercy of God, prove the effectual means of quenching our unnatural flames—if to good laws, which are the life-blood of a state, be added a conscientious execution, which is the life of the laws.” According to Dr. Calamy, he died in the very week that he was preparing to quit his living upon the Bartholomew Act, in 1660.

---

### WILLIAM GREENHILL, A. M.

MR GREENHILL was born in Oxfordshire in 1591, and entered a student of Magdalen college, Oxford, in 1604, being thirteen years of age. In 1612 he took his degrees in arts; but when he entered into the ministry we have not been able to ascertain. In 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines. At this time he was at Stepney near London, where, according to Wood, “by expressing himself as a rank covenanter, he was made a member of the assembly of divines by the long parliament; and, about the same time, an afternoon lecturer at Stepney.” Mr Greenhill was an attending member of that assembly, and one of the dissenting brethren. He was a zealous puritan, and a determined opposer of the prelatical government, and the superstitious rites and manifold corruptions of the church of England; for which he suffered much from the intolerant decisions of the court of high commission. He was one of those divines in the assembly who subscribed the proposition—“That Jesus Christ, as King of the church, has himself appointed a church government distinct from the civil magistrate.” According to Dr. Calamy, Mr Greenhill was the person pitched upon for chaplain to the king’s children, the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the lady Henrietta. He is said to have been in favour with Oliver Cromwell in his time, and appointed one of the thirty-eight commissioners for the examination and approbation of preachers. Bishop Kennet, in speaking of these commissioners, says, “By the questions they were wont to ask, no man could tell, or even guess, what they aimed at, unless it was to advance quakerism, or make way for the mahometan faith.”

Mr Greenhill continued preacher at Stepney till the year 1660, when he was ejected, with the rest of his brethren, by the act of uniformity. At what period this zealous reformer slept with his fathers we have not been able to learn; but his library

having been sold in 1677, makes it probable that his death had taken place some short time before. In Dr. Calamy's account of the ejected ministers, he says, "That Mr Greenhill was a worthy man, and much valued for his great learning and unwearied labours." Mr Howe, in his funeral sermon for Mr Mead, speaking of his connection with Mr Greenhill, styles him, "That eminent servant of God, whose praise is still in the churches."

We shall conclude this memoir with a quotation from his exposition of the prophecy of Ezekiel.

"In this verse the prophet is forewarned of the difficulties that were opposed to the faithful discharge of his commission: Told that he would find briers, thorns, nay, even scorpions, in his way: That he had need therefore to look about him, to beware of getting entangled in the thickets, to be cautious not to tread on the scorpions that might conceal themselves amongst the grass—interested men, who have, in all ages, hated reformation, and opposed the purposes of all such as have been engaged therein. They have endeavoured to entangle them, and retard their progress; and, with all the cunning of the old serpent, attempted to deceive, mislead, and destroy both them and the cause in which they have been embarked. When Christ sent forth his disciples, he apprized them of their danger from this malicious brood, and therefore admonishes them, while they imitated the dove in harmlessness, to imitate the serpent also in wisdom and prudential regard to their own safety—to be cautious not to give unnecessary occasion of irritation to wicked men, most of whom are more dangerous than tigers, wolves, and fiery-flying serpents, especially to those engaged in the important work of reforming the abuses of either church or state.

"In Joshua's army we find there was an Achan in the camp. Nehemiah, while he was busily engaged in rebuilding the desolate house of God, had to contend with Tobiah and Sanballat, who scoffed and jeered him for his apparently hopeless undertaking; while even the nobles of Judah basely attempted to betray him.

"The reformation amongst our slaves is a great, a glorious undertaking; but are we free from those thorns and scorpions, which in all ages have stood in the way of reforming the church of the living God? Alas! have we not reason to complain, that while our enemies are many, even amongst ourselves, some are luke-warm, some unfaithful, some unqualified, and others so sullied by their crimes, that the work is retarded, and sometimes put back more in one day than all their heads, hands, purses, and prayers, can forward it in many.

There are men employed in this great work who are Achans, Sanballats, and Judases. I will not say that this is the only cause, but assuredly it is a principal one, why the work of reformation so sadly languishes amongst our hands. But seeing matters of the first importance, of the greatest weight and consideration, either in church or state, have ever had their lets and impediments, their rubs and their mountains of opposition, by which they disappoint mens wishes and eager anticipations, in not coming to the birth at the hour of expectation, let us not relax in our endeavours, but prosecute our purpose with increasing vigour and perseverance; and let us pity and pray for the parliament, the army, the magistracy, and the ministry, now engaged in this difficult and dangerous work."

His writings are, 1. *The Axe at the Root*; a Sermon preached before the House of Commons.—2. *An Exposition of the Prophecy of Ezekiel*, in 5 vols. 4to.—3. *Christ's last Discovery of himself*.—4. *A Sermon*, from Ezek. xliii. 2. to the Commons.—5. *Sermon from Ezek. xviii. 32.* in the morning exercises at Cripplegate.—6. *The Sound-hearted Christian*—with several other sermons.

### HUMPHREY HARDWICK.

THIS persecuted puritan was minister at Hadam-magna, in the county of Hertford, and chosen one of the superadded members of the assembly of divines. He had suffered much under the prelatical tyranny; and, during the war, his house was ransacked, and his whole library carried away by the king's army, and himself so reduced to poverty, that he had it not in his power to purchase a single book of any importance. He had been silenced by the bishops; and, on the commencement of the war, took part with the parliament, and joined the army, with which he remained during the greater part of that sanguinary period. In a sermon, preached before the House of Commons, he ranks himself among the silenced puritans; and, in the epistle dedicatory to that House, prefixed to the same sermon, he says, "No man, I presume, has more reason to apologise than myself, having been, for a long time, deprived of my library, which was wholly plundered; besides being, from the commencement of this war, till the last month, entirely conversant with arms, where study is almost wholly interrupted. But this, says he, I account part of my greatest happiness, to have suffered much for the cause of Christ, and to have rendered some little service to my weeping country." Mr Hardwick was an active promoter of the reformation; and to warm the

zeal of his auditors, in this important work, he says, in the same sermon, "Search the book of God, and tell me, Whether any description of men are so precious in the estimation of heaven, as those who have been courageous in defending the cause of God, and promoting the reformation of his church?" Mark the fortitude displayed by Caleb and Joshua, while the rest of their associates, whose timidity had magnified the size and prowess of their enemies, and the strength of their bulwarks, meanly shrunk from the noble enterprise, and lost their part and portion in the land of promise." He was a strenuous advocate for the solemn league and covenant, and the suppression of the prelatical government of the church. One of his sermons has been published, entitled, *The Difficulty of Zion's Deliverance*, together with the activity which her friends should manifest while her cause is in agitation—delivered at Margaret's church, Westminster, before the House of Commons, on Wednesday morning, the 26th June 1644.

---

### ROBERT HARRIS.

THIS pious and learned puritan divine was born at Broad Campden in Gloucestershire, 1578. His father was a prudent and intelligent man, and his mother a religious and charitable woman. Under their tuition he passed his childhood; but discovered, in this early period of his life, an uncommon propensity for play, and little affection for his book. His parents having designed him either for the law or the church, according as his parts and inclination might point the way, sent him to the free school of Chipping-campden. Here his school-masters were often changed, owing to a deficiency of salary, and some of them beat their scholars without mercy. Mr Harris, so far as he remembered, had never felt the smart of the rod in any school; yet the daily floggings which others received, brought such a trembling and sadness over his spirit, as never wholly forsook him so long as he lived. He often said, "That such treatment was the ruin of many promising boys." From this he was removed to the school at Worcester, under the superintendance of Mr Bright; and on Sabbath attended the ministrations of Dr. Robert Abbots. In the latter end of the year 1595 he removed to Magdalen college, Oxford, where he discovered an uncommon thirst for knowledge, and soon began to taste the sweetness of useful learning. He became an excellent scholar, a famous logician, and an acute disputant. Here, by the blessing of God on his studies, and the pious instructions of his tutor, he was brought to a saving acquaintance with the gospel, and soon after became a celebrated puritan.

He preached his first sermon at Chipping-campden, in his native county; but such was the ignorance of the times, that when he came to the church there was no bible to be found. The vicar of the parish had a bible; but as it had not been seen for many months, it required no small search before it could be found. Having procured the sacred oracles, he went to church, and preached an admirable sermon from Rom. x. 1. This sermon met with much applause; but the preacher often said, "That he lost by the bargain." He found himself in danger of being exalted above measure by the abundance of his success in this his first attempt; besides, that his friends began to advise him to leave the university, and come amongst them, saying, "He had a sufficiency of academical learning already." His father, who had a large family, was likewise anxious to have him settled in the church. This, however, he declined, and requested whatever more patrimony he was pleased to allow him, that he might still prosecute his studies in the university; which, with considerable difficulty, he obtained. But soon after this the university was visited with a dreadful pestilence, and the students were all dispersed. He was unwilling to return home, and where to go he knew not. In the midst of this perplexity, one Mr Doyly, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and friendly to the gospel of Christ, who lived a short way from Oxford, invited him to his house. Mrs Doyly was a pious and intelligent woman, and here Mr Harris had a very comfortable situation. Mr Prior, the minister of the place, was, at this time, in a weakly state, and overburdened with preaching both on the Lord's days, and also at extraordinary fasts, which were then appointed on account of the plague; and Mr Harris having preached some times out of compassion for Mr Prior, was so well received, that he was requested to continue some time; which he did, till providence opened the door for a more permanent settlement.

Mr Dod having been silenced, and afterwards ejected from Hanwell, for his non-conformity, Sir Anthony Cope invited Mr Harris to become his successor. He accordingly removed thither with much grief and fear. The people of Hanwell were so firmly attached to their former pastor, that they would acknowledge no man in his place. At last, however, it was agreed that Mr Harris might preach so long as hopes could be entertained of recovering Mr Dod. During this unsettled state of things at Hanwell, archbishop Bancroft presented the living to one of his chaplains, on pretence of a lapse. But Sir Anthony Cope, then sitting in parliament, together with several other members, waited upon the archbishop, and presented Mr Harris; whom his grace, after a long contest, reluctantly admitted to the living.

But Sir Anthony having, on a former occasion, thrown out some hints against the intolerant procedure of the prelates, Bancroft embraced this occasion of shewing him his resentment; and with the design of thwarting his request, had Mr Harris examined by one of his most learned chaplains, who reported Mr Harris to be *moderately learned*. This proving unsatisfactory to the archbishop, he was again examined by bishop Barlow, a man well suited to Bancroft's wishes. Barlow was a man of great wit and learning, and esteemed an excellent critic in the Greek language, as the story is reported. They Greeked it till they ran a-ground for lack of words, when both burst into a fit of laughter. Barlow returned to the archbishop; and on delivering a most favourable report of Mr Harris' learning and talents, his grace suffered himself to be satisfied.

Mr Harris being now settled at Hanwell, Mr Scudder at Drayton, and Mr Whately at Banbury, they became particularly intimate, and united both in judgment and affection. Mr Harris married Mr Whately's sister; and Mr Scudder the sister of his wife. They commonly met together once a-week to translate and analyze a chapter of the bible. This practice served to stir them up to greater diligence, and, at the same time, promoted their mutual edification. Though thus comfortably settled, Mr Harris was not without his trials. His faith and patience was severely tried by the long and painful illness of his wife. "This affliction (said Mr Dod) was designed to season him for his work;" and he says himself, "I should have been spoiled had I not been thus brought down. Young ministers know not on what ground they tread, till God makes them humble." He, nevertheless, found much encouragement in his work—the people began to relish his ministry, and the Lord abundantly blessed his labours. He did not feed them with airy notions, and empty speculations, but with the sincere milk of the word, and in a method adapted to the meanest capacity; and God, it is said, so wonderfully blessed his endeavours, that there was not one prayerless family in Hanwell, nor one who refused his examination and instructions previous to receiving the sacrament.

In this situation Mr Harris continued forty years, blessed in himself, and a blessing to all around him, until the commencement of the civil wars. The battle of Edgehill, only a few miles distant, was fought on Sabbath, October 23d, 1642; but the wind being contrary, he did not hear the smallest noise of it till the public exercises of the day were over; nor would he believe the report, till he saw the wounded soldiers besmeared with blood. From this time his troubles increased, rude soldiers were quartered upon him; some of them called him *round-*

*head*, others *malignant*—still, however, he continued to discharge his numerous duties as at other times. One company, quartered upon him, was so outrageous for swearing, that he could not avoid preaching upon James v. 12. "Above all things, my brethren, swear not at all." This so offended them, that they swore they would shoot him if he preached again from the same text. Undismayed by their threatenings, he, nevertheless, ventured next Sabbath to preach from the same words, when, as he was preaching, he observed one of the soldiers preparing his firelock as if he intended to shoot. But Mr Harris went on without fear, and finished his discourse without interruption. Here he endured the storm till he had suffered material injury, and was at last driven from his place, after beholding his tenements, wood, and nurseries on fire, and himself threatened.

Being driven from his flock, Mr Harris fled to London, and was there chosen one of the assembly of divines, and preacher at Botolph's church, Bishopgate. He was also one of the preachers before the parliament; and, in 1646, he was one of the six preachers sent to Oxford to soften down the people to the presbyterian rule; and, the year following, one of the visitors to that university. Dr. Walker, in whose eyes no puritan could ever find grace, among other slanders, says, "That these visitors began their visitation, as they did all their other distinguished works of wickedness, with prayers and a sermon." The sermon alluded to was preached by Mr Harris, who, at the same time, took his doctor's degree, became president of Trinity college, and was made rector of Garlington, near Oxford. He governed the college with great prudence, and soon gained the affections of the fellows and students, who revered him as a father.

In his last sickness, having been desired to admit company, he said, "It is all one to me whether I be left alone or in the company of my friends. My principal work now is to arm myself against the encounter of the last enemy." Accordingly, he gave himself up to prayer, meditation, and reading the scriptures, especially the book of Psalms, the prophecy of Isaiah, and the gospel by John, the tenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters of which afforded him inexpressible delight. When he became unable to read, and his friends performed that friendly office for him, he would gather up the principal things contained in the chapter, explain the difficult parts, and feast deliciously on the spiritual provision therein presented. He warmly recommended it to all those who visited him, to put on the whole armour of God, to advance against their spiritual foes in the strength of the Captain

of their salvation, to hold out against all temptations, and beware of all the wiles and stratagems of satan. "Endure to the end (said he), and the issue shall be a never-fading crown, and a kingdom which cannot be moved." Being asked whence he derived so much comfort under such heavy affliction, and in the prospect of approaching death, he replied, "I have it all from Christ, and the free and unmerited grace of God, who hath reconciled me to himself." Some mentioned his great labours, and the service he had done to the cause of pure and undefiled religion. "Alas! (said he) I have done nothing as I ought. Without Christ my best works would condemn me. I am ashamed of them, they are so much polluted with sin. The loss of precious time sits heavily on my spirit. I beseech you all, said he, work while it is day, the night cometh in which no man can work; and, be assured, that nothing will give you greater trouble when you come to die, than the gloomy reflection, that you have done so little for God, who has done so much for you." When his friends asked him what they could do for him, he replied, "You must not only pray for me, but you must likewise praise God for his unspeakable mercy and loving-kindness towards me. Oh! how good is our God—entertain good thoughts of him—we can never think too well of him; nor too ill of ourselves. I am now going home, even quite spent—I have reached the shore, and am about to leave you still tossed by the tempest, and out at sea." Being asked by a friend how he did, he answered, "In no great pain, I praise God, only weary of my useless life. If God has no more work for me, I would be glad to be in heaven, where I shall serve him without distraction. If he has any more work for me here, I am willing to do it, though my infirm body be very weary. I am not afraid of death, I praise God—I can live, and I dare die. I have lived, and I shall die, in the faith which I have preached; and now, in the immediate prospect of death, it affords my soul unspeakable comfort." He resigned his soul to God, and closed his eyes in peace, December 11th, 1658, aged eighty years.

Mr Clark gives the following account of Dr. Harris' endowments: "That he was a laborious student, endowed with excellent parts, and furnished with all manner of learning necessary for a divine—a pure and elegant Latinist, very exact in the Hebrew, and admired as a subtile, clear, and ready disputant. He excelled in chronology, church history, and in the knowledge of the fathers; but his talents were most observable in the pulpit. In prayer his affections were warm, his language pertinent, unaffected, serious, and without tautology. He preached with learned plainness, unfolding the great mysteries

of the gospel to the weakest capacity. He valued no man for his gifts, but for his humility; nor did he expect much from men of parts, whatever these might be, till they were broken down by temptations and afflictions. He was a man of great moderation with respect to church discipline, and ruled his own house with all christian prudence and propriety. In a word, he was richly furnished with every necessary qualification for rendering him a wise governor, a profitable preacher, and an excellent christian."

This account, from the impartial pen of Mr Clark, who must have been well acquainted with Dr. Harris, has, nevertheless, been opposed by Dr. Walker, who stigmatizes him for a notorious pluralist, and rests the evidence of his calumny on the authority of a scurrilous and abusive letter, put forth for the purpose of pouring contempt on the puritans. The doctor, wishing farther to render his story feasible, says, "He had somewhere read, that in those days Dr. Harris' picture was drawn with a steeple on his head, and others coming out of his pockets. Pluralities are so evidently contrary to scripture, and opposed to common sense, reason, and fair-dealing, that they are utterly indefensible." The doctor's satire here, however, had been much more seasonable, had it so happened that pluralities had nowhere existed amongst rigid churchmen.

Dr. Harris himself has given the following open and candid declaration on this subject. "I stood clear (says he) in mine own conscience, and also in theirs who best knew me. I was far from allowing either non-residence or a plurality of livings; yet, to such as were ignorant of all the circumstances, there was at least some appearance of evil."

It is evident he possessed several benefices; but whether he received the profits of them all, or enjoyed them all at the same time, appears extremely doubtful. Though Dr. Gray denominates him a fanatical hero, and a professed enemy to the constitution, both in church and state, yet he, in part, acquits him of this vile charge, and in a great measure invalidates the authority of the above scurrilous letter.

The Oxford historian brings another accusation against Dr. Harris, which, if true, would prove him one of the basest of men. He charges him with having taken, for his own use, two bags of gold, containing one hundred pounds each, which he found amongst some old rubbish in Trinity college soon after becoming president; and, moreover, that he told several most glaring falsehoods with a view to secure the money to himself. Though our documents do not afford materials to refute the whole of these charges, yet all that has been asserted to his prejudice, and especially the worst part of it, is so diametrically opposed to

the uniform spirit and deportment of this learned and pious divine, that the account appears extremely suspicious, and only designed to reproach the memory of the puritans.—Dr. Harris' last will and testament contains much excellent advice to his wife and numerous children; but is too long for insertion.

His works came forth at different times, and were afterwards collected and published in one volume folio in 1654. The pious bishop Wilkins passes a very high encomium upon his sermons.

---

### CHARLES HERLE, A. M.

MR HERLE was born at Prideaux Herle, in the county of Cornwall, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford. In 1618 he took his degrees in arts; and having finished his studies at the university, entered on the work of the ministry. His first settlement was at some place in Devonshire; but having been accounted a puritan, he was subjected to considerable persecution on account of his non-conformity. After this he was made rector of Winwick in Lancashire, said to be one of the richest livings in England. Upon the commencement of the civil war, Mr Herle attached himself to parliament, was elected a member of the assembly of divines, and, upon the demise of Dr. Twisse, chosen prolocutor to that assembly. He was, moreover, chosen one of the morning lecturers at the Abbey church, Westminster, one of the licensers for the theological department of the press, one of the committee for the examination and ordination of ministers, one of the committee of accommodation, and one of those appointed to prepare materials for the Confession of Faith. He was accounted a moderate presbyterian. In licensing the apology of the independents, he calls it a performance full of peaceableness, modesty, and candour; and in speaking elsewhere on the same subject, he says, "The difference between us and our brethren who are for independency, is by no means so great as you seem to conceive. At most, it only, in a small degree, ruffles the fringe, but in no way rends the seamless garment of Christ. It is so far from being a fundamental, that it can scarcely be called a material difference." In his speech at the dissolution of the assembly, Mr Herle, in name of his brethren, thanked the honourable and reverend commissioners from Scotland for their seasonable and important assistance in the laborious work in which the assembly had so long been engaged, at the same time apologizing, in the best manner he could, that the directory for worship was not so strictly adhered to as it ought. He confessed that their affairs were still greatly embarrassed, and in much confusion, while the enemy was high and powerful. Mr Herle and Mr

Stephen Marshall were appointed to attend the commissioners of parliament into Scotland, with the view of giving the Scotch a just idea of the affairs of England, particularly those of the church.—After the king's death Mr Herle retired to his flock and ministerial duties at Winwick, where he continued the rest of his days.

In the year 1651, the earl of Derby having raised a regiment of soldiers for Charles II., then on his march from Scotland, he sent lieutenant Arundel, with about forty horse, to Mr Herle's house at Winwick; which filled the whole family with terror and consternation. Calling for Mr Herle, Arundel said, "My business is to tell you, that the earl of Derby wishes to see you with all speed; and if you will go, you have nothing to fear either for yourself or family." Mr Herle replied, "I shall go with you immediately, and speak with the earl my patron;" and accordingly ordered out his horse. After kindly entertaining the lieutenant and his men, Mr Herle attended them to the earl's quarters, who received and treated him with the greatest civility; and after some friendly conversation, sent him back with a guard for his protection. The battle of Warrington-bridge was fought in this year; and Arundel's forces being routed, and himself wounded, he retired to Mr Herle's house, where he was treated with the utmost kindness.

During the same year, Mr Herle, together with Mr Isaac Ambrose, Mr Edward Gee, and some others, was appointed assistant to the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and school-masters in Lancashire. Dr. Gray says, "That he acted with great severity in this office; and that his public sermons sufficiently testified how well he was qualified for such dirty work." To make good his assertions, the doctor has transcribed from those sermons the following sentences: "Do justice to the greatest. Saul's sons are not spared, no, nor Agag, nor Benhadad, though themselves kings. Zimri and Cozbi, though princes of the people, must be pursued to their tents. What an army of martyrs has God given to the fire for our reformation at first? and what a calendar of traitors has he given to the gallows for our preservation since?" Every reader, at all acquainted with the cruel mandates of the episcopalian courts, can easily discover the import of the doctor's animadversions—the tables were now turned, and the sting taken out of the prelatie anathemas; and losers, we all know, claim a right to complain; besides, the character of Mr Herle is too firmly established to be shaken by any such ill-natured sarcasms, especially considering that the assertions charged are incontrovertible facts.

Mr Herle, with the assistance of several other ministers, or-

dained Mr Howe in his own church at Winwick. On which account the latter would sometimes say, "That few in modern times had such a primitive ordination; for he considered Mr Herle a primitive bishop." He was a moderate presbyterian, greatly beloved by his brethren in the ministry, and author of several practical and controversial writings. Fuller denominates him a good scholar, and a deep divine, and so much the christian, the scholar, and the gentleman, that a difference of opinion never had the power to alter his affections towards his friends. He died at Winwick, September 1659, aged sixty-one years, and was interred in his own church.

Among many choice sayings scattered through his works, take the following for a specimen: "Gratitude is the best tenure for holding old mercies, and gives us the surest title to new ones. Religious families are the surest nurseries of religion. The highest office of government is to be the nurse and guardian of religion. Peace, without contentment, is but a lethargy; safety, without it, is merely a prison; while contentment, without both, is a kingdom, and a continual feast. The proud man has no God; the turbulent man has no neighbour; the distrustful man has no friend—but the discontented man has not himself. Long discourses are feathered arrows that overshoot the mark, and lose both game and labour, by exhausting the patience, and relaxing the attention of the hearer. Affectation in any thing, but especially in words, manifests more ambition than ability, discovers a contracted soul, that takes up with forms and examples, and dares not venture to write but by a copy."

His works are, 1. Microcosmography in Essays and Characters.—2. Contemplations and Devotions on the several Passages of our blessed Saviour's Death and Passion.—3. An Answer to misled Dr. Hen. Fearn, according to the method of his own book.—4. Several Sermons, among which are the following: A pair of Compasses for Church and State.—5. David's Song of three parts.—6. David's Reserve and Rescue.—7. Worldly Policy, Moral Prudence, and Christian Wisdom; the vanity of the first, the usefulness of the second, and the excellency of the third—with other works.

#### RICHARD HEYRICK.

THIS learned divine was born in London, and educated in Merchant Taylor's school. He was a younger son of Sir William Heyrick of Beaumannour in Leicestershire, and became a commoner of St. John's college, Oxford, in 1617, then aged seventeen years. In due time he took his degree in arts, and was elected a fellow of All-soul's college, in the same univer-

sity, in 1624. About this time he entered also into holy orders; afterwards he became pastor of a church in Norfolk, and was elected warden of Christ's college in Manchester, by the means of archbishop Laud. On the commencement of the civil war he joined the parliament, and was chosen a member of the assembly of divines; which he attended with punctuality. He took the covenant, and zealously laboured to promote the reformation. In 1644, Mr Heyrick, and other ministers, in all twenty-one, were appointed by parliament to ordain ministers, for the time being, in the vacant parishes of the county of Lancaster. He was deeply concerned in the affair called *Love's plot*, the object of which was to raise, by private subscription, money to forward the expedition of Charles II. into England; but the plot being discovered by the watchful vigilance of the commonwealth, it was easily defeated. Of those who were engaged in this affair, with the exception of *Love* and *Gibbons*, who suffered death as a terror to others, some fled the country, and others, through the mediation of their friends, and a promise of submission to the commonwealth in all time coming, were released, and escaped the severity of the storm. In what manner Mr Heyrick came off we have no information; but in whatever way this took place, we find him afterwards appointed an assistant to the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and school-masters in Lancashire. Wood says, "That, upon the approach of the restoration, he seemed zealous for promoting the design, in consideration whereof he was suffered to retain his wardenship till his death, which happened on the 6th of August 1667, and in the sixty-seventh year of his age." Anna Maria, his widow, some short time after, caused a comely monument to be put over his grave, with a large inscription, composed by his old acquaintance, and real friend, Mr Thomas Case, minister of the gospel in London, who had been intimately acquainted with Mr Heyrick while a student at Oxford. This inscription gives him an excellent character as a person of genteel extraction, a most diligent and laborious student, a faithful pastor, a watchful guardian of his college, a man of solid judgment and acute penetration, of singular zeal, associated with remarkable prudence, of gravity, accompanied with the most agreeable manners and true humility. He is allowed, moreover, to have been a man of great learning.

He has published several sermons, amongst which are, 1. Three Sermons delivered in the Collegiate Church of Manchester.—2. Queen Esther's Resolves, or a princely pattern of Heavenly resolution for all the lovers of God and their country; a sermon preached to the Commons at their monthly fast, May 1646—with several other sermons.

## GASPER HICKES.

MR HICKES was born in Berkshire, an inland county. His father was a minister, who, in the year 1621, when his son was sixteen years of age, had him placed in Trinity college, Oxford, where, having taken his degree in arts, and entered into holy orders, he at length became pastor of Laudrake, or Lawrick, in the county of Cornwall. Here he continued a constant and faithful preacher of the gospel for several years, under the appellation of a puritan. On the commencement of the war, Mr Hickes took part with the parliament, and openly expressed his sentiments on that subject. But the royal army having entered that county, and for some time continued victorious, he found his situation so uneasy, that he retired to London. Here he was chosen a member, and took his seat accordingly, in the assembly of divines. He preached frequently in the city, and some times before parliament. But afterwards, upon the declining of the king's interest, when the royal forces were driven from Cornwall, he returned to his pastoral charge. In 1654 he was appointed an assistant to the commissioners for ejecting improper ministers and school-masters in the county of Cornwall; and, according to Wood, he was ever after, till the act of uniformity came forth, esteemed the chief of the presbyterian ministers of that district.

When ejected from Laudrake by the Bartholomew act, Mr Hickes continued to live at or near the same place for several years, always preaching as opportunity offered; but in the prosecution of this honourable and useful work he met with great opposition, and was subjected to much trouble and distress. Continuing to preach after the 30th of May 1670, in his own family, to the number which the act against conventicles allowed, with some other persons under sixteen years of age—Mr Winnel, the young parson of Laudrake, was so enraged, that he informed against him as a holder of conventicles, and had his house searched by the parish officers, who found but four persons present above the age of sixteen, beside those of his own family. This furious zealot, nevertheless, rode from one justice to another to have him convicted; but the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, sensible that the law had not been violated, gave him no encouragement. Enraged at this disappointment, Winnel posted into Devonshire, where he found some justices, whose intolerant sentiments accorded with his own. These justices, taking it for granted that Mr Hickes had preached, though they had no proof to substantiate the allegation, convicted him, and amerced him in the sum of forty pounds. Conscious of the unfair treatment he had met with, Mr Hickes

appealed to the next general sessions, where, contrary to law, he was denied the benefit of a jury, while the justices decided his case by their own votes; and having in this way rendered his appeal unjust in the eye of law, they added, to the forty pounds formerly awarded against him, triple costs for the present action, with a superabundance of unmanly abuse. Mr Hickes' case was indeed hard, but by no means novel. In much the same way have wicked men persecuted the prophets, apostles, and a whole army of martyrs, who have now rested from their labours; and, through a series of similar tribulations, shall saints, in every age, enter the heavenly kingdom. Mr Calamy says, "That Mr Hickes was a good scholar, and a celebrated preacher.

He has published several sermons, amongst which are, 1. The glory and beauty of God's portion, from Isaiah xxviii. 5, 6. preached before the Commons.—2. The Life and Death of David, a funeral Sermon.—3. The advantage of Afflictions, a Sermon preached before the Peers.

---

#### THOMAS HILL.

THIS very learned and pious divine was born at Kington in Worcestershire, of religious parents, who solemnly devoted him to God in his childhood, and resolved to educate him for the holy ministry. Accordingly, having received the necessary preparations for the university, he was sent to Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he afterwards became fellow. Here he made great progress in learning, was distinguished for his piety, and greatly beloved for the frankness, ease, and affability of his manners. Having finished his studies at Cambridge, with a view to his farther improvement in useful knowledge, he went to Boston, and spent some time with the learned Mr John Cotton, whose instructions and example had such an effect on this pious and otherwise well-disposed scholar, that he reaped the precious fruits during the whole course of his life. After leaving Boston he returned to Cambridge, became an excellent tutor, and a very popular preacher in St. Andrew's church. When the plague was raging in the university, and multitudes fled from the seat of that deadly infection, he could not think of relinquishing his labours at a period when they were so peculiarly necessary; and fearless of danger, like a faithful shepherd of Christ's flock, continued in the work whereunto he had been called.

On leaving the university he was chosen pastor of Tichmarch in Northamptonshire, where he continued about nine years, discharging the various duties of his pastoral office with diligence, fidelity, and success. Here he was greatly esteemed by

the earl of Warwick, in whose family he became acquainted with Mrs Willford, governess to the earl's daughter, whom he afterwards married. In 1640, when the committee of accommodation was appointed by the House of Lords to consider the innovations in religion, Dr. Hill, with several bishops, and other learned divines, was chosen a member of the sub-committee to prepare materials for their discussion. In 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines; which he punctually attended; and by his great learning, candour, and moderation, was signally serviceable in all their deliberations. In the following year he was appointed one of the committee for the ordination of public preachers. He was chosen morning lecturer at the Abbey church, Westminster, and preached every Lord's day at St. Martin's in the fields. He was universally celebrated for learning and talents, on which account he was appointed master of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards of Trinity college, in the same university. Here he employed all his zeal, influence, and abilities, in promoting sound learning, in encouraging genuine piety, and in enforcing the performance of all college exercises. He was twice chosen vice-chancellor, and was ever attentive to the honour and privileges of the university.

Dr. Hill was firmly attached to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. He considered unconditional election, salvation by grace, justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and the final perseverance of believers, not as points of dry speculation, but as doctrines obviously held forth in the word of God, and the very life of true christian faith. During his last sickness he derived singular comfort from the consideration of these sublime doctrines. The distinguishing love of God in Christ was the foundation of his confidence, and the matter of his joy and rejoicing amid the afflictions and pains of a quartan ague, of which he died. Being asked, a little before his death, Whether he enjoyed peace with God? he replied, in a very cheerful manner, "That through the mercy of God in Christ his peace was made, and that he quietly rested in it." He died, much lamented, on the 18th of December 1653, and in an advanced age.

Dr. Hill was a divine much distinguished for his humility and purity of life, an excellent and useful preacher, of great learning and moderation; but strongly opposed to the doctrines of Arminius. He used to lay his hand on his heart, and say, "Every true christian hath something here that will frame an argument against arminianism. He has, notwithstanding all his talents, learning, moderation, and meekness, been subjected to the reproachful insinuations of that anti-puritan Dr. Gray,

who has perpetuated the memorials of his own caustic and cauterizing humour, his disingenuity and incurable hatred of all who differ from, or oppose his opinions, by associating them with names which shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

Mr Neal having specified his preferments in the church, the doctor says, "How deserving this gentleman was of such preferment, his works sufficiently testify;" and proceeds to establish his insinuations by citing the following expressions delivered by Dr. Hill on public occasions:

"That we may have an incorrupt religion, without sinful, without guileful mixtures, not a linseywoolsey religion: All new-born babes will desire word-milk, sermon-milk, without guile or adulterating sophistication. What pity it is that cathedral societies, which might have been colleges of learned presbyters for feeding and ruling the city churches, and petty academies to prepare pastors for neighbouring places, should be often the sanctuaries of non-residents, and nurseries of drones, who can neither preach nor pray, otherwise than read, say, or sing their prayers, while truth itself is exhibited in the non-edifying pomp of ceremonious services. Behold, with weeping eyes, the many hundred congregations in the kingdom where millions of souls are ready to perish for want of vision. Truth is sold from amongst them, either by soul-betraying non-residents, soul-poisoning innovators, or soul-pining dry nurses. In many places the very image of jealousy, the mass is set up, yea, the comedy of the mass is acted. I wish every parliament man had a map of the soul-misery existing in most of the ten thousand churches and chapels in England.

"Instead of the high commission, says he, which was a scourge to many godly and faithful ministers, we have now an honourable committee, that turns the wheel upon such as are scandalous, ignorant, and unworthy. In the room of Jeroboam's priests, burning and shining lights are multiplied in many dark places of the land, which were full of the habitations of cruelty. In place of a long and drawling liturgy, we are in hopes of a pithy directory. Instead of prelatial rails about the table of the Lord, we have the scripture rails of church discipline in great forwardness. Where popish altars abounded, we begin to see more of Christ crucified in the purity and simplicity of his own ordinances. Instead of the prelate's oath to establish their own exorbitant power and appurtenances, we have a solemn league and covenant with God, engaging us to endeavour the reformation of his church, and the extirpation of popery, and even prelacy itself, according to his word."—The pious and impartial reader will be at no loss to form an opinion of the ungenerous insinuations of this zealous churchman.

Dr. Hill's works are, 1. *The Trade of Truth Advanced*, in a Sermon to the Commons at their solemn Fast, July 27th, 1642. —2. *The Militant Church Triumphant over the Dragon and his Angels*, preached to both Houses of Parliament, July 21st, 1643. —3. *The Season for England's Self-reflection*, and advancing Temple-work; a Sermon before the Houses of Parliament, August 13th, 1644, being an extraordinary day of humiliation. —4. *The Right Separation Encouraged*, a Sermon to the Lords, November 27th, 1644, being their monthly public Fast.

### JOSHUA HOYLE, D. D.

THIS very learned puritan was born at Sawerby, near Halifax in Yorkshire, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. Being afterwards invited into Ireland, he became fellow of Trinity college, Dublin; and having taken his degrees in divinity, he was chosen theological professor in that university. In the course of his daily lectures, he expounded all the books both of the Old and New Testament, seldom taking more than one verse for a lecture. In this tedious work he was engaged for fifteen years; and, during the ten years following, he went through the greater part of the sacred writings a second time. He preached and expounded thrice every Sabbath for the greater part of the year, besides his public services on many extraordinary occasions; to all which may be added, his elaborate answers to Bellarmine, the redoubted champion of the Romish church. This man was extolled above measure by the catholics and the court of Rome, and reputed the most formidable antagonist the reformers had to contend with. Most of the protestant divines, eminent for their critical and controversial talents, were therefore induced to make his arguments a particular object of refutation. Bellarmine's controversial works are written in Latin, and have gone through several editions, in four folio volumes. Dr. Hoyle fearlessly and successfully attacked the system of error and absurdity therein defended, and dragged into public view, and general execration, the mock miracles, catch-penny and juggling tricks of a system calculated for blinding the mind, and substituting superstition in the room of reason, for enslaving both the souls and bodies of men, and thereby securing an interested priesthood in the possession of power, which they exercised with tyranny, and wealth, which they consumed in the most licentious and disgusting luxury. Dr. Hoyle began with Bellarmine's work of the seven sacraments, which engaged him for eight years, and afterwards proceeded to animadvert on the rest of the cardinal's gigantic work. He cut his way into the dark recesses of the temple of superstition, and tore aside the veil that concealed the mystery of ini-

quity, the great idol which the world had so long and so ignorantly worshipped, and, by dissolving the magical illusion, liberated the spell-bound devotee.

In 1634 he sat in the convocation held at Dublin; but when the Irish rebellion \* broke out in 1641, he fled from the terrible effusion of blood, made his way to England, and became vicar of Stepney, near London, where, according to Wood, he was considered too scholastic, and on that account not acceptable to the parishioners. In 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines; which he constantly attended, and took an important part in their deliberations. He was afterwards a witness against archbishop Laud on his trial, and testified that the archbishop had corrupted the university of Dublin by the arbitrary introduction of the errors of popery and arminianism. In 1645 he was elected one of the committee of accommodation; and in 1648 he was appointed master of University college, Oxford, and king's professor of divinity in the same university. In this office he has not escaped the animadversions of that captious writer Dr. Walker, who says, "That he commenced his lectures with a speech destitute of all spirit and learning, and that they had neither method nor argument; which manifested his ignorance of even the most common rules of logic." Wood, however, styles him a person of great reading and memory, much devoted to study, profound in the faculty of divinity, a constant preacher, and a noted puritan, and that he was highly respected by archbishop Usher, in whose vindication he wrote a rejoinder to a Reply in Defence of the Real Presence, by William Malone, a Jesuit; which has ever been accounted a very learned and elaborate work. In the assembly of divines he was held in great esteem as master of all the ancient learning, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek and Latin fathers, and as one abundantly qualified either for the pulpit or to fill his professional chair. He died on the 6th of December 1654, and his remains were interred in the old chapel belonging to University college, Oxford. His successors, in the offices of master and professor, were Mr Francis Johnson and Dr. John Conant, both ejected in 1662.

---

### JOHN LEY, A. M.

THIS indefatigable preacher was born at Warwick in February 1583. His predecessors were of the county of Che-

\* The popish priests, who were themselves engaged in this rebellion, admit that upwards of one hundred and fifty-four thousand protestants were massacred in Ireland in the space of a few months; and Sir J. Temple says, "That there were above three hundred thousand murdered in cold blood, or destroyed in some other way, during the continuance of that unparalleled period of furious zeal and inhuman butchery." Cardinal Richelieu was deeply concerned in this hellish massacre; and, according to Rapin, Charles I. spread abroad the report that the catholics had his authority for what they did.

shire. He received the rudiments of his education at the free grammar school of Warwick; from which he removed to Christ's college, Oxford, in 1601, and in the eighteenth year of his age. Here, in due time, he took his degrees of arts; and having finished his studies in the university, he was presented to the vicarage of Great Budworth in Cheshire, where, for a number of years, he continued a laborious preacher. He was made prebendary of the Cathedral church at Chester; also sub-dean of the same cathedral, where he kept up a weekly lecture at St. Paul's church, and was once or twice elected a member of the convocation. But having always held and maintained opinions at variance with prelacy, he espoused the cause of parliament, took the covenant, and became a member of the assembly of divines, to which he was appointed Latin examiner. Mr Ley became rector of Ashfield in Cheshire, and for a short time that of Astbury, in the same county. He was also one of the committee for the ordination of ministers by imposition of hands, one of the committee for superintending the press, and chairman of that for the examination and approbation of ministers. About 1645 he was chosen president of Sion college; and about the same time inducted into the rich living of Brightwell in Berkshire. In 1653 he was chosen one of the triers, and, in the year following, an assistant to the commissioners of Berkshire for ejecting improper ministers and school-masters. Some short time after this Mr Ley resigned his living at Brightwell, and was presented to that of Solihull in Warwickshire. Here he continued but a short time; for having, by constant preaching, and excessive exertion, burst a blood-vessel, he was thereby so much disabled, that he could no longer perform his pulpit services. On this account he resigned his charge, and retired to Sutton Coldfields, in the same county, where he spent the residue of his days in private. A certain writer, of considerable reputation, has placed our divine at the head of those puritans, who, as he says, encouraged tumults, whom he ironically styles, "Holy, faithful, able, and truly peaceable preachers of the gospel." In support of his insinuations, he quotes the following passages from Mr Ley's works, namely, "It is not unknown, nor has it escaped the observation of the wise, that the ministers have been very serviceable to the civil state, and also to the military, not merely by their supplications to God for the success of their undertakings, for the happy result of their warlike marches and motions, as at the removal of the ark, Num. x. 31. 'Arise, O Lord, and let their enemies be scattered: Let them that hate thee flee before thee,'—but also by their informations and solicitations of the people to engage both their persons and estates in the cause of God and their country." Having pro-

duced these, and other somewhat similar quotations, this author says, with an air of triumph, "After these proofs and declarations of the minister's zeal and industry, in promoting, supporting, and carrying on the late bloody, impious, and unnatural war, let any man take upon him any longer to acquit the non-conformist divines of the guilt and consequences of that execrable rebellion." These very partial remarks of this strange author show the blindness of party-spirit. They seem to set forth, that their author considered deprivations, banishments, imprisonments, fines, and confiscations, the cropping of ears, and the splitting of noses, with a thousand other unsufferable indignities exercised towards the non-conforming clergy of that period, as trifles of no consideration—But that the star-chamber was the seat of impartial justice and merciful moderation; the court of high commission a constellation composed of all that was meek and lowly, holy and harmless; and that Bancroft, Laud, and other prelatial dons of the same intolerant kidney, were very babes of grace! Every impartial mind, at all acquainted with the tyrannical measures adopted both by church and state at and before the commencement of that sanguinary war, will, at one glance, discover the real authors, promoters, and supporters of what he calls an execrable rebellion; which it certainly was, not however of the people against the king, but of the king and prelates against the people, and the constitution that guaranteed their rights.

Mr Ley was accounted an excellent preacher, a very learned and pious divine, deeply read in the fathers and councils, and a principal pillar of presbyterianism. He died, May 16th, 1662, aged about seventy-nine years, and was buried in the church at Sutton Coldfield.

His writings are, 1. An Apology in Defence of the Geneva Notes on the Bible.—2. A Pattern of Piety.—3. A Monitor of Mortality.—4. The fury of War, and the folly of Sin.—5. Sunday, a Sabbath.—6. Defensive doubts, hopes, and reasons, for refusal of the oath imposed by the 6th canon of the synod.—7. A Letter addressed to the Bishop of Chester, June 16th, 1635, against erecting an Altar.—8. Case of Conscience concerning the Sacrament.—9. A Comparison of the Parliamentary Protestation with the late canonical oath; also the opposition between the Doctrine of the Church of England and that of Rome.—10. A Discourse concerning Puritans.—11. Examination of Saltmarch's New Query.—12. Light for Smoke.—13. An after reckoning with Mr Saltmarch.—14. Annotations on the Pentateuch and on the four Evangelists.—15. A learned Defence of Tithes.—16. A Debate concerning the English Liturgy between E. Hide, D. D. and J. Ley.—17. A Disputation, chiefly con-

cerning matters of religion.—18. Animadversions on two printed Books of J. Onely, a Lay preacher.—19. A Consolatory Letter to Dr. Bryan, upon the death of his dear son.—20. Equitable and necessary considerations for the Association of Arms in England and Wales.—21. A Petition to the Protector, by Divers, for the establishment, as ministers of the gospel, without induction by Bishops.—22. Attestation against Errors.—23. Comparison of the 6th canon of the last synod of Bishops.—24. Exceptions many and just.

---

### JOHN LIGHTFOOT, D. D.

THIS divine, greatly celebrated for his oriental learning, was born at Stoke-upon-Trent, in the county of Stafford, March 29th, 1602. His father, Mr Thomas Lightfoot, was vicar of Uttoxiter in Staffordshire for the space of thirty-six years. His mother, Elizabeth Bagnall, was of a very respectable family, of which three males were made knights, by queen Elizabeth, for the martial skill and courage they displayed in the wars against the Irish rebels. The subject of the present memoir was the second of five sons. He was early committed to the care of Mr Whitehead, school-master at Morton-green, near Congerton, in the county Palatine of Chester, where he continued till June 1617, when he was sent to Christ's college, Cambridge, and placed under the tuition of Mr William Chappel, at that time fellow of the house, afterwards doctor and professor of divinity in Trinity college, Dublin; and, in process of time, bishop of Cork. Mr Lightfoot exhibited early specimens of a promising genius and lively wit; and having had the instructions of men highly qualified for their situations, with close application on his part, he made an astonishing proficiency in his studies, particularly in Latin and Greek. His tutor, when he had been but a short time in the college, held him forth as the best orator of all the under graduates in Cambridge. He continued in the college till he obtained the degree of bachelor of arts, when he became assistant to Mr Whitehead, his first master, who had now a famous school at Repton in Derbyshire; in which situation he remained about two years, equally agreeable both to the master and scholars. Soon after leaving Mr Whitehead he entered into holy orders, and was settled at Norton in Shropshire. While in this place Sir Rowland Cotton took him into his family as chaplain, being highly pleased with his hopeful parts, after having heard him preach. It was here he laid the foundation of that rabbinical learning, for which he was afterwards so justly and so highly distinguished both at home and abroad. Sir Rowland used to question him in the Hebrew language; of which, at that period, he was so much a novice,

that his patron could baffle him almost on every point. He was greatly ashamed that a country gentleman should be so much his superior in a branch of learning so essentially necessary to his profession. This consideration gave him a new and powerful stimulus to the study of that sacred tongue, and his singular talent for oriental learning began to unfold itself apace. Possessing a vigorous mind, and a sound constitution, and blest with the friendship, example, and the occasional instructions of his learned patron, he soon acquired such a store of oriental learning, as has in no small degree contributed to the right understanding of the holy scriptures. When Sir Rowland removed to London with his family, Mr Lightfoot followed soon after, and remained with him for some time; then returning to the country, he visited his friends at Stoke. He had formed the design of travelling for his improvement; but having been chosen and solicited by the inhabitants of Stone in Staffordshire to become their pastor, he was persuaded to relinquish his purpose; which gave great joy to his parents and the rest of his friends. In this situation he remained about two years, during which he married the daughter of William Crompton, Esq. of Stone-park, and widow of George Copwood of Dilverne, in the county of Stafford. From this place he removed to Hornsey, in the neighbourhood of London, that he might have the advantage of Sion college library in the prosecution of his studies. In the spring of 1630 Mr Lightfoot and his family went to Stoke, where they continued till the following autumn, that Sir Rowland Cotton preferred him to the rectory of Ashley, in the county of Stafford, where he soon procured an excellent reputation, and continued twelve years faithfully discharging the duties of his pastoral office, and prosecuting his favourite studies with unremitting application. In June 1642 he went up to London, and was chosen minister of St. Bartholomew's behind the exchange.

In 1643 he was appointed a member of the assembly of divines, of which he was a constant attendant, and acted a very conspicuous part in their public discussions, having an excellent field for displaying his rare talents and rabbinical erudition, of which he gave surprising specimens. At this time, though Mr Lightfoot was little above forty years of age, he displayed an extraordinary knowledge in divinity, oriental learning, and church government. When the primitive constitution of the church came under the consideration of the assembly, or when texts of scripture were brought forward in support of such doctrines and modes of discipline as were under discussion, he generally spoke, and often gave very uncommon interpretations of controverted places. When some divines in the assembly

were for churches consisting merely of saints, which mode they endeavoured to support by Rev. xv. 3. where Christ is denominated the King of saints; Dr. Seaman objected to this, because the reading was doubtful, some copies reading, thou King of *ages*, or *eternity*. Dr. Lightfoot supported his objection, showing that the Syriac and Arabic read to the same import, thou King of the *world*, or thou King of *ages*. When a debate took place in the assembly respecting the persons who ought to read the scriptures in public, and Gouge and Marshall were of opinion, that some expert and sober persons of the laity ought to do this part of the public service, Lightfoot shewed at large, that in the Jewish synagogues none but public officers were allowed to read the law and the prophets, and these of the Levitical order—asserting, that the Levites in the temple were servants to the priests; but in the synagogues their office was similar to that of a christian pastor. When the dispute took place between the independents and the other parties in the assembly respecting congregations, Whether there were more than one in a city, especially in Jerusalem? and Dr. Temple doubted whether there were a plurality of fixed congregations in that city in the days of the apostles—Lightfoot answered in several particulars, 1st, “That the multitude of pastors, resident at Jerusalem, could by no means correspond with the opinion of only one congregation. 2d, There were a variety of languages spoken in that city, which rendered different preachers and different congregations unavoidable. 3d, That one part of the church had deacons, while others had none; we must therefore consider them as distinguished from one another. 4th, We are informed, in Acts xii. 12. that many were gathered together praying, and yet James, and others of the brethren, were not amongst the number; all which point out a plurality of christian congregations at Jerusalem, and similar causes would render the same unavoidable in almost every populous city.”

Being eminently distinguished in the assembly, Mr Lightfoot was promoted to the church of Much-Munden in Hertfordshire about the close of 1643. In one of his sermons, before the Commons, he bitterly animadverts on the folly and superstition of placing the apocrypha between the Old and New Testaments. “It is not a little surprising (says he) how this wretched apocrypha, this patchery of human invention, could ever gain such a place in the hearts and bibles of the primitive christians, as to occupy a place in the centre of the oracles of God. This, however, may be in part accounted for, says he, by the fact, that the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were introduced amongst the Gentile converts by the Jews, who, for a long time, had almost exclusively enjoyed the knowledge of re-

ligion; on which account all their writings behaved to be highly esteemed among the Gentile converts. In this way, it is probable, the apocrypha first gained esteem in the Gentile world, and the superstition, afterwards introduced into the christian church, contributed much to retain it in their bibles; as superstition naturally inclines men to admit whatever their fathers have admitted before them. But the wonder increases, how the reformed churches, after having thrown off the yoke of superstition, and ventured to examine, think, and decide for themselves, should still retain, in the centre of their bibles, such a jumble of contradiction and ridiculous absurdity. It is true, continues he, they have thrown them out of the canon, but still allow them a place in the bible; the same as if God, when he cast Adam out of paradise, had still permitted him to remain." In another sermon to the Commons, he warmly recommends a review of the translation of the bible. "I hope (says he) you may find, amongst your other serious employments, some time to consider this subject, certainly it would be a work well becoming a period of reformation, and which would greatly redound to your honour. Nehemiah, when engaged in reformation work, took care that the law should not only be read, but that the people should be caused to understand it; and certainly it would not be the least advantage the three nations would derive from your labours, if, by your care and means, they might come to the proper understanding of the scriptures, by an exact, vigorous, and lively translation. I say it again, I hope you will find some time for commencing so needful a work."

Dr. Lightfoot became master of Katherine-hall on the ejection of Dr. Spurstow, who refused the engagement. This place, together with the sequestered living of Much-Munden, he enjoyed till the restoration, when he offered to restore it to Dr. Spurstow; which the latter declining to receive, Lightfoot, having conformed, made application to the king, and was confirmed in both his preferments; which he held till his death. In 1652 he took the degree of doctor in divinity. When in the university he preached frequently, warmly recommending to the students the necessity of a conversation becoming the gospel of Christ, and warning them against enthusiasm, which, at that time, greatly prevailed in England. In 1655 he was chosen vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, the duties of which office he discharged with becoming carefulness and propriety. Notwithstanding his labours in the university and in the church, and the time spent in composing his numerous and learned works, he still found some leisure hours to promote the elaborate works of other learned men. When Dr. Walton was engaged with his Polyglot Bible, which was printed in six

volumes folio, in 1657, Dr. Lightfoot gave him considerable assistance. This very elaborate work had the sacred text most carefully printed in vulgar Latin, also in the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopian, Persian, and Greek languages, to each of which a particular Latin translation was annexed. He appears to have likewise assisted Dr. Castell, professor of Arabic in the university of Cambridge, in his *Lexicon Heptaglotton*; and the learned Poole in his *Synopsis Criticorum*.

Dr. Lightfoot held some peculiar sentiments. He maintained, that the calling of the Jews is a matter we have no reason ever to expect: That the only call they ever had, or will have, was in the days of Christ and his apostles, when a remnant of them were converted to the faith of the gospel: But that no universal calling of that nation ever has been, or shall be; and that the 5th verse of the xii. of Romans is no proof that such a circumstance shall ever take place, either generally, or after many ages, as has been suggested by many. He also asserted, that the Greek translation of the bible by the seventy was hammered out by the Jews with more caution than conscience, with more craft than sincerity, and that it was done to answer their political views and purposes. He maintained, moreover, that the keys were given to Peter *alone*; not, however, the keys of government and discipline, but the keys that were to open the gates of the gospel church to the Gentile nations, which was designated by the *kingdom of heaven*; and that it was to this purpose that Peter spoke, Acts xv. 7. This opinion he openly maintained in the assembly of divines. In like manner he asserted, that binding and loosing, as expressed by our Lord to his disciples, when sending them forth, did not relate to their discipline, but to their doctrine; for this reason, that the phrases were Jewish, and most frequently found in their writers. When the Jews set apart any person for a preacher, but especially with respect to teachers, they used the following words: "Take thou liberty to teach what is bound and what is loose." Of the words spoken to Cain, after the murder of his brother, he also gives a very different interpretation from the generality of commentators: "If thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door;" that is, a sin-offering for atoning thy transgressions is at hand, not the punishment of thy sins as generally understood; for, according to him, these words were not spoken to terrify the murderer, and drive him to despair, but to encourage him to hope; and this, says he, is the common acceptation of the word *sin*, as it occurs in the books of Moses.

On the restoration of Charles II., by the good offices of archbishop Sheldon and others, he was not only confirmed in his

preferments, but also presented to a prebendary by the lord-keeper Bridgeman, in the cathedral of Ely; at which place he died of a fever, December 6th, 1675, and his remains were interred at Munden.

His works were translated into English, and first published separately in small pieces; but afterwards collected and published by Mr Strype, in two volumes folio, with above forty sermons, preached on several subjects and occasions, and a short tract upon the 4th article of the creed, never before printed. The first volume contains, The Harmony of the Old and New Testaments.—Observations on the Book of Genesis.—An handful of Gleanings out of the Book of Exodus.—A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.—The Temple-service.—Miscellanies, and a description of the Temple, with a map of it drawn by himself. The second volume contains Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on the four Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, some chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, and on 1 Corinthians. They were also printed in Latin at Rotterdam, in two vols. folio, 1668; and Mr Strype tells us, “That his writings have been so well known and admired abroad, that two or three impressions have been thrown off in Holland since that time, and that Remfertus, the professor, and several other learned men, had expressed a desire to obtain every production of his pen for publication, that none of the notions of that great man might be lost.”

---

#### STEPHEN MARSHALL, B. D.

THIS active and zealous puritan divine was born at Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, and had his education at Emanuel college, Cambridge; from which, according to Dr. Fuller, he became an early reaper in God's harvest; but not before he had well sharpened his sickle for that laborious service. He was for some time minister at Wethersfield in Essex, and afterwards at Finchingfield in the same county, where he acquired a very high reputation. In this last place he was silenced for non-conformity; and after several years' silence, he came up to Cambridge to take the degree of bachelor of divinity, and performed his exercise with general applause. On his restoration to his ministry, in 1640, he did not return to Finchingfield, but was appointed lecturer at St. Margaret's church, Westminster; and though despised, hated, and calumniated by the opposite party, he was a man of high reputation, often called to preach before parliament, who consulted him on all important matters relating to religion. Mr Echard, with his usual animosity, denominates him a famous incendiary, and assistant to the parlia-

mentarians; their trumpeter in their fasts; their confessor in sickness; their counsellor in their assemblies; their chaplain in their treaties; and their redoubted champion in all their disputations. "This great Shimei (says he) being taken with a desperate sickness, departed the world mad and raving;" than which there never was a more unjust aspersion; for Mr Marshall retained the full possession of his understanding to the last moment. Lord Clarendon also admits his great popularity and public influence in parliament. "Without doubt (says he) the archbishop of Canterbury never had so great an influence upon the councils at court, as Mr Marshall and Dr. Burgess had upon the Houses of Parliament." His lordship, moreover, charges him with a transaction, which, were it true, would render him unworthy of the character of an honest man. This relates to the ministers' petition presented to parliament; which paper, says he, contained but few signatures, but many other sheets were annexed for the reception of such names as favoured the undertaking; but after their names had been subscribed, the petition itself was cut off, and another petition of a different nature substituted in its place; and when some of the ministers complained that they had never seen the petition to which their names were attached, Mr Marshall, who is said to have had the charge of the petition, told them, that it was thought fit, by men who understood the business better than they, to have the latter preferred to the former. Dr. Walker, an archbigot for things as they are, is, however, afraid to establish this as a matter of fact, and contents himself with saying, "It is *probable* Mr Marshall was deeply enough concerned in the affair." There was a committee of parliament appointed to take cognizance of all such petitions; but the learned historian relieves himself from all further investigation, by saying, "That they were prevailed upon to pass it over;" for the truth of which we have only his lordship's word; while neither Rushworth, Whitelock, nor any of the impartial writers of those times, have so much as hinted at the circumstance. Such an improbable assertion, therefore, without any proof or reference, deserves no credit whatever, but has every appearance of being a forgery, intended to vilify the character of one of their most active antagonists.

Scarcely have any of the puritan divines been set up as a butt for the shafts of calumny and inveterate invective so conspicuously as the subject of this memoir; nor has any of his enemies attacked him with so much scurrility as the anonymous author of a Letter of Spiritual Advice, written to Mr Stephen Marshall in his sickness. "When I heard of your sickness (says this writer), I assure you I felt in my mind such a different appre-

hension of your state from that of ordinary sickness, that I cannot impute your present visitation to any thing but the just severity of almighty God, for the exertions you have made, and the influence you have used, to ruin this church and kingdom. For, sir, is it not apparent, that your eminent gifts of preaching have been used with the design of kindling those flames of rebellion, and producing that effusion of christian blood, that now desolates the country where you were born? Have not you, with all the earnest solicitations in your power, endeavoured to raise liberal contributions from your hearers to maintain this unnatural war? Have you not forsaken your own charge to accompany and strengthen the resolutions of the general of your army in his attempts against *the just power and sacred life* of his and your *anointed Sovereign*? Does not the whole kingdom impute the distractions and combustions therein, as much to the seditious sermons of the preachers of your faction, as to the contrivances and policy of those persons who direct the unhallowed machinery? Let your own conscience be your own judge in this matter, and it will tell you, that should your designs succeed to your wish, and a change of government, such as you contemplate, take place, you would think yourselves much wronged and neglected if you were not acknowledged and rewarded as very effectual instruments in bringing about the desired change. This being the incontrovertible state of the case, you cannot account it uncharitable, in those who believe as I sincerely do, that your purposes are not merely unjust, but that they are fraught with the ruin both of justice and religion, should they attribute it to the mercy and favour of God to this ruined country, and his vengeance against you, were he to rid the world of such a destructive firebrand!" This anonymous letter stands in need of no refutation—its inveterate ill-nature and ill-manners are of themselves a sufficient refutation.

In 1643 Mr Marshall was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and was a most active and valuable member. In this public situation, actively employed in preparing and maturing such measures as were calculated to supersede the episcopalian hierarchy, and circumscribe the inordinate power and intolerant rule of her dignitaries, it is not to be wondered that the bitterest censures of his antagonists should be poured upon him. Speaking of him as a member of the assembly, says one of them, "They sit not to consult how religion may be reformed, wherein it is amiss, but to receive the orders of parliament to innovate and undo religion; in which work and drudgery of the devil our active Stephen needs neither whip nor spur, but tooth and nail exerts himself to overthrow and destroy the hierarchy, root and branch." Dr. Heylin calls him the great bell-wether

of the presbyterians; and Newcourt, that he also may have the honour of being accounted one of his calumniators, calls him the Geneva-bull, and a factious and rebellious divine.

“As to Mr Marshall (says Dr. Calamy), he was an active man, and encouraged taking up arms against a party of men who were driving every thing into confusion, at a period, when not only he and his friends, but a great number of as worthy men as ever sat in St. Stephen’s chapel, considered the constitution, that guaranteed the liberties of England, in a very hazardous situation. Yet I am not aware that he can be justly charged with the least concurrence in those after-measures which tended to confusion.” In the great controversy concerning church government, Mr Marshall also took a decided part. The celebrated bishop Hall having published his work in defence of episcopacy and the English liturgy, in 1640, entitled, *An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament*, Mr Marshall united, with several of his brethren, in writing the famous book, entitled, *An Answer to a Book, entitled, An Humble Remonstrance*; in which answer the origin of liturgy and episcopacy is discussed, and queries propounded concerning both; the parity of bishops and presbyters in the scripture demonstrated; the disparity of the ancient and our modern bishops manifested; the antiquity of ruling elders in the church vindicated; and the prelatical church bounded—written by Smectymnuus, 1641. This work is said to be very well written, and that in all the controversies about non-conformity, it was much referred to; but done with great fierceness of spirit and asperity of language. Mr Calamy affirms, “That it gave the first deadly blow to episcopacy.” The learned Dr. Kempis says, “It was a production of no small importance in its day, and drawn up in a style of composition superior to that of the puritans in general, and indeed of many other writers of that period.” The learned bishop Wilkins represents it as a capital performance against episcopacy. It concludes with a postscript, containing an historical narrative of the pride, luxury, bribery, extortion, rebellion, treason, and other bitter effects of episcopacy, and closes to the following effect:

“The inhuman butcheries, blood shedding, and other unparalleled barbarities committed by Gardiner, Bonner, and the rest of the bishops in queen Mary’s time, are so fresh in every man’s memory, that we conceive it unnecessary to mention them, only that we are afraid that blood, then so wantonly shed, may yet be required of the nation, because it hath not endeavoured to appease the wrath of heaven by a general repentance and reformation. The practice of the prelates ever since, even from the commencement of Elizabeth’s reign to the present day,

would fill a volume, like Ezekiel's roll, full of lamentation, mourning, and woe; for it hath been their main design, and unwearied endeavour, to arrest and prevent all further reformation, to introduce the doctrines of popery, arminianism, and libertinism; to maintain, propagate, and increase the burden of human ceremonies; to keep out and beat down the preaching of the word; to silence faithful ministers; to ridicule, and otherwise oppose and persecute, the most zealous professors; to turn all religion into a pompous parade of unmeaning ceremonies, and tread down the power of godliness, insomuch that it has become a common proverb amongst the people, when any thing is spoiled, that *the bishop's foot has been there*. In all this, and much more which might be said, fulfilling bishop Bonner's prophecy, who, finding that in king Edward's reformation a reservation was introduced for admitting ceremonies and improving the hierarchy, is confidently and credibly reported to have said, *since they have begun to taste our broth, it will not be long till they eat our beef*." To this work the bishop replied in defence of his humble remonstrance. Smectymnuus supported what he had formerly said, and farther discussed the errors of episcopacy, and the conduct of her prelatial rulers. The bishop concluded the controversy by a piece, entitled, *A Short Answer to a tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus*, 1641.

During this year Mr Marshall was appointed chaplain to the earl of Essex's regiment in the parliament army; in which situation, Dr. Gray denominates him and Dr. Downing the two famed casuistical divines, and most eminent camp chaplains, and charges them, on the authority of lord Clarendon and Echard, with publicly avowing, "That the soldiers, taken prisoners at Brentford, and liberated by the king upon their oaths never again to take up arms against him, were not obliged by that oath, having by their power absolved them from its obligation, and thereby engaged those miserable men in the guilt of a second rebellion." This, like the former, has all the appearance of a forgery, for the purpose of ruining the reputation of two men, of whom they seem to have been much afraid. Nothing, every body knows, could be more remote, from either the opinion or practice of puritans, than priestly absolution, to the power of which they renounced all claims, and abhorred the very idea; besides, the parliament's army at this time stood in no need of such a mean subterfuge. It must therefore have been forged for the purpose of calumny.

In 1644 he attended the commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. In 1645 he was chosen one of the committee of accommodation, to secure the peace of the church, and promote, as far as possible, the satisfaction of all parties. In the year

following, he was appointed, along with Mr Joseph Caryl, chaplain to the commissioners who were sent to the king at Newcastle, with the view of accommodating the matters in dispute. Removing thence, by easy journies, to Holmby-house, the two chaplains performed divine service there; but his majesty never attended. He spent his Lord's day in private; and though they waited at table, he would not so much as allow them to ask a blessing. The Oxford historian, who mentions this circumstance, relates the following anecdote: "It is said that Marshall, on one occasion, put himself more forward than was meet to say grace; but while he was long in forming his chops, as the manner was among the saints, and making ugly faces, the king said grace to himself, and had some part of his dinner eaten before Marshall had ended his blessing; but that Caryl was not so imprudent." In 1647, Mr Marshall was appointed, together with Mr Vines, Mr Caryl, and Dr. Seaman, to attend the treaty at the Isle of Wight, where he conducted himself with great ability and moderation. In 1654, when the parliament voted a toleration of all who professed to hold by the fundamentals of christianity, Mr Marshall was appointed one of the committee to draw up, and present to the House, a catalogue of these essential articles; and, about the same time, he was chosen one of the triers.

A writer, already quoted, who employs thirty quarto pages, the principal part of which is filled up with scurrilous abuse, says, among other things, "Because the church could not be destroyed without also destroying the king, who was more firmly wedded to her than Mr Marshall to his wife, or his first living, the king, his adherents, the church and her ministers, must therefore be all destroyed together: That Mr Marshall, by his thundering in every pulpit, and cursing every person who hesitated to rebel, by encouraging all whose villany prompted them to undertake that accursed work, assuring them of no small preferment in heaven who would hazard or lose their lives in this glorious cause, by his menaces and private incitements, his becoming drum-major or captain-general of the army, by his praying, from regiment to regiment, at the battle of Edgehill, and in many other ways, had greatly contributed to the ruin of the church, and the death of the king. His religion, continues this malicious and worthless biographer, consisted wholly in externals, in a Jewish observation of the Sabbath, in praying, preaching, fasting, and thanksgiving, under which specious appearances the mystery of iniquity lay hid." But notwithstanding the abuse he has received from these high church bigots, he has an excellent character from many public and highly creditable individuals. Mr Baxter, who knew

him well, calls him a sober and worthy man, and often observed, with regard to his moderation, "That if all the bishops were like Usher, the independents like Jeremiah Burroughs, and all the presbyterians like Stephen Marshall, the melancholy divisions of the church would have been easily accommodated."

Mr Marshall fell into a bad state of health, and was obliged to retire to the country for the benefit of the air; upon which the Oxford Mercury published to the world that he had gone distracted, and, in his rage, continually cried out, "That he was damned for his adhering to the parliament in their war against the king." Much in the same manner was Luther served by the bigoted devotees of Rome; and such has generally been the treatment of all active and leading reformers, ancient and modern. Cromwell was said to have made a literal compact with the devil, and to have signed the satanical compact with his own blood. Christ himself was denominated a drunkard, and in compact with Beelzebub the prince of devils; and thousands beside have been charged by their enemies with a death-bed repentance, for transactions in which they gloried with their expiring breath. Mr Marshall lived, however, to refute this ungenerous calumny, and to publish a treatise, wherein he maintains the lawfulness of defensive war against the government of a country in extreme cases. Upon his retiring from the city, he spent the two last years of his life at Ipswich; and his last words, according to Mr Petyt, were, "King Charles! King Charles!" testifying his horror and regret for the bloody confusion he had promoted. In opposition to this, Mr Firman, who knew him in life, and attended him in death, says, in a preface to one of Mr Marshall's Posthumous Sermons, "That he left behind him few preachers like himself: That he was a christian in practice as well as profession: That he lived by faith, and died in faith, and was to believers an example, in word, in conversation, in charity, faith, and purity." That when he, and several others, conversed with him about his death, he said, "I cannot say, with one, I have not so lived that I should now be afraid to die; but this I can say, I have so *learned Christ*, that I am not *afraid* to die." He enjoyed the full exercise of his understanding to the last; but for some months previous to his dissolution his appetite was sadly impaired, and he had lost the use of both his hands.

He was justly accounted an admirable preacher; but in order to rob him of this part of his character, Dr. Gray quotes several passages from his sermons preached upon public occasions; among which are the following: "Beloved, our days are better than they were seven years ago, because it is better to see the Lord executing judgment, than to see men working wickedness,

to behold people wallowing in their blood, rather than apostatizing from God, embracing idolatry, and banishing the Lord Christ from amongst men. Carry on the work still; leave not a rag belonging to popery; lay not a bit of the Lord's building with any thing belonging to antichrist; away with all of it, root and branch, head and tail—throw it out of the kingdom. Again, I could easily set before you a catalogue of mercies. You have all of you received many peculiar to your own persons, to your souls, your bodies, your estates, and families, privative mercies, positive mercies, you eat mercies, drink mercies, wear mercies, clothes, and are compassed about and covered with mercies, as the earth was by the waters of Noah." These sermons, of which this is a specimen, selected for the purpose of ridiculing the preacher, are so full of striking comparisons, and make so pointed an appeal to the hearers, that though they are not suited to the taste of modern eloquence, still it is easy to conceive how they might command the admiration of those times. The impartial and intelligent reader, it is presumed, will therefore be apt to consider the doctor rather unhappy in his quotations.

L'Estrange also endeavours to expose Mr Marshall to public contempt, on account of his sentiments delivered in his sermons before parliament. We give them in his own words, as transcribed from the printed copies. "Christ (says he) breaks and moulds commonwealths at his pleasure. He has not spoke much in his word how long they shall last, or what he intends to do with them; only this, that all kings and kingdoms that make war against the church shall be broken in pieces, and that in the end all the kingdoms of this world shall be the kingdoms of our Lord and his saints, and they shall reign over them. Did any parliament in England ever lay the cause of Christ and religion to heart as this hath done? Did ever the city of London, the rest of the tribes, and godly throughout the land, so willingly exhaust themselves that Christ might be exalted? Let all England cry, our blood, our poverty, the sacrifices we have made, and all the sufferings we have endured, are abundantly repaid in this, that there is such a general concurrence in the nation for setting the Lord Christ upon his throne, to be Lord and Christ over this our Israel," &c. Wood styles him a notorious independent, and the archflamen of the rebellious rout. The truth is, Mr Marshall never was an independent, but lived and died a presbyterian; and with regard to his rebellion, few, it is presumed, but such as hold the absurd and happily exploded doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, will deny him the honour of being a zealous patriot, and a courageous defender of both the civil and religious rights of

his countrymen. Fuller has him classed among the learned writers of Emanuel college, and says, "He was a minister well qualified for his work." Although some suspected he had deserted his presbyterian principles, he gave full satisfaction on his death-bed that it was not the case. He died in the month of November 1655, and was interred in Westminster Abbey with great funeral solemnity; but dug up, together with many others, at the restoration of Charles II.

Mr Marshall wrote with considerable ability against the baptists, and had many sermons published which were preached before parliament. The following are the titles of such as we have been able to collect: 1. A Sermon preached to the Commons at their public Fast, Nov. 17th, 1640.—2. A Peace-offering to God, preached to the Commons at their public Thanksgiving, Sept. 7th, 1641.—3. Meroz Cursed; a Sermon preached to the Commons at their solemn Fast, Feb. 23d, 1641.—4. Reformation and Desolation; a Sermon preached to the Commons at their Fast, Dec. 22d, 1642.—5. The Song of Moses, the servant of God, and of the Lamb, opened, in a Sermon before the Commons at their solemn Thanksgiving, June 15th, 1643.—6. A Copy of a Letter written by Mr Stephen Marshall to a friend in the city, for the necessary vindication of himself and his ministry, from the altogether groundless, most unjust, and ungodly aspersions cast upon him by certain malignants in the city, dated 1643.—7. A Sermon on the Baptism of Infants, preached in the Abbey church, Westminster, at the morning Lecture appointed by the House of Commons.—8. The Church's Lamentation for the Good Man's loss; a Sermon preached before both Houses of Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines, at the Funeral of John Pym, Esq. a late member of the House of Commons.—9. God's Master-piece; a Sermon tending to set forth God's glorious appearance in building up Zion, preached before the Peers.—10. The Strong Helper, or the interest and power of the prayers of the destitute for the building up of Zion; a Sermon preached before the Commons at their monthly Fast, April 30th, 1645.—11. A Sacred Record to be made of God's mercies to Zion; a thanksgiving Sermon, preached before both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, and common council of the city of London, at Christ's church, June 19th, 1645.—12. A Defence of Infant Baptism, in answer to two Treatises, with an Appendix.—13. A Divine Project to save a Kingdom.—14. A two-edged Sword to execute vengeance on the enemy and the avenger.—15. The right understanding of the Times, preached before the Commons, Dec. 30th, 1646.—16. A thanksgiving Sermon, preached in the Abbey church to both Houses, August 12th, 1647.—17. A Sermon preached to the

Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen of the city of London, at their anniversary Meeting, April 1652.—18. The Power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion vindicated, and the extent of his power determined, in a Sermon preached before the Parliament on a monthly Fast.

JOHN MAYNARD, A. M.

MR MAYNARD was born at Riverfield in Sussex. In 1616 he became a commoner of Queen's college, Oxford, compounded for the degree of bachelor of arts, as a member of that House, and afterwards translated himself to Magdalen-hall, in the same university. In 1622 he took the degree of master of arts, entered into the holy ministry, and was settled at Mayfield, in his own county. On the commencement of the civil war he espoused the cause of the parliament, and openly avowed his sentiments. In 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines, took the covenant, and preached occasionally before the members of parliament. In 1645 he was appointed one of the assistants to the commissioners of the county of Sussex, for removing improper ministers and school-masters. Mr Elias Paul d'Aranda was for some time his assistant, when Mr Maynard allowed him all the tythes, reserving to himself only the parson-house and glebe. He was ejected from Mayfield by the act of uniformity; after which he lived in the same town, and was highly respected. He was a considerable benefactor to Magdalen-hall, where he received part of his education. He recommended Mr Peck, his successor, to the patron, who preferred him to the living of Mayfield. He died June 7th, 1665, and, according to his own request, was interred in the church-yard of Mayfield, where a stone, with a long and honourable inscription, was placed over his grave, setting forth, that he was a divine of irreproachable manners, pious, learned, and of venerable gravity, well skilled in history, and an excellent public speaker: That he shone, during the space of forty years, the light and glory of his flock at Mayfield, till, weary of the world, and ripe for glory, he departed from this sickly scene of pain, sorrow, discord, and animosity, that he might join the church of the first-born, and Jesus the Mediator.

His writings are, 1. A Sermon to the Commons, from Prov. xxiii. 23.—2. A Shadow of the Victory of Christ.—3. The Young Man's Remembrancer, and Old Man's Monitor.—4. The Law of God ratified by the Gospel of Christ, in several Sermons.—5. The Beauty and Order of Creation displayed in six days work.

## MATTHEW NEWCOMEN, A. M.

MR NEWCOMEN had his education at St. John's college, Cambridge. Here he was greatly esteemed by the students for his wit and other curious parts; which being afterwards sanctified by the Spirit of truth, he became eminently serviceable to the cause of reformation. He succeeded the famous Mr John Rogers at Dedham. Their gifts were of a very different complexion. Mr Rogers was solid, grave, and severe, and delivered his discourses with such a peculiarity of gesture and elocution, that few heard him without trembling. He was truly one of the most awakening preachers of the age. Mr Newcomen's gifts were so diversified, that they lay almost every way. Dr. Collins, in his preface to Mr Fairfax's sermon, preached at his funeral, says, "That he had thirty years acquaintance of him, and in that time had been well acquainted with many learned and pious men; but never knew any that excelled Mr Newcomen as a minister in the pulpit, a disputant in the schools, or as a desirable companion. His gift in prayer was incomparable. He was a painful, pathetic, and persuasive preacher." In 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and gave regular attendance during the session. He was employed, together with Dr. Tuekney and Dr. Arrowsmith, in drawing up the assembly's catechism. He was engaged at this time also in preaching at Aldermanbury along with Mr Calamy. He was one of the commissioners sent to the Savoy conference, and had many offers of great preferment after his settlement at Dedham; all of which he declined accepting, and remained with his flock till ejected by the act of uniformity. Soon after this he was invited to take the pastoral charge of the English congregation at Leyden in Holland. He more readily accepted of this invitation, knowing that there he would have full liberty for exercising his ministry without any restraint; which privilege he prized above any thing on earth. He was greatly respected by Dr. Hornbeck, and other professors and learned men in those parts, with whom he associated with much friendship and familiarity. He died of an epidemic fever, that greatly prevailed in that city, in 1668 or 1669. He was an accomplished scholar, distinguished for universal learning, christian piety, humility, and pleasant conversation. Mr Baxter, in his own life, frequently mentions him, with much respect, as one of the ministers principally concerned in the transactions of those times.

His works are, 1. *Irenicum*.—2. A Sermon preached to the Commons, Nov. 5th, 1642.—3. A Sermon preached to both Houses, and the Assembly of Divines, July 7th, 1643.—4. A

Sermon tending to set forth the right improvement of the disasters of the army, preached before both Houses of Parliament at their extraordinary Fast, Sept. 12th, 1644.—5. The all-seeing unseen Eye of God; a Sermon to the Commons, Dec. 30th, 1646.—6. The duty of such as would walk worthy of the gospel.—7. A Sermon at the Funeral of Mr Samuel Collins, pastor of Braintree in Essex.—8. A farewell Sermon in the London Collection.—9. Another Sermon in the Country Collection, entitled, *Ultimum Vale*, or the last farewell of a minister of the gospel to his beloved people.—10. The best acquaintance, and highest honour of christians, acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace, &c.

---

### PHILIP NYE, A. M.

MR NYE was born in Sussex in the year 1596. He entered a commoner of Brazen-nose college, Oxford, in July 1615; but soon after removed to Magdalen-hall, in the same university, where, having been put under the care of a puritanical tutor, he applied himself to his studies with uncommon diligence. Having taken his degrees in the arts, he entered into holy orders, and preached some time at Michael's church in Cornhill, London. Upon the death of Abbot, Laud became archbishop of Canterbury, and commenced a still more intolerable persecution against the puritan divines; many of whom were silenced, some of them had their lectures put down, the most eminent for abilities, learning, and faithfulness, were driven from one place to another, and many of them forced to leave the kingdom. Mr Nye, and several others, about this time, that they might escape the fury of the storm that raged around them, fled into Holland; where they were free from the inquisitorial power of the episcopalian courts, and the innovations which they were rigidly imposing on the English clergy, things with which Mr Nye was peculiarly ill pleased. Wood says, "That during his residence in Holland, he chiefly dwelt at Arnheim in Guelderland."

About the beginning of the long parliament he returned to England, and, through the favour of the earl of Manchester, became minister of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. In 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and had the rectory of Acton, near London, conferred upon him. He was an active leader of the independents, and, accordingly, one of the dissenting brethren in that assembly. "When it came to his turn to oppose presbyterian government (says Mr Baillie), he had drawn up an argument from the xviii. of Matthew; but could never bring it into a syllogism to prove the inconsistency

of presbytery with a civil government." In this he was cried down by the members as impertinent. On the day following, however, when he saw the assembly full of the prime nobles, and the chief members of both Houses, he again introduced the same argument, and boldly offered to demonstrate, "That to draw a whole kingdom under one national assembly, such as had been done in Scotland, would be formidable, yea, thrice pernicious to any state or kingdom." Here he was cried down by all, and some members were for having him expelled the assembly as seditious. Mr Henderson, in particular, asserted, "That his speech was not merely opposed to the presbyterian mode of government, as established in Scotland and elsewhere, but that it also went to calumniate the government of all the reformed churches; and that it was with the same, or with similar arguments, that Lucian and the pagan orators were wont to alarm and stir up princes and statesmen against the christian religion in the early ages of the christian church." The assembly voted him out of order, which was their highest censure. The Scotch commissioners had several consultations how to act on the occasion, and at last came to the resolution not to meet with Mr Nye unless he acknowledged his fault. The independents, on the other hand, would not meet without him, and he tenaciously adhered to what he had advanced; at last the Scotch commissioners were entreated by their friends to pass it over in the best way they could, that the business of the assembly might not be interrupted. This affair, however, produced a happy result, inasmuch as Mr Nye was ever after one of the most accommodating individuals in the assembly\*."

Mr Nye and Mr Stephen Marshall were sent with the commissioners from the English parliament to Scotland, to settle an agreement with the Scotch nation, and solicit their aid in the common cause of civil and religious liberty. Mr Hume, in his History of England, says, "That Marshall and Nye were two clergymen of signal authority." Nye was extremely zealous and active in recommending the solemn league and covenant. He delivered an excellent speech to the House of Commons, and the assembly of divines, at St. Margaret's church, Westminster, immediately before their subscribing said covenant, on the 25th Sept. 1643. This speech was published by special order of the House, and has been often printed since that time. He was also one of the chaplains appointed by parliament to attend their commissioners to treat with the king in the Isle of Wight, in 1647. In 1653 he was chosen one of the triers; and in 1654, when parliament voted a toleration to all who professed to hold the fundamentals of christianity, he was

\* Baillie's Letters.

appointed one of a committee to draw up said fundamental articles for the consideration of the House. He was likewise constituted an assistant to the London commissioners for ejecting improper clergymen and school-masters. He was, moreover, a leading man in the Savoy meeting of independents, held by order of Oliver Cromwell the protector, where the declaration of the faith, order, and practice, of the congregational churches in England, were agreed upon by their elders and commissioners, October 12th, 1658. This declaration was published in 1659, and translated in 1660, by professor Hornbeck, and published at the end of his *Epistola ad aurem Independentissimi*.

Mr Nye was thoroughly acquainted with the disciplinarian controversy, as appears from a small publication of his, entitled *Beams of former Light*; wherein he makes it evident, that he had read almost all that had been published on that subject. Some short time after the restoration, an order of parliament passed for Mr Nye to lodge all his papers with the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, where it is said they remained a considerable time. Mr Nye was a deep politician. He had been peculiarly active in forwarding the reformation, and had proceeded with a high hand against the interest of the king. It was therefore debated in council, for several hours, whether the royal clemency ought to be extended to such a formidable antagonist. The result of the debate was, "That if Philip Nye, after the 1st of September next to come, should accept of, or exercise any office, ecclesiastic, civil, or military, he should, to all intents and purposes in law, stand as if he had been totally excepted from his majesty's mercy." He was ejected from Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange, London, and lived privately afterwards, preaching to a congregation of independents as opportunity offered. He died in the parish of Michael Cornhill, or near it, in September 1672, when about seventy-six years of age, and his remains were interred in Michael's church.

Mr Nye left behind him the character of a man of uncommon depth of penetration, and of one who had seldom, if ever, been out-reached. Mr Calamy says, "He had a manuscript history of all the old puritans fit for the press, which was unfortunately burnt at Alderman Clarkson's by the great fire of London.

His works are, 1. A Letter from Scotland to his brethren in England, concerning the success of affairs in that Nation.—2. An Exhortation to the taking of the solemn League and Covenant for the Reformation and Defence of Religion.—3. The Excellency and lawfulness of the Solemn League and Covenant, in a speech to the Members of the House of Commons, and of the Assembly of Divines, on the 25th of September 1643, published with a collection of Sermons and Speeches delivered at

taking the Covenant.—4. An Apologetical Narration, submitted to the Honourable Houses of Parliament. Mr Nye was assisted in this by Thomas Goodwin and others.—5. An Epistolary Discourse upon Toleration. Thomas Goodwin and Samuel Hartlip are joined with him in this Discourse.—6. The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the power thereof according to the word of God. Mr Wood says, "That Thomas Goodwin had also a hand in this work."—7. Mr Anthony Sadler Examined.—8. The Principles of Faith, presented by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye to the Committee of Parliament for Religion, by way of explanation to the proposals for propagating the gospel.—9. Beams of former light.—10. Case of great and present use.—11. The Lawfulness of the Oath of Supremacy, and power of the King in matters Ecclesiastic, with Queen Elizabeth's Admonition.—12. A Vindication of Dissenters, proving that their particular congregations are not inconsistent with the king's supremacy in ecclesiastic affairs.—13. Some Account of the nature, constitution, and power of Ecclesiastic Courts.—14. The lawfulness of hearing the ministers of the church of England; also a Sermon preached to the Citizens of London on the election of their Lord Mayor, Sept. 29th, 1659.

---

#### WILLIAM REYNER, B. D.

THIS pious puritan divine had his education at Cambridge. In his younger days he was very successful in his ministry amongst the gentry. He was offered the presidentship of Magdalen college, Oxford; but declined accepting the generous offer, though his living was not worth more than sixty pounds yearly, because he had always preached against pluralities, and was determined to act according to his judgment. He was accounted learned and pious, and accordingly chosen one of the assembly of divines, where he gave a constant attendance. He was minister of Egham, in the county of Surrey, near London, about forty-six years, and ejected from that place by the act of uniformity. Thus, though deprived of his benefice, and destitute of any apparent means of support, Mr Reyner was never in want; but lived cheerfully among his parishioners, who revered him as a father, and greatly lamented his death, which took place in 1666, and left the world with the reputation of a good man and a faithful minister, possessed of general learning, and eminently acquainted with church history. He was intimate with, and much respected by, archbishop Usher. Mr Richard Wavel was sent to live with Mr Reyner, and study theology under him, after having left the university of Oxford, and was in some manner his helper ever after, till ejected as above.

Mr Reyner wrote Babylon's ruining Earthquake, and the Restoration of Zion; a Sermon from Hag. ii. 7. preached before the House of Commons; which, according to Calamy, is all that he ever published.

---

### HERBERT PALMER, B. D.

THIS laborious minister of Christ was born at Wingham, in the county of Kent, the 29th March 1601. He was descended from an ancient and respectable family, related to several other notable families both of the gentry and nobility. His father was Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham, and his mother the eldest daughter of Herbert Pelham of Sussex, Esq. Young Palmer, the subject of our present memoir, had a polite and religious education in his younger years at his father's house, where he exhibited early symptoms of no ordinary genius. His mind was early impressed with religious feelings, and when about four years of age, he used to put remarkable questions to his mother about God and the world to come. His parents were careful to give him an early view of the christian system, and at the same time to improve his mind, by instructing him in the rudiments of literature. In these laudable endeavours they were remarkably successful, for their young pupil had learned the French language as soon as he could well speak; and from a child he was acquainted with the holy scriptures, which he daily read; and by committing portions of them to memory, he soon acquired such an accurate knowledge of the sacred writings, as proved of excellent service when he became a preacher of the gospel. When his parents asked what course he was inclined to pursue in the world, Whether he would choose to be a lawyer, a courtier, or a country gentleman? his answer was, "That he wished, above all things, to be a minister." Some of his friends, in order to sound him effectually, seemed to dissuade him, by telling him that preaching was too mean an employment for a gentleman, and that the ministers of Christ were generally despised, hated, and often persecuted. "It is no matter for that (said he), if the world hate me, God will love me."

After being well instructed in the elementary parts of learning, he was admitted fellow-commoner in St. John's college, Cambridge, in the year 1615, when about fourteen years of age. Here he prosecuted his studies with all diligence, and continued to serve the Lord with undiminished fervour of spirit. In 1622 he took his degree of arts, and, in the following year, was chosen fellow of Queen's college, in the same university. Being a gentleman by birth, and having, beside his fellowship, an

estate of his own, he had very probably more than sufficient for his maintenance; yet he cheerfully undertook the charge of many scholars, as this charge was considered a part of his office. While thus employed in Queen's college, Mr Palmer was called, and solemnly ordained, a minister of the gospel; a work to which, from his childhood, he had been entirely devoted. Blessed with the knowledge of Christ, and the power of divine grace in his own soul, he possessed a liberal portion of ministerial qualifications, and an ardent desire to be serviceable to the souls of men.

On visiting his brother, Sir Thomas Palmer, at Wingham, he was solicited by some friends to preach a sermon at the cathedral church of Canterbury; which proved highly acceptable to the audience, particularly those who were seriously religious. The report of this induced the French minister at Canterbury to court his acquaintance, who accordingly paid him a visit; which was highly pleasing to both, and laid the foundation of a profitable and lasting friendship. This French minister, Mr Deline, requested him to give them another sermon at Canterbury; which he did, greatly to the satisfaction of the people, who now began to express an earnest desire that Mr Palmer's ministry might be continued amongst them. At length having obtained the object of their desire, they received him with every demonstration of joy and gratitude. At a lecture kept up here, Mr Palmer preached on the afternoon of every Sabbath to crowded assemblies. His discourses were heavenly, plain, and practical. He discharged the duties of his office with all diligence and godly sincerity, and his zeal for the purity of divine institutions was manifested by his opposition to the corrupt innovations that were now coming in like a flood. At this time, however, he had not that clear view which he afterwards obtained concerning some of the ceremonies, or the inordinate and unscriptural power of the bishops; but he was zealous according to knowledge, and fortified his hearers against the pernicious influence of the increasing abominations daily imposing on the church. He visited his flock, even of the lowest rank, as often as possible; and by his instructions and pious admonitions, greatly contributed to a reformation of manners in that city. At the request of the elders of the French congregation in this place, he preached twice at some of their solemn occasions in their own language, which he could speak with great fluency. An aged French lady, on one of these occasions, observing his small stature, and child-like appearance on entering the pulpit, said, "Alas! what can this child say to us?" But on hearing him pray, and proceed with his sermon, she held up her hands in amazement, and blessed God for what she had heard.

Mr Palmer's success in this place was great; but not without great opposition. His piety, zeal, and faithfulness, raised him enemies, particularly among the cathedralists. His high birth and powerful friends partly intimidated them; but some of their leaders ventured to exhibit articles against him, and though the goodness of his cause, and the solidity of his defence, brought him off for this time, his lecture was afterwards put down, with the rest of the afternoon sermons. By the interference of some persons of powerful influence he was restored for some time; but removed from Canterbury at last. In the meantime, his friends at court employed all their influence to have him made a prebendary at Canterbury; but were not successful, for which he afterwards blessed God. He saw that by this disappointment he had been mercifully delivered from many temptations; as Laud, the succeeding archbishop, made use of that company as his tools for introducing and promoting superstition.

Mr Palmer removed to Ashwell, in Hertfordshire, in the year 1632. He was presented to the vicarage of that place by Laud himself, who, in his defence before the House of Peers, insisted on this as a proof of his impartiality. Here, as formerly, he was indefatigably laborious. He had a just view of the importance and responsibility of the pastoral office, and his great concern was to feed the church of God which he had purchased with his own blood. He preached twice every Lord's day, and frequently on other occasions, as he had opportunity. In visiting the sick, or those under other heavy afflictions, he availed himself of their situation, when the Lord had thus softened their hearts, and opened their ears to receive instruction, to lay before them the sources of comfort, consolation, and good hope through grace. From the same principle he was favourable to funeral sermons, conceiving that the minds of men, especially those nearly concerned, might be advantageously impressed on such occasions, by exhibiting suitable views of death and the world to come.

He catechised the people of his charge both publicly and in private, and for their help composed and published a catechism, which was highly approved. In order the more effectually to suppress the evils which prevailed amongst his parishioners, he engaged some of their most respectable characters to unite their influence and endeavours with his own. Hence profane swearing, Sabbath profanation, drunkenness, whoredom, quarrelling, and other vices, were rendered odious, and in process of time greatly diminished.

Mr Palmer was remarkable for his charity on all proper occasions, but more especially in furnishing the poor, who could read, with bibles, and in supplying those who could not with

money to enable and encourage them to learn. The order of his family was highly worthy of imitation by all real christians and christian ministers. His house was, in reality, a school of religion, where the best instruction, and the best example, were always enjoyed. He was careful that none should be admitted into his family who were not at least willing to be instructed in the ways of God. He maintained family-worship twice every day, and all the inmates were obliged to attend, and catechised his family twice every week.

In 1632 he was chosen one of the preachers to the university of Cambridge; and having proceeded bachelor of divinity about two years before, he was thus authorized to preach, as he should have occasion, in any part of the kingdom of England. In 1640, Mr Palmer, and the celebrated Dr. Tuckney, were chosen clerks for the convocation of the diocese of Lincoln; and being eminently distinguished for his learning and piety, he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines in 1643, and afterwards one of their assessors; in both of which capacities he conducted himself with the utmost prudence and propriety. His talents were truly excellent. He had a quick apprehension, a steady judgment, a tenacious memory, and a ready elocution. In their debates, either on doctrine or discipline, or when an accurate statement of the question was wanted, Mr Palmer was one of the first to find the genuine sense of scripture respecting either. He was for a presbyterian form of church government; the principles of which he well understood, and knew how to defend. He was a powerful instrument in promoting that form of church government, opposed as it then was by so many very learned and able independent divines. It was some time, however, before he could be brought to acquiesce in the divine right of ruling elders; but by the learned debates on that subject, and especially by the authority of 1 Cor. xii. 28. where government is attributed to a distinct rank of officers who are set forth as inferior to teachers; and of 1 Tim. v. 17. which implies, that there are other elders who rule well, besides those who labour in word and doctrine, he was induced to acquiesce.

On being called up to the assembly of divines, Mr Palmer was obliged to leave his ordinary residence at Ashwell, and could only make some occasional visits to that place; but resolved to employ all his time and talents in the work of the gospel. He preached wherever desired in the London churches, but determined, in his own mind, to accept of the first invitation to a place, where he might have the constant exercise of his ministry; and being soon after invited to Duke's-place, London, he readily accepted, although the support was small. But afterwards having received a very pressing invitation to become

pastor at Newchurch, Westminster, he removed thither, and was the first pastor of that church. In each of these situations he was greatly esteemed, and his preaching, expounding, catechising, and other ministerial labours, as formerly, were most abundant. He was one of those divines, who, by appointment of parliament, carried on the morning lecture at the Abbey church, Westminster. It was always considered wonderful, how a man, of such a weakly constitution, could perform so much work. He frequently spoke in public for the space of six or eight hours on the Sabbath-day, besides his weekly duties, which were also numerous. When his friends advised him to spare himself, hinting that his labours were above the strength of his constitution, he replied, "That his strength would spend of itself though he did nothing, and that it could not be better spent than in the service of him in whom he lived, moved, acted, and existed." In 1644 he was constituted master of Queen's college, Cambridge, by the earl of Manchester, who, by an ordinance of parliament, was appointed to reform that university. He succeeded Dr. Edward Martin, who was one of Laud's chaplains, and a man of high church principles. Under the guidance of this new master, the Queen's college flourished to the astonishment of all. He was careful that none should be admitted to a scholarship or a fellowship who were not both learned and religious; and that the whole society should attend the public worship of God, and strictly observe the Lord's day. The young scholars and college servants he also instructed in the principles of religion. The sermons in the chapel, which were formerly used only in term-time, he caused to be continued weekly throughout the year; and when present in the college, he frequently preached himself, or expounded some part of the holy scriptures. He endeavoured, by all means, to have the college library furnished with good authors; for which he readily gave himself, and excited others to give considerable sums. Moreover, certain dues, payable to the college, which had been formerly expended in feasting, he converted to the purchase of valuable books for the library. While in this place, he bestowed a large proportion of his income upon the yearly maintenance of poor scholars. He bestowed favours on merit only; and what he promised, he never failed to perform. His exertions, in reforming and improving his college, were so successful, and met with such unqualified approbation, that it is doubtful if ever the head of any society was taken from them with more general sorrow and regret. In 1645 he was appointed one of the committee of accommodation.

Mr Palmer was a most consistent and conscientious non-conformist. In matters where his own interest was merely at stake,

few men were more ready to deny themselves; but wherever the interest of religion, the honour of God, and the salvation of men, were concerned, he was constant and immoveable; and when called to preach at the bishop of Lincoln's visitation, he spoke against the existing corruptions of the church with the greatest freedom, though well aware of the hazardous consequences. When the Book of Sports, bowing to the altar, reading part of the service in the chancel, and other superstitious innovations were imposed, he resolved to lose all rather than offend God by encouraging such profanity and superstition. He was a constant and vigorous opposer of the unhallowed oath of canonical obedience; yet the prelates seem to have been less severe to him than to many others. Being highly reputed for learning and piety, Mr Palmer was often called to preach before parliament; for which he has incurred the displeasure of some high-principled historians. One of these bitter enemies of all religious freedom, with the design of ridiculing our author, has transcribed the following passage from one of his dedications, addressed to the earl of Essex, then general of the parliament's army: "God hath put you in his own place. God has graced you with his own name. Lord of hosts, general of armies. God hath committed to your care what is most precious to himself, his precious gospel, his precious ordinances, a precious parliament, and a precious people. God hath called forth your excellency as a choice worthy to be a general, and the champion of Jesus Christ to fight his great and last battle with antichrist in this your native kingdom\*." The candid and intelligent reader, who chooses to contrast the above quotation with the pompous epithets applied to royalty; such as the sacred Majesty of the Sovereign vicegerent of God, with abundance of other appellations equally ridiculous, will easily perceive where the jest lies.

Mr Palmer was a man of great temperance. He drank no strong drink, and wine only when his health rendered it necessary. He would eat only of one dish, nor that of the most delicate; and so parsimonious was he of time, that he scarcely used any other recreation than to refresh himself with the christian conversation of his friends. His last sickness was but short. His constitution was delicate from the beginning, and now his strength was nearly spent. When his friends recommended him to cast the burden of his pains and sickness on the Lord, he said, "I should act very unworthily indeed were I to reject the remedy I have so often and so earnestly recommended to others." He was much engaged in prayer for the nation, the church of God, and all with whom connected, either as

\* L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part xi. p. 56.

men or christians; and having lived a devoted servant of God in the gospel of his Son, so he died full of inward peace and comfort, in the lively exercise of faith, patience, and submission to the will of his heavenly Father, in the year 1647, aged forty-six years. His remains were interred in New church, Westminster.

Mr Clark says, "He was remarkable for humility, meekness, faith, and patience; that he possessed a quick apprehension, a sound judgment, a strong memory, and a happy elocution, and that he was almost unbounded in acts of liberality, a strict observer of the Sabbath, and the religious order of his family." Granger styles him a man of uncommon learning, generosity, and politeness, and says, "That he had a most excellent character, was a lover of peace, and could speak the French language as fluently as his mother tongue."

His works are, 1. The Principles of Religion made plain and easy.—2. Of making Religion one's business. This last was afterwards published with several other pieces, and entitled, Memorials of Godliness and Christianity; the 13th edition of which was published in 1708.—3. The necessity and encouragement for utmost venturing for the Church's help; a Sermon preached to the Commons, 28th June 1643.—4. The Glass of God's Providence towards his faithful ones; a Sermon preached to the Houses of Parliament, at Margaret's, Westminster, August 13th, 1644.—5. *Vindiciæ Sabbathæ*, assisted by Mr Daniel Cawdrey.—6. Scripture and Reason pleaded for Defensive arms—assisted by others.

---

#### ANDREW PERNE, A. M.

THIS worthy man was born in 1596; and having been fellow of Katherine-hall, Cambridge, it is probable he had his education in that university. Having finished his studies, he became rector of Wilby in Northamptonshire, where he continued a faithful and successful preacher for twenty-seven years. In 1643 Mr Perne was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and constantly attended during the whole session. He preached often before parliament, and several of his sermons were published, one of which is entitled, *Gospel Courage*. Being called up to London, he soon obtained great celebrity, and had the offer of considerable preferments; which he declined accepting, having resolved to return to his beloved people at Wilby so soon as the business of the assembly was finished. He returned accordingly, and by his awakening sermons, and exemplary life, was instrumental in effecting a most desirable reformation amongst his people, who revered and loved him as a father. "He was full of spiritual warmth (says Mr Ainsworth), filled

with an holy indignation against sin, active in his work, and never more in his element than when in the pulpit. His life was a transcript of the doctrine he taught to others, and his latter end was peace. He blessed God that he was not afraid to die; nay, he even desired to depart, and often cried out, during his last sickness, ‘When will that desirable hour arrive? One assault more, said he, and this shattered earthen vessel goes to pieces, and then shall I be with God.’” He died, December 13th, 1654, aged about sixty years. Mr Ainsworth preached his funeral sermon, and his remains were interred in the chancel of Wilby church, where, at the foot of the altar, the following monumental inscription was erected to his memory :

“Here lies interred Mr Andrew Perne, a faithful servant of Jesus Christ, a zealous owner of God’s cause in perilous times, a powerful and successful preacher of the gospel, and a great blessing to this town and country, where he lived twenty-seven years.”—He has a place in Burnham’s Pious Memorials, and also in the Lives of the Puritans.

#### BENJAMIN PICKERING.

MR PICKERING, when chosen a member of the assembly of divines, as appears by the ordinance of parliament for calling that assembly, was minister of East-Hoathley. The year following, however, it appears, from the title-page of one of his sermons, which he preached at that time before the House of Commons, that he was *then* minister of God’s word at Buckstead in Sussex. The sermon alluded to was preached from Zech. iii. 2. and entitled, A Fire-brand pluckt out of the Burning. In the dedicatory epistle addressed to the House of Commons, and prefixed to this sermon, he exhorts the honourable senators to fan the fire of their zeal for the house of our God, to establish his ordinances and worship in purity, without the unhallowed mixture of heresy and superstition: Not to delay to set up a faithful ministry in the church, and establish justice and judgment in the gates; and so to conduct the great work of reformation committed to their management, that glory may yet dwell in our land, and that mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, may meet and mutually embrace each other. “The Jewish builders (says he) were surrounded with as many and great difficulties, and as many discouraging circumstances in the prosecution of their reformation, and the rebuilding of their desolate temple, as ourselves. They were engaged in a great undertaking. Their enemies, like ours, were numerous and powerful, they were also crafty and near at hand; while the king’s power and authority, in place of affording them protec-

tion and encouragement, were exercised in prohibiting the whole course of their procedure, and that under the pains of treason and rebellion; yet this did not damp their courage, they went on and prospered. God, in a strange and unexpected course of providence, removed the impediments that stood in their way, and led them, step by step, to a triumph, not by their own might, power, or policy, but by the Spirit of the Lord of hosts. Consider, ye worthies, that you are now engaged in a work, than which the sun never shone on one of greater magnitude and importance—a work which will require all your energy, and the exercise of all your wisdom. Were you now to grow cool, and careless, and lukewarm, in this interesting concern, ye would thereby undo all that has hitherto been effected. You have done much towards pulling down the tyrannical hierarchy of Rome; you have begun, and prosecuted, with surprising success, a glorious reformation; you have suffered much as a parliament; you have hazarded your persons, your estates, and your families; you have suffered much contradiction, and many reproaches, from your enemies; but you have also had many grateful acknowledgments from yours, and the friends of religion, both in city and country. Lose not, then, such enviable acquisitions, by relaxing your zeal in so worthy and so glorious an enterprize. Up and be doing, otherwise you may yet be exposed to the cruel mockings of men, who look, and long, and sigh for the flattening of your spirits in this momentous undertaking. Oh! how would those of Gath and Askelon, the blind devotees of Rome, laugh, jeer, and rejoice over us, were this the unhappy result of so many sacrifices, and so many triumphs. We have made our boast in God, let not therefore our confident boasting make us ashamed; but labour to secure the purity of the faith, with freedom, peace, and prosperity to our rising offspring, who must otherwise sink into a debasing slavery, and lose themselves in the intricate mazes of a bewildering superstition. Consider, for your encouragement, that antichrist's day is approaching, her end is near. Babylon must be destroyed, therefore faint not, nor grow weary in well-doing; for in due time the cheering voice shall ring from island to continent, Babylon the great is fallen—is fallen, and shall rise no more. You have given her a deadly blow already; follow up your advantage; give her wounds no time to heal. The beast roars, struggles, and bestirs herself, gapes for breath, seems to collect her spirits, and resume her courage; but it is only the expiring flash, the *naturæ ultimus conatus*, which we call a lightning before death. Now, therefore, is the time for animated and united exertion, in order to make a full end of the whore who has so long corrupted the world by the filthiness of her fornication."

## EDWARD REYNOLDS, D. D.

THIS eminent divine was born at Southampton, a sea-port in Hampshire, November 1593. He was educated at the free school of the same town; and in 1615 became postmaster of Merton college, Oxford, and probationer fellow in 1620; which place he obtained by his superior knowledge of the Greek language. Here he was greatly distinguished as a disputant, and his oratorical powers were considered of the first order. After taking his degrees in arts, he entered into the ministry, and became one of the first pulpit-men of the age. He was for some time preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, and rector of Branton in Northamptonshire. In 1642, when the civil war broke out, he espoused the cause of parliament, having been a puritan in opinion long before this period. He was chosen one of the assembly of divines in 1643, and afterwards appointed one of the committee for examining and approving of such ministers as petitioned for sequestrated livings. In 1645 he was chosen a member of the committee of accommodation. He took the covenant, was frequently employed in preaching in London, and some times before parliament, by whom he was appointed one of the six ministers for preaching the scholars at Oxford into obedience. Some time after this he was chosen one of the visitors to that university; where, in 1648, he was made dean of Christ church, and vice-chancellor of the university; about which time he took his degrees in divinity. He held both his places till the latter end of 1650, when he was ejected from his deanery for refusing the engagement. After this he lived for the most part in London, and was for some time minister of Laurence-jewry. He was greatly esteemed by the people, especially the Calvinists, who considered him, as Wood informs us, the oracle and glory of the presbyterian party; but having been long dissatisfied with Cromwell's government, he used his powerful interest among the citizens for the purpose of promoting general Monk's plan for restoring the king.

When the secluded members of parliament were restored, the doctor was reinstated in his deanery of Christ church, on the 11th of March 1659; and on the 26th of May 1660, he and Mr Edward Calamy were appointed chaplains to his majesty, who at this time was waiting at Canterbury for his restoration. After this he preached several times before the king and both Houses of Parliament; and, in the end of June, being desired to give up his deanery, he was elected, by virtue of the king's letter, warden of Merton college, Oxford. The doctor, about this time, conformed to the established ritual, and was accordingly consecrated bishop of Norwich, on the 6th of January fol-

lowing. Thus, after having taken the covenant, and preached down episcopacy and the ceremonies of the church of England, Dr. Reynolds was consecrated, with all these ceremonies, in Peter's church, Westminster. "But (says Wood) it was thought by his contemporaries, that he would never have condescended to a conformity, but for the importunity of a covetous and politic consort. Be this as it may, the darling of the presbyterians became the bishop of Norwich. The times were changed, all hopes of preferment on the other side had vanished, and though several divines also changed, the only wonder is, that their number was so small."

According to Wood, Dr. Reynolds was a man of considerable wit, excellent fancy, and sound judgment, a great divine, and highly esteemed by all parties for his preaching and flowery style. Another respectable individual, who must have been well acquainted with him, says, "He was a man of singular affability and meekness, of great learning, a frequent and much admired preacher, and a constant resident." Mr Neal, moreover, tells us, "That he was reckoned one of the most eloquent pulpit-men in his time, and a good old puritan, who never troubled himself about the politics of the court."

His writings are, 1. The Vanity of the Creature.—2. The Sinfulness of Sin.—3. The fellowship of the Saints with Christ, in his life, sufferings, resurrection, and glory.—4. Meditations on the Holy Sacrament.—5. Israel's Prayer in the time of trouble, with God's gracious answer; in seven Sermons on as many days of fasting and humiliation.—6. A Treatise on the Passions and the Faculties of the Soul of Man. Thirty of his Sermons, preached from 1644 till his death, were published together in the second impression of his works.—7. The English Annotations on Ecclesiastes, which have been much admired, are from his pen.—He is also said to have been the author of the Humble Proposal respecting the engagement, and probably of many things beside. His works were, and are still, much admired by many. He is extremely happy in his similitudes.

---

#### HENRY SCUDDER, B. D.

THIS pious and practical puritan divine received his education in Christ college, Cambridge, and afterwards became minister at Drayton in Oxfordshire; where his exemplary life, his ministerial labours, prudence, and pastoral care, procured him an excellent reputation. He was afterwards removed to Collingburn Dukes in Wiltshire; and, in 1643, he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines. He was most eminently distinguished as author of an excellent work, entitled, The Christian's Daily Walk. This book contains familiar directions

how we ought to walk with God through the whole course of our lives. It has passed through many impressions, and is in great estimation amongst pious christians in the present day. Dr. Owen and Mr Richard Baxter have both prefixed their warmest recommendations to the work. Dr. Owen says, "It is now more than thirty years since I first perused the ensuing treatise; and though, till the present occasion, I have neither read, nor, to my knowledge, have I seen it since, yet the impression it left upon me, in the days of my youth, has, to say no more, hitherto continued to keep up the grateful remembrance of it on my heart. Being desired to give some testimony of its worth and utility to this new edition, I consider myself under an obligation to do so, from the benefit I myself have received from a perusal; and having again read it over with a more close and critical consideration, I shall only acquaint the reader, that I am so far from making any abatement in my former estimation of the work, that my respect for, and valuation of its worth, is greatly increased. There is generally that soundness and gravity in the whole doctrine, that weight of wisdom in the directions given for practice, that judgment in the resolving of doubts and objections, that breathing of a spirit of holiness, zeal, humility, and the fear of God, in the whole work, that I judge, and I am satisfied, that it will be found of singular use to all such as desire sincerely to comply with the author's design."

Mr Baxter says, "I have no recollection of any book, written for the daily companion of christians, to guide them in the practice of a holy life, which I would prefer to this. I am sure none of my own. For so sound is the doctrine of this book, so prudent, spiritual, apt, and savoury, and all so well suited to our ordinary cases and conditions, that I heartily wish no family were without a copy. Many a good and useful volume is now in the hands of religious people, which I would much rather were unknown than this; and I think it more serviceable to the souls of men to call them to the notice and use of this, and bring such old and excellent writings out of obscurity and oblivion, than to encourage very many who over-value their own, and promote the multiplication of things common and undigested." This work was so much esteemed, that it has been translated into high Dutch by Theodore Haak, who translated the Dutch Annotations into English, and is said to have first projected the plan of the Royal Society in London. Mr Scudder likewise wrote the Life of Mr William Whately, and God's Warning to England by the Voice of his Rod; a Sermon preached from Micah vi. 9. before the House of Commons, October 30th, 1644.

## LAZARUS SEAMAN.

MR SEAMAN was born in Leicester, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge; but coming to the college in mean circumstances, he was soon obliged to leave it, and teach in a school for his subsistence. Dr. Calamy says, "His learning sprung from himself. He applied so closely to his studies, that he made great proficiency in different branches of learning." He was for some time chaplain to the earl of Northumberland. He procured the lecture at St. Martin's, Ludgate, by a sermon he preached at that place; and by his remarkable talents and industry, he soon gained a splendid reputation, both in the religious and learned world. In 1642 he was presented to Bread Street parish by bishop Laud, in consequence of an order of parliament for that purpose.

In 1643 Mr Seaman was chosen one of the assembly of divines. He was a very active member, and eminently skilful in the management of theological disputes. Few, or none, could so readily decide a dark and doubtful controversy. In 1644 he was constituted master of Peter-house, in the university of Cambridge, by the earl of Manchester, after having been examined and approved by the assembly of divines. In this public situation he discovered his great abilities, learning, and usefulness, acquitted himself with honour and propriety, and acquired uncommon celebrity. He took his degree of doctor in divinity, by performing the exercises appointed in the statutes of the university, and did not obtain it by the favour of majesty, nor procure it by money, as many have done. He was an excellent casuist, a clear and judicious expositor of the holy scriptures, and a powerfully moving preacher. In his latter days he studied chiefly the prophetic writings, and wrote notes on the Revelations, which he presented to lord Warton; but it does not appear that they were ever printed. He lost all his places at the restoration, being ejected by the act of uniformity; after which he lived chiefly in Warwick-court, London, and died a non-conformist, about the 9th of September 1675, "much lamented (Wood says) by the brethren, in regard he was a learned man." The patience he exercised under the most acute pains, during his last sickness, was truly admirable. In the midst of his tortures he admired the free grace, mercy, and loving-kindness of God, and extolled his glorious sovereignty, who is just in all his ways, and holy in all his works. Mr William Jenkyn, who was intimately acquainted with him, and who, at his request, preached his funeral sermon, says, "He was a man of the most deep and piercing judgment in all points of controversial divinity—I had almost said, an invincible dis-

putant; for his conquests were as numerous as the controversies in which he had been engaged with the enemies of the truth. So conspicuous, indeed, were his abilities in this respect, that he sometimes disheartened his antagonists on their very entrance into the lists of disputation. At the request of an honourable lady, the head of a noble family, who had been often solicited by the popish clergy to change her religion, and become a Roman catholic, Mr Seaman engaged two of the ablest priests they could select, in a dispute on transubstantiation, in the presence, and for the satisfaction, of both heads of the family. But the crafty priests, finding they had to deal with a man of ability, shamefully deserted the field, without daring either to give or take the stroke of a formed syllogism; while those persons, who were popishly inclined, stood amazed and ashamed of their champions. I may truly say of Dr. Seaman, continues he, that he was an ocean of theology, and that he had so thoroughly digested the whole body of divinity, that he could, on any occasion, discourse upon any point of christianity without labour. He was strongly attached to the truth, and ready, on all proper occasions, to appear in its defence. He was deeply and tenderly affected with the state of the church of Christ, ever anxious to learn how it fared with the people of God in foreign parts, not from an Athenian curiosity, but from a public spirit of christianity. He rejoiced with them who did rejoice, and wept with them that wept. He was laboriously industrious in his calling, prudent both in speech and behaviour, an example of fortitude, faith, and patience, a man of universal benevolence, and ready for every good work. His library, which was valuable for the time, was the first that had ever been sold in England by auction, and brought seven hundred pounds.

His works are, 1. A Precedent for Kings and Princes, and all who are in authority; a Sermon before the House of Commons.—2. The Head of the Church the Judge of the World; a Sermon preached before the House of Peers.—3. A Vindication of the Judgment of the Reformed Churches, and Protestant Divines, from misrepresentations concerning ordination and the laying on of hands.—4. A Sermon before the Lord Mayor against Divisions, April 7th, 1650.—5. A farewell Sermon at his ejection, from Heb. xiii. 20, 21.

---

#### OBADIAH SEDGWICK, B. D.

THIS distinguished individual was born at Marlborough in Wiltshire in 1600, and received the elementary part of his education at or near the place of his birth. In 1616 he was removed to Queen's college, Oxford, where, after continuing for

some time, he removed to Magdalen-hall. Having finished his academical studies, he entered the ministry, and became chaplain to lord Horatio Vire, whom he accompanied into the Low Countries. On his return to England he again went to Oxford, and in the year 1629 was admitted to the reading of the sentences. He was tutor to Matthew Hale, afterwards lord chief justice of England. Leaving the university a second time, he became preacher at St. Mildred's, Bread Street, London; from which he was soon driven by the intolerance of the bishops. In the year 1639 he became vicar of Coggeshal in Essex, where he remained two or three years. Upon the commencement of the war he returned to his ministry at St. Mildred's, and was often appointed to preach before parliament. In 1642 he accompanied colonel Holles' regiment, in the parliament's army, as chaplain. In the following year he was appointed one of the licensers for the theological department of the press, and chosen one of the assembly of divines; which he constantly attended. Wood tells us, "That while he preached at Mildred, it was usual with him, the better to exasperate the people, and confound episcopacy, especially when the weather was hot, to unbutton his doublet in the pulpit, that his breath might be longer, and his voice more audible, to rail against the king's party, and those about his person, whom he called popish counsellors: That this was particularly his manner in September 1644, when he repeatedly told the people, with every apparent mark of deep concern, that God was angry with the army for not cutting off the delinquents." Dr. Gray, with the same malicious design, denominates him a preacher of treason, rebellion, and nonsense; in proof whereof he quotes the following passages from Mr Sedgwick's sermons, preached before the parliament: "The field, which at this time I am to work upon, you see is large—there is much more ground in it than I can conveniently break up and sow. I shall, therefore, with God's assistance, who is the only breaker up of hearts, proceed with the work; and may he, in tender mercy, so accompany, water, and prosper his truths at this day, that all our fallow ground may be broken up, and then so graciously sown in righteousness, that we and all the land may soon reap in mercy. Sirs, you must break up this ground, otherwise it will break up our land. There is nowhere to be found such a God-provoking, a God-removing, a church-dissolving, and a kingdom-breaking sin as idolatry. Down with it—down with it even to the ground. Superstition is the bawd to gross idolatry. Be as earnest and active, as you possibly can, to send labourers into the field—I mean, to furnish the kingdom with a heart-breaking ministry. God hath been the salvation of the parliament,

in the parliament, and for the parliament; our salvation at Edgehill, Reading, and Causon; our salvation at Gloucester, at Newbury, Cheshire, and at Pembrokeshire; our salvation in the North; our salvation both from secret treason, and open hostility." Such are the proofs this learned doctor has brought forward to establish his scurrilous calumny, that Mr Sedgwick was a preacher of treason, rebellion, and nonsense; of their validity the impartial reader will judge for himself. In 1646 he became preacher at St. Paul's, Covent Garden; where he was exceedingly followed, and his ministerial labours crowned with singular success. In 1653 he was appointed one of the triers; and the year following, constituted one of the commissioners for ejecting improper ministers and school-masters in London. He was very zealous in carrying forward *the good work of reformation*, as it was jeeringly called. He preached frequently before parliament; hence Sir John Birkenhead takes occasion to asperse him and Stephen Marshall, saying, "It is pleasant to observe how finely they play into one another's hands. Marshall procures the thanks of the House for Sedgwick; and to repay his pains, Sedgwick procures as much for Marshall—and thus they pimp for one another: But, to their great comfort be it spoken, their seven years' sermons at Westminster are to be sold in Fetter-lane and Pye-corner." Had this facetious wit known how many of the puritans' sermons were bought up by the episcopal clergy, to enable them to perform their pulpit services with some respectability, and had he been willing to make use of such knowledge, he might, with much more propriety, have laughed at the simplicity of the puritans, who laboured, that their enemies might indulge themselves in their proverbial indolence; and sowed, that they might reap the matured harvest of their laudable industry!

Mr Sedgwick, finding at length that his health was greatly on the decline, resigned all his preferments, and retired to Marlborough, his native place, where he died in the month of January 1658, aged fifty-seven years, and his remains were interred in the chancel of Ogborn, St. Andrew's, near to Marlborough. He left behind him the character of a learned divine, and an orthodox and admired preacher.

His works are, 1. Several Sermons on public occasions.—2. Parliamentary Sermons, amongst which are England's Preservation, an Ark for a Deluge, Haman's Vanity.—3. Military Discipline for a Christian Soldier.—4. Christ's Counsel to the languishing Church of Sardis.—5. A Speech delivered in Guildhall.—6. The best and worst Malignants.—7. The doubting Christian resolved.—8. The humble Sinner resolved; or, Faith in Christ the only way for sensible sinners to discover the

quality, objects, and acts of justifying Faith.—9. The Fountain opened, and the Waters of Life flowing.—10. The Shepherd of Israel, or an Exposition of the xxiii. Psalm.—11. Anatomy of secret Sins.—12. The bowels of tender mercy sealed in the everlasting Covenant.—13. The parable of the Prodigal.—14. Synopsis of Christianity.—15. A Catechism.

### SIDRACH SIMPSON, B. D.

THIS very peaceable puritan had his education at the university of Cambridge; after which he became curate and lecturer of St. Margaret's church, Fish Street, London; but his manner of preaching was by no means satisfactory to archbishop Laud, who, in 1635, had him, and several other divines, convened before him, at his metropolitcal visitation, for breach of canons. Most of them, however, were dismissed upon their promise of submission. The intolerant bigotry and superstition of Laud, and his rigid exaction of conformity, obliged many an eminent divine to leave the kingdom, among whom were Mr (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodman, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, and the subject of this memoir. They retired into Holland, where Mr Simpson, on his arrival in that country, went to Amsterdam, and observing the good order of the English congregation of that place, under the pastoral charge of Mr Bridge, he desired to become a member; and having delivered a satisfactory confession of his faith, he was admitted into their communion.

After some time, Mr Simpson observing some things in the church which he did not well approve, and having urged, that, after sermon on the Lord's day, the people might be permitted to express their doubts, and propose questions to the ministers for their better instruction and edification; this, with some other things, created a misunderstanding between Mr Bridge and him; which caused the latter to separate himself from the church, and set up another christian society; which, from a small beginning, became at last very considerable.

About the commencement of the civil war Mr Simpson returned to England, and in the year 1643 was chosen one of the assembly of divines; which he regularly attended during their sittings. In all their theological debates he carried himself with great candour and moderation. He was one of the five, who, in 1643, published and presented to the House of Commons an Apologetical Narration in favour of the independents. In 1645 he was appointed one of the committee of accommodation. In 1647, he united, with his dissenting brethren, in presenting to parliament their objections to certain parts of

the presbyterian mode of church government. In 1650 he was appointed, by the parliamentary visitors of the university of Cambridge, master of Pembroke-hall, in said university, in place of Mr Vines, who was ejected for having refused the engagement. In 1654 he was chosen a member of the committee for drawing up a list of the fundamental articles of the christian religion for the consideration of the Commons. During the same year he was commissioned an assistant in examining and approving of public preachers; and in 1655 he had a commission from Cromwell, constituting him one of the new visitors of the Cambridge university. During the long parliament he gathered a church and congregation upon the independent plan; which assembled in Abchurch, Canon Street, London.

Mr Simpson was a divine of considerable learning, of great piety, and a celebrated preacher. Mr Gray calls him a celebrated preacher *of rebellion*; which is plain, says he, from the following passage in one of his sermons: "Reformation is liable to inhuman treacheries. Pharaoh's dealings with the Israelites was full of treachery. He gave the people liberty by proclamation, bade them go, and when he found them in a situation of danger and difficulty, he brought up his army on purpose to cut them off; and the reforming of our church will, no doubt, meet with some such enemies. Rebellion, we should think, or the principles of rebellion, is certainly more than all the learning of Oxford and Cambridge can discover in this passage." Mr Edwards also censures him for publishing his own sentiments relative to church government, liberty of conscience, and universal toleration. What would these two rigid intolerants think, were they now to make the tour of Great Britain, where they would observe, that liberty of conscience, and universal toleration, are become not only the general opinion amongst the people, but sanctioned by the legislature, and acquiesced in, though reluctantly, by the churches established by law.

During his last illness he laboured under some melancholy apprehensions; on account of which certain of his friends and brethren met at his house in order to assist him with their prayers. When they took their leave of him, he thanked them for their christian affection, and said, "He was now satisfied in his own mind, and that the gloom which had hung over his soul was wholly removed." He died, the same evening, in the year 1658. Mr Simpson published several sermons, preached before parliament, one of which is entitled, *Reformation's Preservation*. He was also author of some other Pieces.

## WILLIAM SPURSTOWE, D. D.

THIS excellent divine was son and heir to William Spurstowe, merchant in London. He received his education in Katherine-hall, Cambridge, of which he was some time fellow. Having finished his studies at the university, he entered into the ministry, and was settled at Hampden in Buckinghamshire. When the civil war commenced, Mr Spurstowe held by the parliament, and was made chaplain to the regiment of the celebrated John Hampden, in the army of general Essex. In 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines; which he punctually attended; and much about this time he became pastor of Hackney, in the vicinity of London. He was appointed by the assembly one of the committee for settling sequestered livings. He was some time master of Katherine-hall in Cambridge; but ejected for refusing the engagement. Wood says, "He was a grand presbyterian." He preached some times before parliament, by whom he was appointed to accompany their commissioners to Newport, in the Isle of Wight, to treat with king Charles. He was likewise one of the commissioners who attended at the Savoy conference, and was ejected from Hackney by the act of uniformity, 1662; but lived about the same place, exercising his talents in private as opportunity allowed him, till an advanced age. He died early in 1666, and was buried at Hackney.

Dr. Spurstowe was eminently distinguished for his great learning, humility, charity, a cheerful temper, and a pleasant conversation. Mr Baxter, in his own life, speaks of him with great respect. There were some alms' houses near the church of Hackney which were his gift; before which there was a stone placed, with the following inscription: "William Spurstowe, D. D. vicar of the parish of Hackney, out of his pious intention, ordered, by his will, these six alms' houses for the habitation and dwelling of six poor widows of the said parish, of good life and conversation; which Henry Spurstowe, Esq. merchant, and brother to the said Dr. William Spurstowe, in fulfilment of his will, erected and built in the year 1666."

His works are, 1. England's Pattern and Duty in her monthly Fasts; a Sermon from 1 Sam. vii. 6. preached before both Houses of Parliament.—2. England's eminent Judgments for abusing God's eminent Mercies; a Sermon preached before the Peers.—3. The Magistrate's Dignity and Duty; a Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, October 30th, 1653.—4. Death and the Grave no bar to the Believer's happiness; a funeral Sermon.—5. The Wells of Salvation opened; a small Treatise, wherein the preciousness of

the Gospel Promises, and rules for their right application, are clearly pointed out.—6. The Spiritual Chemist, or six decades of Divine Meditations on several subjects.—7. The Wiles of Satan; and some other Pieces. He was also one of the authors of *Smectymnuus*.

---

### EDMUND STAUNTON, D. D.

THIS pious and learned minister of the gospel of Christ was born at Woburn in Bedfordshire in the year 1600. His father, Sir Richard Staunton, had several sons, of whose education he was particularly careful. Edmund was one of the youngest, who, when sufficiently instructed in the elementary parts of learning, was removed to Corpus Christi college, in the university of Oxford. Here his application was close, and his proficiency remarkable. Such was the applause his talents and industry had procured him, that while yet an under-graduate he was chosen a probationer-fellow in that college, before eighteen of his seniors. When about eighteen years of age he fell sick, and was near the point of death before the nature of his trouble was discovered; but a skilful physician found he laboured under a pleuritick disorder, and accordingly prescribed a copious bleeding. A surgeon was immediately sent for; but could not be found. At last, however, the messenger learned that he was regaling himself in a tavern; from whence he brought him in such a state of inebriety, that he could not perform his work. He struck Mr Staunton's arm twice; but no blood came. In this mournful posture the surgeon left his patient, and staggered home to bed. When he had slept himself sober he came early next morning, and knocked at the college-gate. On gaining admittance, he ran to Staunton's chamber, where finding him still alive, he opened a vein, which bled freely; and the patient, though half dead, soon recovered, and became quite healthy. This part of our narrative adds to the countless catalogue of dangers, untimely deaths, and other disasters occasioned by intemperate drinking. While we find, by experience, that all the reason possessed by men is barely sufficient to direct their way through life, what a pity it is that any, especially public characters, should voluntarily transform themselves into idiots or madmen by intoxicating draughts of strong liquors. Mr Staunton was, on another occasion, mercifully prevented from drowning. Having gone into the water alone to bathe, he inadvertently went beyond his depth; and having no knowledge of swimming, he escaped almost by a miracle. A small tuft of grass, which he accidently laid hold of, was the means of saving his life. These dangers, and the remarkable deliverance he

experienced, led him to a serious consideration of his state of preparation for an invisible world, insomuch that he continued about two months under a spirit of bondage, full of fear and inward trouble; after which he obtained a strong persuasion of the love of God to his soul, and was filled with joy and inward peace. From this period the study of the holy scriptures was his delight; and having determined to devote himself to the preaching of the gospel, he entered on the study of divinity.

When he became master of arts, his father gave him the choice of the three learned professions, law, physic, or divinity. He made choice of the last, telling his father that he had bent his studies a little that way already, as he considered an opportunity of turning many to righteousness, the most enviable situation on earth; and though the other callings were likely to bring more wealth and honour here, this had the promise of the greater reward hereafter. His indulgent father offered no opposition to his pious design, but rather encouraged it. He first preached for about six months on the Sabbath afternoon at Witney in Oxfordshire. His labours in this place were so acceptable to the people, that they flocked from all parts to hear him; which in no small degree offended the incumbent, who used to lengthen the time of reading prayers, that Mr Staunton might have the shorter time for delivering his sermon, and then left the church; but none followed him except the clerk, whom he forbade to read the psalms for the congregation. His continuance at Witney being very uncertain, and still experiencing great opposition from the minister of the place, he removed, and became minister of Bushey in Hertfordshire. He met with a very welcome reception in this place from all who had any savour for religion. He preached and catechised on the Lord's day, and at other times, with great diligence and success. Many, who were not inhabitants of Bushey, also attended his ministry from a considerable distance. A very respectable divine says, "The short time that Edmund Staunton spent in Bushey was not without success; many persons in my own hearing have acknowledged his ministry to have been the means of their conversion.

About this time he married the daughter of one Mr Scudamore of Watford, by whom he had one daughter. After labouring about two years at Bushey, Dr. Seaton, of Kingston-upon-Thames, wishing to have his living, either made a flaw, or finding one in his title, soon dispossessed him. Seaton's attorney, liking the candour of Mr Staunton, proposed an exchange; to which both agreed. Mr Staunton, who always preferred work to wages, the more readily acquiesced in this exchange, that he was likely to be more extensively useful at Kingston,

and to have his opportunities of service increased. Nevertheless, when Dr. Seaton had got possession of Bushey, he would not give up Kingston without Mr Staunton's condescending to become his curate. Here the doctor's attorney, despising such baseness, threatened to find a flaw in his title to Bushey, unless he finished the transaction in an honourable way; so that the doctor began to see that honesty, in this affair, was likely to prove the best policy. Accordingly, Mr Staunton entered on the quiet possession of Kingston, where he continued, faithfully discharging the duties of his calling, about twenty years. He preached twice on the Lord's day, and carefully examined the young, and such as were ignorant, both in public, and from house to house, though the town was large and populous. He also set up a public lecture, in which a number of eminent divines officiated in their turn.

Thus, by his conscientious labours, and exemplary life, accompanied by the divine blessing, a great reformation was effected in Kingston, both of the magistrates and people. He was beloved by all the devout, and feared by the wicked and perverse, and the good seed then sown sprung up in the place long after he was gone. As a preacher, Mr Staunton was very plain, warm, and practical. He found, by long experience, that a plain method of preaching was the most suitable, and most conducive to the end for which preaching had been appointed. Even in the college and university he used the same plain and simple method of expressing himself. He could have very easily appeared in a more flowery and learned strain; but he preferred his Master's work, and the advantage of his people, to every other consideration. In the application of his sermons, he pressed the matter home to the hearts of his hearers with such energy and vivacity, that he was called the searching preacher. Ever careful to distinguish between the precious and the vile, he would, in every sermon, say something by way of trial and examination, and point out marks by which the true christian might be distinguished from the hypocrite and formalist. He often said, "He was afraid of hearing that rebuke from Christ another day, Thou wicked and slothful servant," and applied himself with all diligence to confirm his people in the truth, and arm them against all false doctrine. When he visited his friends, if they did not ask him to preach, he used to say, "Have you no work here for a preacher?"

After the death of his first wife, he married a second, by whom he had many children. Ten of them were buried in one grave in the parish church of Kingston; over which he laid a beautiful stone, whereupon the following inscription was engraved:

HERE lie the bodies of  
Francis, Richard, Mary, Matthew, Mary, Richard,  
Edmund, Edmund, Sarah, Richard—  
Children

Whom the Lord graciously gave to  
EDMUND STAUNTON, D. D.  
Late Minister of Kingston-upon-Thames,  
Now President of C. C. C. in Oxford,  
By MARY, his Wife,  
Daughter of RICHARD BALTHROPE, Esq.  
Servant to the late Queen Elizabeth.

Mr Staunton left only one son behind him at his death.— In 1635, when the Book of Sports came out, he was suspended, like many others, for refusing to read it. He chose rather to lose his place than countenance such glaring profanity. During his suspension, he took his degree of doctor of divinity at Oxford, with the design, as he says himself, of honouring his sufferings. His exercise on this occasion was greatly applauded; but there were several doctors in the university whose fingers itched to beat him down by disputation, because he was a puritan; and being a country minister, they conceived he would be an easy conquest. One of these had the hardihood to challenge him to the combat; but was so miserably nonplussed by Dr. Staunton, that the people hissed him, and called out for a candle that the doctor might see his arguments. When the assembly of divines was called, Dr. Staunton was appointed a member, and highly esteemed by that learned body. He was several times called upon to preach before the parliament, and his sermons were printed by order of the House. He was likewise appointed by parliament one of the six morning lecturers in Westminster Abbey. In 1648, when the visitors of the university of Oxford discharged Mr Newlin from the headship of Corpus Christi college, Dr. Staunton succeeded him as president. He continued in this office for twelve years, and was ejected by king Charles' commissioners in 1660. While occupying this place in the university, he was indefatigably employed in promoting sound learning, and pure and unadulterated religion. He encouraged the studious, and reprov'd the negligent. He set up a divinity lecture every Lord's day morning in the college chapel, for exercising the senior students, and initiating them into the ministry. He catechised the juniors every Saturday in public, and preached twice every Sabbath, beside his constant course in the university church and college chapel. One of the impropriations belonging to the college, about seven miles distant, having but a small stipend, unfit to support a minister, he first went over and preached himself,

and afterwards desired the senior fellows to take it in course; to which they readily consented. He had a weekly meeting for prayer and conference in his own lodgings, consisting of college members and others, wherein he bore a principal part; and he constantly attended the public worship in the chapel, morning and evening, to observe and reprove such as were remiss. It was customary at that time to read a portion of scripture every day at dinner in the college-hall; and when any difficult passage occurred, he put it upon some one of the fellows, that sat at meat with him, to explain it, or did so himself. He was careful always to introduce such discourse as tended to the instruction of those who were present on these occasions. His watchful care, prudent government, and pious example, were the means of greatly promoting religion and learning in his college; and many, who were tutored under him, became learned, pious, and useful men in their generation. Amongst these, Mr Joseph Alleine, afterwards minister of the gospel at Taunton, was a great comfort to him while he remained in the college, and it greatly revived the heart of this good man to hear that he proved so eminently pious and useful in the church of God.

On his ejection from his office of president in 1660, he left Oxford, where the precious seed he had sown, and so carefully watered, was rising to a hopeful harvest. His departure was like that of Paul from Ephesus, or like the parting of the prophet Elijah from his pupil Elisha, a parting scene of singular sensibility, filled up with prayers, lamentations, and tears. Parting with his friends, he removed first to Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, where he was well received, by people of all ranks, as a minister of Jesus Christ. He preached round about that county, and places adjacent, though an old man, and somewhat infirm, willing to spend his strength in the service of his adorable Master, till the act of uniformity imposed a general silence on all non-conforming ministers, in August 1692. After this, his wife becoming infirm, he took apartments in a family at some distance, where he was very useful so long as he remained with them, as the knowledge of Christ, and the power of the world to come, were deeply impressed on the minds of the inmates. From this place he again removed to another family near St. Alban's, in which town he was instrumental in correcting some extravagances. He seems to have moved about from one place to another, with the view of being more extensively useful to the church of Christ. His last removal of this kind was to a little village in Hertfordshire, called Bovingden, rendered famous from his living some time, and dying, in it. Here he was offered all accommodations gratis; which he accepted: but whatever he saved this way, was ex-

pended in charity, particularly in the distribution of religious books to the poor of that village and neighbourhood. He attended carefully to the instruction of the family, and here he found much comfort in his retirement; which, had he been born for himself alone, would have been his choice in passing the time of his sojourning through life. But considering himself as a member of society, and a member of the church of Christ, he reckoned his talents, whatever they were, a part of the public property, and was often heard to say, "Woe unto me if I preach not the gospel." He accordingly preached to, or instructed, the people wherever he could find an opportunity, unwilling that his Master, when he came, should find him idle or asleep. He often rode to St. Albans, and once or twice in the year to London and Kingston; and when denied a church, he preached in a chamber. When he had no opportunity of addressing the many, he instructed a few, redeeming the time, because the days were evil. From the goodness of his natural temper, he was gentle and courteous to all, and his natural disposition, embellished by the grace and gentleness of Christ Jesus, made him very amiable, and exceedingly edifying in his conversation. His government of the college partook more of mildness and lenity, than of sharpness and severity; yet none, even of the most rigid disciplinarians amongst his predecessors in that office, ever kept the college in better order.

As a christian, he was much given to self-examination, anxious to ascertain his evidences for heaven; which, by the gracious operations of the Spirit of truth on his soul, he says, he found, if his heart did not deceive him. As a divine, he was intimately acquainted with his bible, could readily refer to almost any passage of scripture, and manifested, by his explanations, how well he understood the sense of that sacred book. Like Wickliff, his principal study was the oracles of God. He carried the New Testament, or the Book of Psalms, always about him; and so greatly delighted was he with the word of God, that he made it his meditation both by day and night.

His generosity knew no bounds but the bottom of his purse. He drew out his soul to the hungry, and lived in charity with all men. While others were racking their judgments how they should gather together heaps of gold, Dr. Staunton scattered his abroad amongst the poor and needy. When he rode out, he used to put what money he could spare in his pocket, that he might have wherewith to relieve the necessitous. God had given him a competent estate, and he laid it out, in the service of the bountiful Giver, with a cheerful heart and a liberal hand. As there are the gifts of prayer and of preaching, so doubtless

there is also the gift of conversation; which Dr. Staunton seems to have possessed in an eminent degree. He always endeavoured to make his discourse profitable to the people, and could, with the greatest facility, and without giving the least offence, turn their merry and idle talk into what was useful, and their worldly discourse to a heavenly conversation. He embraced every opportunity of warning the unruly, and instructing the ignorant, even those whom others slighted as unworthy of their notice on account of their meanness and ignorance. He used to say, "That their souls were as precious as the souls of noblemen or princes."

His patience and cheerfulness under affliction were truly remarkable. He was never seen out of humour, or heard repining, though his trouble was considerable. He was always cheerful in company, and on ordinary occasions frequently somewhat merry and jocose, especially amongst young people, with the view of removing the mistaken idea, that the religion of Jesus is a system of gloom and despondency; whereas none have so good reason to rejoice, and drink their wine with a merry heart, as they whose sacrifices are accepted of God. It is said of Macarius, that by his pleasant discourses, on all occasions, he drew many into the paths of wisdom and godliness.

Upon the whole, the life of this eminent servant of Christ exhibits such a cluster of heavenly graces and manly virtues, as court our closest imitation both as men and christians. Such were the lives of the primitive christians, and of many reformers of latter times; and such examples, in every age of the church, have largely contributed to promote piety and practical religion, with all their happy consequences, amongst men.

Dr. Staunton was at last seized, on the whole of one side of his body, with the dead palsy. This happened on the 8th of July 1671; after which his speech failed him, so that he spoke but little, and very seldom. A friend, who paid him a visit about this time, asking him how he did? he replied in the words of the prophet, "In some measure God is debating with me; yet he stayeth his rough wind in the day of his east wind." Some time after this he said to a friend, "I neither fear death, nor desire to live; but I am willing to be at God's disposal." On another occasion he expressed that remarkable saying of holy Job, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," and then repeated the following lines of the xxxi. Psalm in verse:

"Into thine hands I do commit  
My sp'rit; for thou art he,  
O thou Jehovah, God of truth,  
Who hast redeemed me."

So long as he had ability he exhorted all about him to make sure of heaven in the time of health; to keep their evidences unblotted; to remember the Sabbath, and keep it holy. He spoke with all the solemnity of a dying man, and seemed anxious to do good with his expiring breath. He died on the 14th of July 1671, in the seventy-first year of his age. His remains were interred in the parish church of Bovingden, under a fair stone, on which was engraved a Latin epitaph, composed by the Rev. Dr. Simon Ford.

“His modesty was such (says Mr Mayo, his biographer), that he never judged any thing he wrote worthy of the press. He consented, however, to let his Christian Conference be published; and having also by me a manuscript of his, entitled, A Dialogue between a Minister and a Stranger, I thought good to print it along with the foresaid treatise. These, with two Sermons, published by order of the House of Commons, and a funeral Sermon for Mrs Wilkinson, late wife of Dr. Henry Wilkinson, principal of Magdalen-hall, with a Latin Poem in Britannia Ridiviva, 1660, upon the restoration of Charles II., and probably some other Sermons, seem to include all that have been published of his writings.”

---

#### PETER STERRY, B. D.

MR STERRY was born in the county of Surrey, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow in 1636. Having finished his academical studies at the university, he entered into holy orders, and in 1643 was chosen one of the assembly of divines for the city of London. He was afterwards one of Cromwell's chaplains, and procured the character of a *high-flying mystical divine*. He lived till after the restoration, and is said to have preached to a conventicle in London. It is said, that he and one Sadler were the first who had been observed to make a public profession of Platonism in the university of Cambridge.

Mr Sterry seems to have embraced the cause of the parliament with enthusiasm, and continued to advocate the same with uncommon zeal and firmness. He frequently preached at Whitehall, and before the parliament; on which occasions he declared his sentiments without the least reserve; but as these sentiments seem to have been selected and transcribed for the obvious purpose of reproach, we shall give them in the words of our author. In his sermon, before the House of Commons, in November 26th, 1645, speaking of the discomfiture of the king's army, he adds, “What ailed you, ye mighty armies at Keinton, Newbury, York, and Naseby, that ye fled, and were

driven back? What ailed you, ye strong traitors, ye close conspirators, that ye trembled and fell, till your foundations were discovered, before your villanies could take the anticipated effect? They saw thee, O Jesus, they saw thee opening in the midst of us, so they fled before us.—Worthies, you sit at the right hand of the Lord Jesus in this commonwealth, as the Lord Jesus sits at the right hand of his Father in that kingdom which ruleth over all.” We leave the consideration of these quotations to the impartial reader without comment.

Mr Sterry was author of a number of treatises, the titles of which have not come in our way. He appears to have been deeply tinctured with mysticism. According to Richard Baxter, he was an intimate of Sir Henry Vane’s\*, and thought to have been of his sentiments in religion. He was so famous for obscurity in preaching, that Sir Benjamin Rūdyard said, “He was too high for this world, and too low for the world to come.” In 1654 Mr Sterry was appointed one of the triers. It had hitherto been reserved for the several presbyteries to examine and approve of public preachers, both in town and country; but the Protector observing some inconveniences attending that method, to prevent all complaints of partiality, thought it advisable not to trust the qualifications of candidates for the vacancies in the church, all over England, to the presbyterians alone. He therefore contrived a middle path, by joining the several parties together, and entrusting the work to certain commissioners of each denomination, men of known ability and integrity. This was settled by an ordinance of council, March 20th, 1654. The commission consisted of thirty-eight individuals, eight or nine were laymen, the rest ministers, some of whom were presbyterians, others independents, with two or three baptists. Any five were empowered to approve; but no number, under

\* Sir Henry Vane was a principal leader in the House of Commons, and one of those singular characters that make their appearance but once in a thousand years. It is hard to determine whether he was more the phantastic visionary, or the profound politician. He did not, like the generality of enthusiasts, supinely repose his confidence on heaven, as if he expected every thing from that quarter, but exerted himself as if he depended wholly on his own activity. His enthusiasm, in place of precipitating him into rash and injudicious measures, only served to add renovated vigour to his natural capacity. He mistook his deep penetration, however, for the spirit of prophecy, and the light of his genius for divine irradiation. The solemn league and covenant was the offspring of his prolific brain; which teemed with new systems both of politics and religion. His genius stood far above the level of mankind, and he spoke like a philosopher on every subject but religion; with regard to which he certainly merits a place in the front rank of mystics. He preserved a uniformity of character through life, and died in the expectation of receiving the martyr’s crown. He was beheaded, June 14th, 1662.—*Silvester’s Life of Baxter*, part i.

nine, had authority to reject a candidate as unqualified. In case of the death or removal of any commissioner, the vacancy was filled up by the Protector and his council, or by the parliament, if sitting. Some of the presbyterians, however, declined to act for want of better authority, and because they were not satisfied with some of the company.

We are informed by Ludlow, "That when the news of Cromwell's death arrived, Mr Sterry stood up, and exhorted those about him not to be troubled; for this, said he, is good news; because, if Cromwell was of great use to the people of God while here amongst us, he will be much more useful now, that he is seated at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us on all occasions!" If Ludlow's story be true, Mr Sterry must either have been a frenzied fool, or a consummate flatterer.

Two Sermons of his, preached before the Commons, have been printed, 1. The Spirit's Conviction of Sin opened.—2. The Clouds in which Christ comes.

---

#### RICHARD VINES, A. M.

THIS learned and excellent divine was born at Blason in Leicestershire, about the year 1600, and had his education at Magdalen college, Cambridge, where, having continued for some years, and taken his degrees in arts, he displayed great quickness of apprehension, and pregnancy of parts. He was lively and acute; but never, like many young men of vivacity, given to any youthful extravagances. He studied hard, and acquired a great proficiency in learning; and having run through his courses in the university, he was chosen school-master at Hinckley, in his own county. On the death of Mr James Cranford, which took place some time after this, he was presented to the rectory of Weddington in Warwickshire. Here his ministrations were attended by many from the neighbouring parishes, and became a great blessing to that part of the country. He also preached to a small parish in the neighbourhood, and upon the death of the incumbent, was presented to the living. Mr Vines served both parishes with the utmost care and diligence, their profits only amounting to eighty pounds per annum. At the earnest request of several friends, he likewise set up a lecture at Nuneaton; to which the people resorted in multitudes. Mr Evans, ejected in 1662, who succeeded him in his two livings, is said to have found that country-side well stocked with religious knowledge and solid christians, the fruit arising from the labours of many excellent men, but especially his worthy predecessor Mr Vines.

On the breaking out of the civil war, Mr Vines was driven from his charge, and forced to take shelter in Coventry, a city in Warwickshire, about ninety miles north-west from London, where he found about thirty other ministers, who, to save themselves from the plundering depredations of the royal army, and the fury of a misguided populace, had fled to this city of refuge. Thus driven from their flocks, and the exercise of their ministry, these divines set up a morning lecture; in which Mr Vines was frequently engaged, as well as on the Lord's day. In 1643 he was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and noted for his regular attendance. Here his abilities and moderation were called into daily exercise, and the good he did in the matter of church government may be safely concealed, but cannot be expressed without giving offence. In 1644 he was appointed one of the assistant divines at the negotiations of Uxbridge. The Oxford historian, speaking of Dr. Hammond, one of the king's party, says, and that with an uncommon air of triumph, "It being his lot to dispute with Richard Vines, a presbyterian minister, who attended the commissioners of parliament, he, with the greatest ease and clearness, dispersed all the sophisms he could bring up against him." How far this statement is correct we are unable to determine, only that Whitlocke, a more correct, and far more impartial writer, speaking of this treaty, says, "That while Dr. Stewart and Dr. Shelden argued *very positively*, that the government by bishops was *jure divino*, Mr Vines and Mr Henderson argued *as positively*, but *more moderately*, that the government of the church by presbyteries was *jure divino*."

Mr Vines was chosen a member of the committee of accommodation, and chairman at their meetings. On the subject of a general accommodation of all the religious parties, he wrote an excellent letter to Mr Baxter; which discovered his mild and accommodating spirit. He was appointed master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, by the earl of Manchester; and it has been generally allowed, that few persons were better qualified for that situation. Here, to the utmost of his power, he promoted true religion and sound literature, and had restored the college to a very flourishing condition by the time he was ejected for refusing the engagement in 1649. He was one of the committee of learned divines appointed by parliament to prepare the Confession of Faith, also one of the assistant divines appointed to treat with the king at the Isle of Wight; on which occasion he was much applauded by his own party, particularly for proving the sufficiency of presbyterian ordination—shewing that ministers, ordained by the presbyterian churches in France and the Low Countries, were, to all intents and purposes, acknowledged

by our bishops as lawfully ordained both to preach and administer the sacraments. During the treaty he had much conversation, and some disputation, with the king, who highly valued him for his learning and ingenuity.

When sentence of death had been pronounced against the king, Mr Vines, and several of his brethren, presented their duty to his majesty, with their humble desires to pray with him, and perform other serviceable offices if he would be pleased to accept of their service. The king thanked them for their kind offers; but declined accepting them. About 1653 Mr Vines was chosen one of a committee to draw up the fundamentals to be presented to the House. When he went first up to London, he was chosen minister of St. Clement Danes, where many persons of quality were his hearers. After some time he resigned his place at the solicitation of the earl of Essex, and removed to Walton in Hertfordshire; but afterwards accepted an invitation to Laurence-jewry, London, where his excellent talents were still employed in promoting the interest of the Redeemer's kingdom. Here multitudes flocked to his ministry; by means of which many a wanderer was gathered into Christ's sheep-fold. While pastor at Laurence-jewry, he was chosen one of the weekly lecturers at St. Michael's, Cornhill, and often called to preach before the parliament. It has been, nevertheless, considered by many, that Mr Vines, and several of his brethren, preached with too much warmth and acrimony against the baptists. On the death of the earl of Essex, the parliament appointed a public funeral for that distinguished general, who was buried, with great solemnity, in St. Peter's church, Westminster, and Mr Vines preached his funeral sermon to a very great audience of persons in the higher ranks of society\*.

Mr Vines had formerly a strong constitution; but the incessant labours of a very useful life had so worn it down, that at length he became the subject of severe bodily distress. After his settlement at Laurence-jewry, his infirmities came on apace.

\* Robert, earl of Essex, the only son of the unfortunate favourite of queen Elizabeth, possessed a liberal portion of his father's popularity. He was a nobleman of inflexible honour and upright intentions; and from his humanity, compassionate disposition, and a zealous regard for the essentials of christianity, he sympathized with, and shewed great kindness to, the persecuted puritans. He was one of those few noblemen, who, in parliament, dared to attack the encroaching prerogative of the crown. It was at the head of an army, however, that the earl appeared to the greatest advantage. When he took the command of the parliament's forces, he was considered the fittest person in the kingdom for filling that most important office. He was a man of invincible fortitude, remarkably foresighted and cautious. Owing, perhaps, to the nature of the war, and the raw and undisciplined state of the army, he rather waited for, than sought after, opportunities of fighting, and knew better how to gain than improve his victory. He acquired a great reputation as a soldier; but his glory was soon eclipsed by a race of young men, who, if not his superiors in military skill, greatly exceeded him in daring enterprize. He died, September 14th, 1646.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 161—168.

He was greatly afflicted with a pain in his head, which nearly deprived him of sight; so that he could not see the largest print, nor could any glasses help him; yet would he not desist from his public labours. The day before his death he preached and administered the sacrament. At ten o'clock, the same evening, he was taken with a bleeding at the nose, and died betwixt two and three the next morning, aged fifty-five years. His remains were interred, with great lamentation, in the church of Laurence-jewry, February 7th, 1655, when Dr. Thomas Jacombe preached his funeral sermon; wherein he gives him the following high character: "He possessed very excellent parts. He was even taller by the head than most of his brethren. He was mighty in the scriptures, and an interpreter one amongst a thousand. He was an accomplished scholar, a perfect master of the Greek, an excellent philologist, and an admirable orator. He was a ready and close disputant, and approved himself to the admiration of many at the treatises of Uxbridge and the Isle of Wight. He was a solid, judicious, and orthodox divine, mighty in points of controversy. In his spiritual and powerful ministry he dwelt more especially upon the doctrine of justification, debasing man, and exalting the Redeemer. He wished to die praying or preaching. What would have made most men keep their beds, did not keep Mr Vines out of the pulpit. Possessing an undaunted and heroic spirit, like Luther, nothing could deter him from a conscientious discharge of his duty. He was accounted the very prince of preachers, a thorough Calvinist, and a bold honest man, void of pride and flattery; and as he preached, so he lived and died." Fuller styles him an excellent preacher, and the very champion of the assembly; steady to his principles, yet moderate and charitable to those who differed from his opinions. Wood says nothing concerning him, only that he was a zealous puritan.

His works are, 1. A Treatise on the Sacrament.—2. Christ, the Christian's only gain.—3. God's drawing, and Man's coming to Christ.—4. The Saint's nearness to God.—5. A Funeral Sermon for the Earl of Essex.—6. A Funeral Sermon for Mr William Strong.—7. Caleb's Integrity, preached before the Commons, November 30th, 1642.—8. The posture of David's Spirit when he was in a doubtful condition; a Sermon before the Commons, 1644.—9. The Happiness of Israel; a Sermon before both Houses, 1645—and several other Sermons.

---

### GEORGE WALKER, B. D.

THIS very learned and pious puritan divine was born at Hawkshead, a market-town of Lancashire, in 1581. Being

blessed with religious parents, they attended to his instruction, and favoured him with a religious education; of which he enjoyed the benefit in his future life. He was educated at St. John's college, Cambridge, where, having finished his studies, he went to London, and in the year 1614 became rector of St. John the Evangelist in Watling Street. Here he continued to discharge the duties of his office with great faithfulness, for the space of forty years, refusing all other preferments, though offered him on several occasions. The gaining of souls to Christ was so much the object of his ambition, that church preferment gave him little concern. He was a bold opposer of popery, and several times engaged in public disputations against its errors and superstitions. In the year 1623 he had a public dispute with one Smith, an account of which was afterwards published by the consent of both parties. He had many encounters with Fisher the famous jesuit, and several others who were accounted the ablest disputants of the Romish persuasion.

Mr Walker was a divine of sterling piety and strict sabbatarian principles, and frequently pressed on his hearers the necessity of an exact observance of the Lord's day. Having, in 1635, openly avowed his sentiments on this point, and warmly recommended the sanctification of that holy day, in opposition to a book published by the bishop of Ely, and set forth by public authority, he was convened before archbishop Laud, and received canonical admonition. In 1638 he was prosecuted, and severely censured in the star-chamber. Having preached a sermon in his own church, to prove, "That it is a sin to obey the greatest monarch on earth in those things that are opposed to the commandments of God," he was committed twelve weeks to the custody of a pursuivant, to whom he paid in fees the sum of twenty pounds. Upon his prosecution, he was shut up a close prisoner in the Gatehouse for ten weeks, and at last compelled to enter into a bond of a thousand pounds to confine himself in his brother's house at Chiswick, and have his living sequestrated. He continued a prisoner for the space of two years, and was liberated by the long parliament. In 1641 his case was laid before parliament, where it was resolved, "That his commitment from the council table for preaching a sermon, October 14th, 1638, and his detainment twelve weeks for the same, is against the law and the constitutional liberty of the subject: That the prosecution of the said Walker in the star-chamber, for preaching said sermon, and his close imprisonment thereupon for ten weeks in the Gatehouse, and the payment of twenty pounds fees, is against law and the liberty of the subject: That the five passages, marked by the Attorney-general and Sir John Banks, contain no crime, nor deserve any censure, nor he any pun-

ishment for them: That the enforcing the said Walker to enter into the bond for one thousand pounds for confinement in his brother's house in Chiswick, and his imprisonment there, is against law: That the sequestration of the parsonage of the said Walker was done without any warrant, and against the laws of the land: That Walker ought to be restored to his parsonage, and the whole profits thereof, from the time of the said sequestration, and to have reparation for all damages he has sustained by these several imprisonments, and his case transmitted to the lords." Whether Mr Walker received any reparation for damages we have not been able to discover; but after his liberation he returned to his benefice and ministrations at Watling Street, where he remained unmolested the rest of his days. In 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines, where, by his munificent and generous conduct, he procured a distinguished reputation. In the year following he was appointed one of the committee for examining and approving public preachers; and, during the same year, he was one of the witnesses against Laud at his trial; where he deposed, that the archbishop had endeavoured to introduce arminianism and popish superstition into the church of England. Though Wood reproaches him for having preached against the king, he heartily joined with the rest of his brethren in London in protesting against the king's death. He was a member of the first provincial assembly in London, and some times chosen moderator. He died in 1651, aged seventy years, and was buried in his own church in Watling Street. Fuller says, "He was well skilled in the oriental languages, and an excellent logician and divine. He was a man of a holy life, and a liberal hand, who deserved well of Sion college library, and who, by his example and persuasion, raised a thousand pounds for the maintenance of preaching ministers in his native county." Wood calls him a learned man, but a severe puritan.

His works are, 1. The sum of a Disputation between Mr Walker, pastor of St. John the Evangelist, and the Popish Priest calling himself Mr Smith, but really Norris.—2. Fisher's folly unfolded, or the Vaunting Jesuit's Challenge answered.—3. Socinianism, in the fundamental point of Justification, discovered and confuted.—4. The Doctrine of the Holy Weekly Sabbath.—5. God made visible in all his Works.—6. Sermons preached before Parliament, &c.

---

#### JOHN WALLIS, D. D.

THIS celebrated mathematician and divine was born at Ashford, a large market-town in the county of Kent, on the

22d November 1616. His father died when he was only four years of age; after which he was wholly under the care of his mother, who carefully instructed him in his younger years, both by precept and example. In 1625 there was a great plague in London, and many other places in the kingdom, particularly at Ashford; on account of which many of the inhabitants deserted their habitations. On this trying occasion, young Wallis was sent to Leygreen, near Tenterden, a market-town in Kent, where, for several years, he was under the tuition of Mr James Moffat, a Scotchman, from whom he received the common course of grammatical learning, and might have gone to the university, only that he was thought too young. Mr Moffat's school being broken up, he was sent to Felsted school in Essex, where he continued two years, by which time he was well grounded in Latin and Greek; and having been accustomed in both schools to speak Latin, that language was become familiar to him; which proved of great utility afterwards. He had also learned so much Hebrew, that by the help of his grammar and dictionary he could make progress without a teacher. He always pursued his studies with vigour and perseverance, and had, by this time, got a little acquaintance with logic, music, and the rudiments of the French language; and during the vacation, when he was about a fortnight at home with his mother at Ashford, he learned the practical part of common arithmetic from a younger brother; which was his first step towards mathematics, a science in which he greatly delighted, and in which he afterwards became eminent.

In 1632 he was admitted into Emanuel college, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Anthony Burgess, an excellent tutor, where he made great proficiency, and proceeded bachelor of arts in 1637, and master 1640. He was always reputed one of the best scholars of his rank. About this time he entered into the ministry, and was ordained by the bishop of Winchester, and became chaplain to Sir Richard Darby at Buttercrum, in Yorkshire; from which he removed, in about a year, to the family of lady Vere, the widow of lord Horatio Vere; with whom he remained about two years, sometimes with the family in London, and at other times at her house at Castle Hedingham in Essex. After this he was about one year fellow of Queen's college, Cambridge; but forming a matrimonial alliance about this time, he gave up his fellowship.

About the year 1644 he was chosen one of the scribes to the assembly of divines. During his attendance on the assembly, he was pastor first in Fenchurch Street, and after in Ironmonger-lane, where he continued till his removal to Oxford; where he prosecuted his studies, till he became such a proficient, that

he was accounted one of the first mathematicians of the age in which he lived. He had a most accurate judgment in all mathematical studies, and succeeded to admiration in the art of deciphering intricate writings; a proof of a subtile wit and scrutinizing judgment. He could discover the mind of the writer in spite of every method that art could devise to prevent it. His own account of the first attempts he made in this business is as follows: "About the beginning of our civil war (says he), the chaplain of Sir William Waller shewed me, as a curiosity, just as we were sitting down to supper at lady Vere's, an intercepted letter written in cipher, and it was indeed the first thing I had ever seen of the kind. He asked me, between jest and earnest, if I could make any thing of it, and was surprised when I told him perhaps I might. It was about ten o'clock when we rose from supper. I immediately retired to my chamber, and having examined it, found that the number of characters were twenty-two or twenty-three; which gave me some reason to think it was a new alphabet. On this supposition I went to work, and had it deciphered before I went to bed." He was often employed afterwards in this difficult work, and complained that he was but poorly rewarded. When academical studies were greatly interrupted by the war in both the universities, the men of eminent learning retired to the metropolis, and formed themselves into clubs and assemblies. Mr Wallis belonged to one of those which met once a-week to discourse on philosophical subjects; and this society was the beginning of what was afterwards incorporated under the denomination of the Royal Society. In 1649 he became Savilian professor of geometry in the university of Oxford, where he passed the rest of his days in cultivating those sciences, which, to the honour both of himself and his country, he greatly improved. He opened his lectures, on the 31st of October, with an inaugural speech in Latin; which was printed. On May 31st, 1654, he took the degree of doctor of divinity. In 1658 he was chosen keeper of the archives of the university. Upon the restoration of the king, he met with great respect. His majesty entertained a favourable opinion of him; on which account he was not only made one of the chaplains to the king, but had also his places in the university confirmed. In 1661 he was appointed one of the divines for reviewing the book of Common Prayer. He afterwards conformed, and remained a conformist till his death. He was one of the first members of the Royal Society. Lord Brownker, viscount of Castle-Lyons, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Barrow, Dr. Wallis, Mr Gregory, and Dr. Halley, with other learned men of that day, formed the Royal Society of London in the year 1668. Lord Brownker, the first president

of this society after its incorporation, carried on a philosophical correspondence with Dr. Wallis. He also addressed his hypothesis, on the flux and reflux of the sea, to the celebrated Mr Boyle; which was printed in the Philosophical Transactions. It is said to have been well known in England at the time, that Dr. Wallis could extract the cube root, by a mental process, to an hundred places of figures; but that these operations required a seclusion of himself from the external impressions of light, sound, and muscular motion. Dr. Wallis has attempted to prove, that Gezbertus, archbishop of Rheims, afterwards pope Silvester II., had learned the art of arithmetic, as now practised in Europe, from the Saracens in Spain, before the year 1000.

Such was his acuteness of intellect, and acquaintance with science, that he ventured to pronounce the practicability of teaching the deaf to speak; which theory he afterwards verified in the case of Mr Whalley, a young gentleman of Northampton, deaf and dumb from his birth. Having fully succeeded in this his first attempt, he made a second essay, equally successful, with the son of admiral Popham. He was, moreover, an eminent divine, and much engaged in defence of the Trinity and the christian Sabbath. He possessed a very quick apprehension, and a clear judgment, in all matters of religious controversy, and could readily discriminate between truth and error, however disguised in sophistical ambiguities. He departed this life, October 28th, 1703, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, leaving behind him one son and two daughters. His remains were interred in the choir of Mary's church, Oxford, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory. With respect to Dr. Wallis' sermons, which were published, for the first time, in 1791, the Monthly Reviewers say, "That he was a man of great ability, worth, and celebrity in his day; but that, like numbers of highly-deserving individuals, his memory has been shamefully neglected. Though Dr. Wallis did not apply himself to mathematics as a business till more than forty years of age, he had a genius particularly fitted for such studies, and soon became pre-eminant in this profession. Next to Sir Isaac Newton, he was allowed to be the first mathematician of his time. One unequivocal testimony of this is his *Commercium Epistolicum*, occasioned by a challenge given by Mr Fermate, a Frenchman, to all the English, Dutch, and French mathematicians, with the exception of those in Paris, to answer a numerical question. This Dr. Wallis accomplished with great applause, and received, among other commendations, in a letter addressed to Sir Kenelm Digby, 'That Holland must now yield to England, and Paris to Oxford.'"

Upon the whole, Dr. Wallis must be regarded as a man who ranks high in the records of science and literature. He was not only an adept in the theology called orthodox, but, what is of much more importance, he also appears to have been earnestly solicitous to advance the best interest of his hearers. We are told, more particularly, that he possessed a vigorous constitution, a soul, calm, serene, and not easily ruffled or discomposed; that he was considered the ornament of Oxford, and an honour to his country.

His writings are numerous, 1. Truth tried, or Animadversions on Lord Brook's Treatise, called the Nature of Truth.—2. Animadversions on Mr Baxter's Book, entitled, Aphorisms of Justification, and of the Covenant.—3. Tractus de Loquela Grammaticæ.—4. Grammar of the English tongue, for the use of Foreigners.—5. Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbinae.—6. Due Correction to Mr Hobbes, or School Discipline for not saying his lessons a-right.—7. Hobbiani Puncti Dispunctio.—8. Hobbious Heautontimorumenos, addressed to Mr Boyle.—9. Mathesis Universalis.—10. Commercium Epistolicum de Questionibus Mathematicis.—11. He gave an edition of Archimedes' Avenarius and Dimensio Circuli. He published, from the manuscript, Claudii Ptolemæi Opus Harmonicum, in Greek, with a Latin Version and Notes; to which he afterwards added an Appendix.—12. Theological Discourses, consisting of eight Letters and three Sermons, viz. The Life of Faith, God's Sovereignty and Justice, The True Treasure.—13. On Repentance, with Discourses concerning Melchizedek, Job, and titles of the Psalms.—14. Two Sermons, the Necessity of Regeneration, and the Resurrection asserted.—15. A Defence of the Sabbath.—16. A brief and easy Explanation of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism; with other Pamphlets, Letters, &c.

In 1697, the curators of the press at Oxford thought it for the honour of the university to collect all his works, which had been separately printed, either in English or Latin, and to publish them all together in Latin. They were accordingly published at Oxford, in three volumes folio, and dedicated to king William. A posthumous volume of thirteen sermons were also published by his great-grand-son, in 1791, who had in his possession some valuable manuscripts, and till lately a rich gold medal, which had been presented to Dr. Wallis by the elector of Brandenburg, with an honourable inscription, and a chain of gold, that produced from the refiner the sum of sixty-two pounds five shillings.

## JEREMIAH WHITAKER, A. M.

THIS faithful minister of the gospel was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, 1599. He studied at Sidney college, Cambridge, where he was much esteemed for his modesty and literary talents. From a child he was grave and thoughtful; even when a boy, he would travel, in company with others, eight or ten miles on a Sabbath morning to hear a puritan sermon, and join with them in their public devotions. While but a youth, he was so impressed with the importance and value of an immortal soul, and so charmed with the idea of salvation by the grace of God and the merits of Christ, that he considered a preacher of the gospel the most honourable and pleasant employment on earth, and often expressed how much rather he would choose to be a preacher of the gospel, than the greatest emperor in the universe. Having finished his studies at the university, he was settled at Oakham in Rutlandshire, in the capacity of school-master; where he continued, some say four, others seven, years, during which he became intimate with Mr William Peachey, an eminent scholar and preacher, whose daughter he afterwards married. Having been invited to the pastoral charge of Stretton, in the same county, he left Oakham, and commenced his favourite work. While at Stretton he was invited to become the master of one of the colleges; but his heart was so bound up in the work of the gospel, that he returned the following answer: "My heart doth more desire to be a constant preacher, than to be master of any college in the world."

Upon the publication of the Book of Sports, Mr Whitaker refused to read it; which exposed him, as well as multitudes of his brethren, to the persecution of the prelates. In this instance, however, he escaped the malice of his enemies much better than he had reason to expect. But being afterwards required to contribute towards the expense of the war against the Scots, he refused, telling the bishop, or his chancellor, "That he could not, with a good conscience, contribute towards the persecution of the church of Christ, in whatever nation it might happen to be situated." For this honest declaration he would have suffered suspension and deprivation, if one of his friends had not paid the money.

Having preached at Stretton thirteen years, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines; and being thus necessarily called up to London, he was chosen pastor of St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey in Southwark, and one of the morning lecturers at Abbey church, Westminster. In 1647 he was appointed a member of the first provincial assembly, held at London, of

which he was once the moderator. In the course of the same year, by an order of the House of Lords, he and Dr. Thomas Goodwin were appointed to the oversight and examination of the assembly's papers, before putting them to the press. In 1648 he was in danger of being deprived of his lecture at Westminster for refusing the engagement; but on account of his moderation, and chiefly owing to the universal esteem in which he was held by the people, he was suffered to remain unmolested. He preached three or four sermons generally every week, two at Southwark, his own charge, one at Westminster, one at Christ Church; and when he gave up his lecture at Christ Church, he undertook another at Stepney. He was engaged in two quarterly lectures at Michael's, Cornhill. He preached monthly at the morning exercise, besides funeral sermons, and at sacramental occasions; add to all this, his other pastoral duties, and his attending the assembly of divines. In short, he never shrunk from any part of the church's service which he had it in his power to perform, nor did he serve his Master with that which cost him nothing. His sermons, though so numerous, were neither mean nor empty, but solid and judicious, and his delivery commanding, ardent, and impressive.

Mr Whitaker was of the presbyterian persuasion, and had a principal hand in composing the Defence of a Gospel Ministry, published by the provincial synod of London in 1654. When the storm seemed to increase, and the faithful were in danger of suffering much for their fidelity, he was riding one day in company with an intimate friend, and, as they passed Tyburn, he stopped his horse, and contemplating for a moment that scene of misery, he exclaimed, "Why, here is indeed a marvellous thing! The multitudes of wicked men, who have perished in this miserable place, sufficiently demonstrate, that the children of darkness are more valorous in the service of their master than the children of light. These men could brave the laws of eternal justice, and, in defiance of all the allurements of heaven, and the terrors of hell, knowingly sacrifice their lives, their honour, the happiness of their neighbours, and hazard the salvation of their own souls, all for the paltry gratification of some sordid propensity; and shall the servants of Christ be less courageous in the cause of their adorable Master, who has pledged his veracity to reward their fidelity with an immoveable kingdom, and an unfading crown. With such delightful prospects before us, should not the children of God be ready, on all occasions, having a good cause, and a good call, to follow their divine Leader wherever he points the way, were it even to mount Calvary? But, alas! how few have the fortitude to appear for him in the face of this adulterated generation."

During the latter part of his life, this amiable divine was sore afflicted with the gout and stone; the agonizing torments occasioned by which, though they often made him groan, and often roar out, never drew from him one murmuring expression. He manifested such a spirit of resignation to the will of God, and patience under the inconceivable severity of his trouble, that some considered him designed by God as an example of patience to posterity. When his friends asked how he did? he generally replied, "The bush is still burning, but not yet consumed; and though my pains are above the strength of nature, they are not beyond the supports of grace." About two months before his death, his pains became exceedingly severe; so that he cried unto the Lord, in the anguish of his affliction, "O thou Father of mercy, pity me—consider my frame; thou knowest I am but dust, do not contend with me for ever. O my God, Creator of heaven and earth, help me! help me! Consider, Lord, that I am thy servant. Pour, Lord, some drops of comfort into these bitter waters. O that the blood of sprinkling might mollify these excruciating pains. I am in a fiery furnace, Lord, be with me, and bring me out, refined from my corruptions. O God, I fly to thee, cover me with thy wings till this terrible storm pass over me. O my God, break open the prison door, and set my poor captive soul at liberty; but enable me to wait thy good time—surely no man ever desired more earnestly to live than I do to die. When, oh! when shall that blessed hour arrive, when I shall neither sin, suffer, nor sorrow any more. Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, they rest from their labours." As he felt the fits coming upon him, he requested his friends to withdraw, that they might not be grieved by hearing his groanings. As the time of his departure drew near, the paroxysms became more frequent, and more insupportably severe; but the Lord delivered him from them all. He died, June 1st, 1654, aged fifty-five years, and was buried in Bermondsey church, where vast numbers of people honoured his interment with their presence. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr Simeon Ashe, and afterwards published, entitled, *Living Loves between Christ and Dying Saints*.

After Mr Whitaker's death, his body was opened in the presence of several physicians, when both kidneys were found full of ulcers, one of them was swoln to an enormous size, and full of purulent matter. In the neck of the bladder they found a stone about an inch and half long, and an inch broad, which weighed about two ounces, and was supposed the occasion of his racking pains. He was an excellent preacher, an universal scholar, an able disputant, an eminent theologian, and a man of unbounded liberality. Mr Leigh says, "He was a pious and

learned divine, mighty in the scriptures, laborious in his ministry, zealous for the glory of God, of a meek and humble spirit, and a surprising instance of patience under a long period of extreme pain." Fuller includes him amongst the learned writers of Sidney college, Cambridge.

His works are, 1. *Christ, the Settlement of unsettled Times*; a Sermon delivered before the Commons.—2. *The Christian's Hope Triumphant*; a Sermon preached to the Peers.—3. *The Danger of Greatness*; a Sermon preached before the Lords, Commons, and the Assembly of Divines.

---

### THOMAS WILSON, A. M.

THIS heavenly-minded person was born at Catterly in Cumberland, in the year 1601, and studied in Christ college, Cambridge, where, by his genius and industry, he made great proficiency in useful learning. On leaving the university, he taught school for some time, and then entered on the work of the ministry at Capel, in the county of Surrey. Here, though his reward was extremely small, he was not the less careful of the spiritual welfare of his flock. He sought not theirs, but them, and was greatly beloved by his people. From this place he soon removed to Teddington, near Kingston-upon-Thames, where he continued several years, and was instrumental in doing much good. He next accepted a presentation to the living of Otham, near Maidstone in Kent. In this place multitudes flocked to hear him from Maidstone and its vicinity; so that the church was soon found too small to contain his audience. His great popularity and usefulness, however, soon awakened the envy of some neighbouring ministers, and certain profane men; but still holding on his way, the Lord was pleased greatly to bless and prosper his labours. At length he was silenced for refusing to read the Book of Sports, and inhibited, by archbishop Laud's vicar-general, from part of his ministerial exercises. Soon after this Laud sent for him, and in April 1635 he had no less than fourteen charges exhibited against him; to each of which he gave his answer, on the 28th of May following—wherein he demonstrated, "That the Book of Sports was contrary to the laws of the country, and the canons even of the church of England; that it was contrary to scripture; that it was contrary to the councils; that it was contrary to the sentiments of all christian divines, ancient or modern; and that it was also contrary to common sense and reason." On each of these topics he enlarged with great judgment. That the archbishop had been watching an opportunity to entrap Mr Wilson, seems highly probable, from the circumstance, that no sooner

had the latter acknowledged his refusal to read the Book of Sports, than the archbishop replied, "I suspend you for ever, till you read it, from both office and benefice." Accordingly, he continued suspended for four years; at the expiration of which period he was brought into the high commission court, by means of the archbishop, and there prosecuted for the same crime. In 1639 the Scots having entered England, Laud took off Mr Wilson's suspension; but his troubles were not ended here. On the 30th of September 1640 he was cited before the archbishop's visitors at Feversham, together with other ministers of Kent, to answer for not reading the prayer against the Scots. On their appearance, Mr Edward Bright was first called, who had no sooner acknowledged his not having read the prayer, than the archdeacon instantly suspended him both from office and benefice, without affording him time to mention his reasons, or giving him any admonition. Mr Wilson, observing his rash method of procedure, and being next called, acknowledged that he had not read the prayer against the Scots; "because (said he), in the rubric of the Common Prayer, we are strictly enjoined to read no prayers in public excepting such as are contained in the Book of Common Prayer; and the prayer in question is not so contained." This unexpected answer so confounded the archdeacon, that he knew not how to proceed. In the meantime, he allowed Mr Wilson fourteen days to consider the matter, and then to lodge his answer at Canterbury. The result of this affair, however, we have not been able to ascertain.

About the same time a warrant was granted by the lords of council, among whom was Laud and the bishop of London, to apprehend Mr Wilson. With this warrant the pursuivant hastened to Otham, where, though he heard Mr Wilson preach, and was afterwards in the room with him—Wilson, suspecting his appearance, retired, and hid himself, and so escaped the snare; to the no small mortification of the pursuivant, who declared he had been thirty-six years in that service, and never was so served before. Mr Wilson having thus happily escaped, withdrew from the storm till the meeting of the long parliament, who restored him to his living, and ordered him to be indemnified for his loss, and the trouble attending the whole of these illegal proceedings.

In 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines, where he was much esteemed for his meek and peaceable deportment, and his grave and judicious counsels. Having continued some time at Otham, he removed to Maidstone, where he remained till the day of his death. Here his first care was to promote the reformation of the church, and administer the sacraments according to his view of the sacred oracles. For

this purpose he preached up the necessity of observing a scriptural mode of discipline, and the necessary qualifications of church members. At first he was considerably opposed in his new system; but by his prudence and perseverance, things were brought to a favourable issue.

Mr Wilson was indefatigably laborious. He did the work of his divine Master with faithfulness and alacrity, and found his reward even in his labours. He was of opinion, that Christ makes no difference between an idle and an evil servant, and was always careful, that when his Master came, he should not find him unemployed.

Mr Wilson's singular piety was most conspicuous during the time of his last illness, and at his death. He endured his extreme pain with exemplary patience and resignation. He often moaned, but never mourned; but cheerfully drank the bitter cup which his heavenly Father had put into his hand. When he found he was drawing near the end of his journey, he called his family around him, and desired his wife not to be cast down in sorrow like them that have no hope, but place her confidence in God; "for (said he) though we must now part for a short time, we shall assuredly meet again, never to be separated." He exhorted his children to fear the Lord always, to press in at the strait gate, and walk in the narrow way which leads to life everlasting. In this way alone you can find pleasure on your march, and songs of triumph at the end of your journey. "Beware, I beseech you, that you do not meet me at last in an unconverted state." To a pious lady of his acquaintance, on leaving Maidstone, he pleasantly said, "What will you think, Mrs Crisp, if I get the start of you, and be in heaven before you get to Dover." To those who were mourning over him, he said, "I bless God, who has suffered me to live so long, and now having finished the work he has allotted me, that he is pleased to call me off the field so soon." Thus, having fought the good fight, and finished his course, he died in peace, about the latter end of the year 1653, aged fifty-three years. He possessed a clear understanding, a ready invention, a tenacious memory, and was a hard student, a good scholar, a bold reprovcr, an excellent preacher, and an humble christian. He was author of a Sermon preached before the House of Commons, entitled, *Jericho's Downfall*; and most probably of some others.

---

### ROBERT BAILLIE, D. D.

THE English parliament having called together an assembly of divines, on purpose to rectify the disorders, and settle the

discipline and government of the church, it was thought expedient to solicit the assistance of some of the Scottish divines in that important undertaking. Their request was granted, and Messrs Alexander Henderson, Robert Douglas, Samuel Rutherford, George Gillespie, and Robert Baillie, were appointed, by the general assembly of the church of Scotland, as their commissioners to the assembly of divines at Westminster, in the year 1643, who, with the exception of Mr Robert Douglas, proceeded to Westminster, and took their places in that famous assembly.

ROBERT BAILLIE, one of the above commissioners, was born at Glasgow in the year 1599. He was descended from the Baliols, lords of Galloway. According to Nisbet's Heraldry, Baillie of Hoprig was a branch of the Baliol family, who, by marrying the daughter of the patriotic Sir William Wallace, regent of Scotland, obtained the estate of Lamington. Their second son was the first of the House of Carfin; of which Baillie of Jerviston was a branch; and Mr Thomas Baillie, a citizen of Glasgow, and father of the subject of our present memoir, was son of Baillie of Jerviston, and related to the Gibsons of Durie, some of whom have made a distinguished figure in law. Robert had his education at the university of Glasgow, where, by his uncommon assiduity, and the efforts of a lively genius, he made great proficiency in useful learning. Such was his facility in acquiring the languages, that he left his fellows far behind him, and could speak at least in twelve or thirteen different tongues, and write in Latin with a purity and elegance of style worthy of the most improved period of Roman elocution. After taking his degrees in arts, he turned his thoughts to the study of divinity; which he prosecuted with great resolution and success. About 1622 he took orders from archbishop Law, and became regent of philosophy in the university of Glasgow. While in this situation he had charge of the education of lord Montgomery, who carried him along with him to Kilwinning; to which church Mr Baillie was soon after presented by the earl of Eglinton; where he was beloved by his people, lived in cordial friendship, and held a literary correspondence with his ordinary, the archbishop of Glasgow. In 1633 he had the offer of one of the churches of Edinburgh; which he declined from a principle of modesty. In the year 1637, when the reformation from prelacy began, he had many doubts and difficulties to overcome, chiefly arising from his tenderness to the king's authority; but after much reading, reasoning, and prayer, as he himself informs us, he cordially embraced the cause, and supported the interest of the covenanters. About this time, being requested, by the archbishop of Glasgow, to preach a sermon before the

general assembly, in recommendation of the Book of Common Prayer, and the canon of the church, then lately established in Scotland, and published by authority—Mr Baillie declined the service, and, in a handsome letter addressed to the archbishop, assigned the reasons of his refusal. The letter is dated at Kilwinning, August 19th, 1637, and runs as follows:

“Your lordship’s letter, of the 7th instant, I received on the 13th late, wherein I am desired to preach, the last Wednesday of this instant, before the assembly, and to frame my sermon so as to unite my hearers in the obedience and practice of the Canons and Service-book of our church, published and established by authority. I am much obliged to your lordship’s estimation of my poor gifts, and humbly thank your lordship for intending to honour me with so great a service; but, withal, I am sorry that my present disposition necessitates me to decline the charge. The truth is, I have not as yet studied the matters contained in our Canons and Common Prayer; but merely taken a slight view of them; by which, for the present, my mind is in no way satisfied. Yea, the little pleasure I have in these books, and the great aversion manifested against them, both by pastors and people, wherever I come, has so grieved my heart, that I am scarcely able to preach to my own flock; but to preach to another congregation upon these matters, and before so famous an auditory, I am utterly unable.”

This spirited refusal served strongly to establish his reputation amongst the opposers of prelacy; and being greatly distinguished for prudence and solid judgment, with a very peaceable and healing disposition, he was much employed afterwards in the public and important concerns of the church. In 1638 he was chosen, and appointed by his own presbytery, to represent them in the memorable assembly held at Glasgow, which was a prelude to the civil war. Here he conducted himself with becoming prudence, and advocated the presbyterian cause with great learning and zeal. He was also a member of all the succeeding general assemblies, till the year 1653, excepting when commissioner to the assembly of divines at Westminster. He was appointed one of the chaplains to the Scotch army in the years 1639 and 1640, and present during the whole treaty, begun at Rippon, and concluded at London. Of his feelings in this situation, he himself says, “I never found my mind in a better frame than it was, during the whole time, till my face was again turned homeward. I had furnished half a dozen of good fellows with muskets and pikes, and my boy with a broad sword; and to be in the fashion myself, I carried a sword, and had a pair of Dutch pistols stuck in my saddle; but for the offence of no man, unless it were a robber in the way. It was

our part alone to pray and to preach for the encouragement of our countrymen; which I did to the uttermost of my power. Every company had a brave new colour waving at the captain's tent door, stamped with the Scotch arms, and this motto, in gold letters, *For Christ's Crown and Covenant*. For my part, I had taken leave of the world, resolved to die in the service; and found the favour of God shining on me, and a meek and humble, yet strong and vehement, spirit leading me along." During the same year, 1640, he was sent to London by the covenanting lords, to draw up an accusation against archbishop Laud, for the innovations he had obtruded upon the church of Scotland. While in England, on this occasion, he addressed, to the presbytery of Irvine, a lengthy and regular account of public affairs, together with a journal of the proceedings in the trial of the earl of Strafford.

In 1642, soon after his return to Scotland, he was appointed joint professor of divinity with Mr David Dickson, in the university of Glasgow. Some time before this he had received invitations from each of the other three universities; which he modestly declined. He held his professorship till the reformation, though the duties of it were interrupted for a considerable time while he attended the assembly at Westminster; to which he was chosen one of the commissioners, for his great learning and approved orthodoxy, in the year 1643. Though he did not distinguish himself as a speaker in the assembly, he appears to have been a very useful member, and gained great reputation by his writings; and when the assembly rose, the English parliament made him a handsome present of silver plate, with an inscription, intimating, that it was a token of their respect for him, and to be considered as an acknowledgment of his good services. It was long carefully preserved in the house of Carnbrae, in the county of Lanark, an ancient seat of the Baillies.

Mr Baillie was a confidant of the marquis of Argyle, of the earls of Cassils, Lauderdale, and Loudon, of lord Balmarino, lord Warriston, sir Archibald Johnston, and others of the chief managers among the covenanters. He had thereby an opportunity of being correctly informed with respect to the papers, and all the important transactions of that troublesome period, which he collected and preserved with particular care. He was strongly opposed to prelacy, but by no means deficient in loyalty. The general assembly of the church had so much confidence in his attachment to the Stuart family, that they appointed him one of their embassy to Charles II. at the Hague, after he was proclaimed in Scotland. On that occasion Mr Baillie addressed the king in a loyal speech, expressing his joy,

and that of his brethren, on his accession to the throne of his ancestors, and their abhorrence of the murder of his royal father. It would appear, that the presbyterian divines, both at home and abroad, were generally agreed on this point. Under the government of Cromwell, he joined with the party called resolutioners, and wrote several of the papers on that side. He had a strong aversion to toleration, and took every opportunity, that fell in his way, to testify against it. Mr Gillespie, who had been patronized by Cromwell, was removed from the university of Glasgow at the restoration, and Mr Baillie made principal by the interest of the earl of Lauderdale, with whom he was a great favourite. About this time, it is said, he had the offer of a bishoprick; which he refused, because, as he says himself, "Jesus Christ had no lord bishops amongst his disciples." Mr Baillie continued firmly attached to the presbyterian mode of church government to the last day of his life, as evidently appears from his own letters, particularly one to Lauderdale on this subject, a little before his death; wherein he thus expresses himself: "Having the opportunity of this bearer, I tell you my heart is broken with grief, and I find the burden of the public so weighty, that it will hasten me to my grave. What need you do that disservice to the king, which all of you cannot recompense, to grieve the hearts of all your godly friends in Scotland, by pulling down all our laws at once, which concerned our church since 1633? Was this good advice, or will it thrive? Is it wisdom to bring back upon us the Canterburian times, the same designs, the same practices? Will they not bring on the same effects, whatever fools may dream?" And, again, in the same letter, he says, "My lord, you are the nobleman in all the world I love best, and esteem most. I think I may say, I write to you what I please, if you have gone with your heart and free will to forsake your covenant, to countenance the re-introduction of bishops and books, and strengthen the king by your advice in these things. I think you a prime transgressor, and liable among the first to answer for that great sin, &c." Mr Baillie was much opposed to the practice of funeral sermons, as appears from one of his letters, dated from London, in which, speaking of the death and funeral of Mr Pym, he says, "Marshall had a most eloquent and pertinent funeral sermon, which we would not go to hear; for funeral sermons are some of the things we must have put down." He was twice married, first to Lillas Fleming, by whom he had several children, and afterwards to the daughter of principal Strang, by whom he had one daughter, Margaret, who was married to Mr Walkinshaw of Barrowfield. Mr Baillie having joined the public resolutioners, he became so zealous

in their cause, that the self same nobleman and ministers, whom he had formerly praised as the prime instruments, in the hand of God, for forwarding the reformation from 1638 to 1649, had no sooner declared themselves inimical to the admission of the malignants into the bosom of the church, and to places of power and trust in the state, than, with unsparing severity, he misrepresented their characters, and attempted to diminish the importance of all their faithful contendings. From a mistaken view of this controversy, he charges all the calamities of the church, the state, and also those of the army, during Cromwell's usurpation, to the account of the remonstrants, because they refused to concur with his party, and would not twist their consciences into a compliance with measures, which, with their hands lifted up to the most high God, they had so lately sworn to oppose. The sequel, however, proved the absurdity of the charge, and fully demonstrated, that the resolutioners, who forsook the covenant of their God, and, in the mania of their ill-directed loyalty, admitted into the bosom of the church Charles II., and his faction of irreligious scoffers and malignants, brought tyranny and persecution, with all their concomitant evils, oppression, plunder, racks, gibbets, and cold-blooded murders, without even the formalities of trial by law; which, till the extirpation of the Stuart family, and the accession of king William, rendered Great Britain a scene of suffering, lamentation, and terror.

Principal Baillie lived, however, to see and deplore a part, and only a small part, of the misery the mistaken views of his party had occasioned to the church and civil constitution of his country. This appears from a letter to his cousin, Mr Strang, dated in May 1st, 1662, wherein, after giving some account of the west country ministers being called up to Edinburgh, he says, "The guise now is, that the bishops will trouble no man, but that seditious ministers will be punished by the states; and this poor church is now more grievously beset by her enemies than ever we have seen her heretofore. This is my daily grief; this has occasioned all my present bodily trouble, and will, most likely, do me still more harm." Wodrow, in his history of this period, says, "I have it from one of Mr Baillie's scholars, who was afterwards his successor, and waited on him a few weeks before his death, that he died a firm presbyterian, and under a rooted aversion to prelacy in this church." Having requested Mr Baillie's judgment respecting the courses this church was running into, he replied, "*Prelacy* is now coming in like a land-flood. For my part, I have examined that controversy as far as I was able, and, after all my inquiry, find it *prelacy*; and I am persuaded that it is inconsistent with scripture, contrary to

pure and primitive christianity, and diametrically opposed to the true interest of these lands." During his last illness, when visited by the newly made archbishop of Glasgow, he is said to have addressed him in these words—"Mr Andrew, I will not call you my lord. King Charles would have made me one of these lords; but I do not find in the New Testament that Christ has any lords in his house." He treated the archbishop, however, with great courtesy. His health forsook him in the spring of 1662, and in the month of July, the same year, he departed this life, aged sixty-three years.

The author of the Appendix to Spotswood's History, says, "Robert Baillie, professor of divinity, and afterwards principal, a learned and modest man, who, though he published some very violent writings, yet these flowed more from the instigation of others, than his own inclination. He has left behind him a great evidence of his diligence and learning in his *Opus Chronologicum*." And the celebrated Mr Wodrow, in his History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, says, "Mr Robert Baillie may be most justly reckoned among the great men of these times, and was an honour to his country for his profound and universal learning, his exact and solid judgment, the vast variety of languages he understood, and his Latin style, which might become the Augustine age. But I need not enlarge on his character, says he, his own works sufficiently praise him."

His writings are, 1. A Defence of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, against Mr Maxwell, bishop of Ross.—2. A Parallel or Comparison of the Scottish Service-book to the Roman Missal Breviary, &c.—3. Queries anent the Service-book.—4. The Canterburian Self-conviction.—5. Antidote to Arminianism.—6. A Treatise on Scottish Episcopacy.—7. Satan, the leader in chief of all who resist the reparation of Zion; a Sermon to the House of Commons, February 28th, 1644.—8. A Sermon to the Lords, July 30th, 1645.—9. A Dissuasive against the errors of the times.—10. Second part of the Dissuasive.—11. A reply to the modest Inquirer.—12. *Opus Historicum et Chronologicum*, folio, with a frontispiece, printed at Amsterdam, 1668.—13. Letters and Journals. The Journals contain the History of the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638, and those of 1641 and 1643; also an account of the earl of Strafford's trial at London.

#### GEORGE GILLESPIE.

MR GILLESPIE, the son of John Gillespie, for some time minister of Kirkaldy, in the county of Fife, received his education at the university of St. Andrew's, where, by his genius

and industry, he surpassed most of his fellow-students. Some years prior to 1638 he was licensed to preach; but in consequence of the power of the prelatical party, and his own presbyterian predilections, could find no admission into any parish church; he therefore became chaplain in the family of the earl of Cassils. Before he was twenty-five years of age he wrote that elaborate work, entitled, *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies*; which so confounded and enraged the bishops, that, in 1637, it was prohibited by proclamation. He was also for some time chaplain to viscount Kenmure. In 1638 Mr Gillespie was ordained minister of Wemyss, and had the honour of being the first, who, at that period, was admitted by a presbytery, and ordained by the imposition of hands, without the permission or acknowledgment of the bishops, whose power was now greatly on the wane. During this remarkable year, he signed the national covenant as minister of Wemyss; and, at the eleventh session of the general assembly, which was held at Glasgow the same year, he preached a very learned and judicious sermon from these words, "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord," &c. The earl of Argyle, who was present, conceiving that Mr Gillespie had pressed too close to the king's prerogative, gravely admonished the assembly to consider the delicacy of the subject, and let the prerogative alone. Which admonition was taken in good part by all the members, and supported in a beautiful speech by the moderator.

At the general assembly, held at Edinburgh in 1641, a call for Mr Gillespie was tabled by the town of Aberdeen; which, from his regard to his flock at Wemyss, he was unwilling to accept; but, in this instance, the king's commissioner and himself pled his cause so effectually, that no translation took place, till the general assembly, in 1642, appointed him to be transported to the city of Edinburgh, where, it appears, he remained till his death, about six years after. He was one of the four commissioners sent by the church of Scotland to the Westminster assembly in 1643; and though but a young man, he reasoned and conducted himself with all the prudence of age and long experience. Equally acute and learned, with a ready and charming elocution, no speaker in that assembly expressed himself to better purpose, or was listened to with more attention and regard. Nor was he deficient in fortitude, he even dared to contend with the famous Shelden and Lightfoot, the redoubted champions of the erastian party in the assembly, men truly formidable from their extraordinary acquaintance with Jewish antiquities and rabbinical learning. Those men having asserted, that Jesus Christ had appointed no specific mode of government in his church, but had left it to the management of the civil

magistrate, who is empowered to make, alter, or amend the regulations of the church, so as it may be found most conducive to the peace and prosperity of the community. In support of this proposition, they urged the laws and regulations of the Jewish church, and asserted, that the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Jews were one and the same thing: That the laws of the state were, at the same time, the laws of the church; and that the laws of the church were, to all intents and purposes, the laws of the state. In opposition to this doctrine, Mr Gillespie quoted Deut. xvii. 12. "The man who will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest who standeth to minister there before the Lord, or unto the Judge, even that man shall die." "Which passage (said Mr Gillespie) evidently points out two different courts, the one superior to the other, for the obvious purpose of appeal; for it is not said, the man who will not hearken to the priest shall suffer death; No—he has his appeal to a superior court, where the judge, but not the priest, is empowered to pronounce the final sentence of the law." Mr Baillie, one of his colleagues in that assembly, who had every opportunity of being fully acquainted with his learning and abilities, when speaking of the transactions of this assembly, says, "The many learned debates we have had in twelve or thirteen sessions, from nine in the morning till half-past one, it were tedious to relate; but none in the assembly took a larger share of the discussion, or reasoned more pertinently, than Mr Gillespie. He is an excellent youth, my heart blesses God in his behalf. When Acts xiv. 23. was brought forward in proof of the power of ordination, and when, after much debating, the question was on the point of being brought to the vote, says Mr Baillie, the very learned and acute Mr Gillespie, a singular ornament of our church, than whom none speaks to better purpose, or with better acceptance, opposed the episcopal translation, and shewed the assembly, that the Greek word, by them turned into *ordination*, was, in reality, *choosing*, and imported the suffrages of the people in electing their own office-bearers. On which a warm debate ensued, which occupied two whole sessions, and was terminated at last by an overture of Mr Henderson's." On another occasion, the same author says, "In our assembly debates we are well assisted by my lord Warriston, an occasional commissioner; but by none more than that noble youth Mr Gillespie. I admire his gifts, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in particular, as equal in these to the first men in the assembly." In a letter to Mr Robert Blair, dated March 26th, 1644, the same writer says, "Though I have long had an high opinion of Mr Gillespie's gifts, yet I confess he has much deceived me. Of a truth, there

is no man, whose parts, in a public dispute, I so much admire. He has studied so accurately all the points that ever yet came before the assembly, he has got so ready, so assured, so solid a method of public debating, that though there are in the assembly divers excellent men, yet, in my poor judgment, there is not one who speaks more to the point, or with greater propriety, than that brave youth has ever done; so that his absence would be prejudicial to our whole cause, and unpleasant to all who wish it well in this place."

On one occasion, when both the parliament and assembly were met together, and a long, elaborate, and erastian speech, delivered by one of the members, to which none seemed ready to reply—being urged by the Scottish commissioners, Mr Gillespie repeated the substance of the whole discourse, refuting it as he went along, to the astonishment of all present. But what was the most surprising, though it was customary for the members to take notes of the speeches delivered in the assembly for the help of their memory, and Mr Gillespie seemed to be so employed during the delivery of the foresaid discourse, those who sat next him, on looking into his note-book, declared they found nothing written but these pious ejaculations, "Lord, send light; Lord, give assistance; Lord, defend thine own cause," &c.

After returning from the assembly at Westminster, he was much engaged in the public concerns of the church; and having been greatly distinguished for learning, prudence, and a strong attachment to the cause of truth, he was chosen moderator of the general assembly that met at Edinburgh in the year 1648. In this assembly several famous acts were ratified in favour of the reformation, particularly that regarding the unlawful engagement against England, entered into by the duke of Hamilton, and those of the malignant faction. He was also one of those divines nominated by this assembly to prosecute the purposes of the solemn league and covenant with the Westminster divines. But soon after this he was seized with sickness, from which he never recovered, but died soon after. When on his death-bed, Mr Samuel Rutherford wrote him a letter, dated St. Andrew's, September 27th, 1648, wherein he says, "I can say nothing against this divine dispensation. I hope to follow quickly. The heirs of the kingdom, who are not there before you, are fast posting after, and none shall take your lodgings over your head, or get the possession of your crown. Be not heavy, the work of faith is now particularly called for—*doing* was never reckoned in your accounts. Though Christ in you, and by you, hath done more than by twenty, nay, an hundred grey-haired and godly pastors, believing is now your proper employment. Look to that word, Gal. ii. 20. 'Nevertheless I

live; yet not I, but Christ that liveth in me.' You must leave your wife to a more choice Husband, and your children to a better Father; and if you leave any testimony to the Lord's work and covenant, against both malignants and sectarians, which I suppose may be needful at this time, let it be under your own hand, and subscribed before faithful witnesses."

Mr Gillespie was a staunch defender of presbyterian church government, and the covenanted reformation of the kirk of Scotland; in behalf of which, he signalized himself on every occasion wherein he was called to exercise his talents in her defence, particularly against prelatical usurpation and erastian supremacy, which he combated with fearless intrepidity while living, and left a faithful warning behind him of the sin and danger of backsliding, which he perceived to be springing up both in church and state.

In a letter, addressed to the commission of the general assembly, dated Kirkaldy, September 8th, 1648, and only three months before his death, he says, "Although the Lord's hand prevents me from attending your meetings, so long as I can either speak or write, I dare not conceal my thoughts of any sinful and dangerous course in the public proceedings; and having heard of some motions towards a compliance with those who have been so deeply engaged in a war, at once destructive to religion and the liberty of these kingdoms, I must discharge my conscience in testifying against all such compliances. I know, and am persuaded, that all the faithful, who testified against the late engagement, as contrary to, and destructive of, the covenant, will also testify against all compliance with those who have been active in that most sinful and unlawful engagement. I am not able to enumerate the evils of such a compliance, they are so many; sure I am, it would harden the malignant party, wound the hearts of the godly, and do an infinite wrong to those, who, from their affection to the cause and covenant of God, have appeared for, and befriended them, at the hazard of their lives. It would prove a scandal to our brethren in England, who, having been strengthened and encouraged by hearing of our zeal and integrity in opposing the engagement, would be equally scandalized to hear of our compliance with these fiery serpents who have stung us so severely heretofore. God justly punished us, by making them thorns and scourges, whom we had, by a sinful and disgraceful compliance, admitted as friends, without any real evidence of their sincerity and repentance. Alas! shall we split twice upon the same rock; yea, run upon it, when God has set up a beacon to point out the danger of the course? Shall we be so demented, as to fall back into the self-same sin, on which God has engraven his indignation, in large

letters, in his late judgments? Alas! will neither judgments nor deliverances make us wise? And, in the words of Ezra, after all this has come upon us for our evil deeds, and our great trespasses, seeing that thou our God hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, and hast given us such a deliverance as this, should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations? Wouldst thou not be angry with us till thou hadst consumed us; so that there should be no remnant nor escaping? O happy Scotland, if thou canst now improve aright this golden opportunity! But if thou wilt confederate with the ungodly, and join hands with the enemies of Christ and his gospel, wrath upon wrath, and woe upon woe, shall be your portion from God in the day of his just indignation."

"This testimony of a dying man, who expects shortly to stand before the tribunal of Christ, I leave with you, my reverend brethren, being confident, through the Lord, that you will be no otherwise minded; but as men of God, moved by godly zeal, you will freely discharge your consciences against every thing you see lifting up itself against the kingdom of the Lord Jesus.

In his latter will, he thus expresses himself:

"Being, through much weakness and sickness, in expectation of my last change, I have thought good, by this my latter will, under my hand, to declare, first of all, that the prospect of death, which is apparently near, does not shake my faith in the truths of Christ which I have professed and preached; neither have I any doubts, but this so much opposed covenant and reformation of the three kingdoms, is of God, and will be productive of happy consequences. It hath pleased God, who chooseth the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and things that are not, to confound the things that are, to choose me, the unfittest and the most unworthy amongst many thousands, in advancing and promoting that glorious work; and now that my labours seem to be terminated, I repent not of any forwardness or zeal I have shewn, or exertions I have made therein; and dare promise, to as many as will be faithful and zealous in the cause of God, that it shall be no grief of heart, but matter of consolation and peace to them hereafter, as I find it this day. But if there be a compliance with malignant and ungodly men, then I expect nothing but wrath and indignation from the Lord, till there be no remedy. O that there were such a spirit, at least in our nobility who stand up for the truth, that they would take more of the counsel of God, and lean less on their own reason and understanding. As for dangers from the sectaries, I have been, and am still, of the opi-

nion, that they are to be prevented by all lawful means; but that the danger from malignants is much nearer, and exceedingly more formidable in this kingdom, and at this time.

“*Sic. sub.* GEORGE GILLESPIE.

“*Kirkaldy, Sept. 4th, 1648.*”

“Seeing, to all appearance, the time of my dissolution is now very near, notwithstanding that I have in my latter will declared my mind upon public affairs, I have thought good to add this further testimony: That I consider the malignant party, in these kingdoms, the seed of the serpent, whatever they may pretend to the contrary—a generation who have not set God, nor the laws of God, before them. With them are to be ranked, the profane, the scandalous, and heretical; from all which I trust the Lord is about to purge his churches. I have often, and still do comfort myself, with the hopes that the Lord will yet purge this polluted land. Surely, as he hath begun, so he will carry on that great work of mercy. I know there will always be a hypocritical mixture in the church—tares will grow up with the wheat; but this cannot excuse the conniving at gross and scandalous sinners. This purging work, which the Lord is about, has been greatly opposed by many, who say, by their deeds, we will not be purged nor refined, but will mix ourselves with those whom the ministers preach against as the malignant enemies of God and his cause. But he that is filthy, let him be filthy still, and let wisdom be justified of her children. I recommend it to all them that fear God, seriously to consider, that the holy scriptures clearly shew, 1st, That to aid and encourage the enemies of God, or join hands and associate with wicked men, opposers of the truth, are sins highly displeasing in his sight. 2d, That this sin ordinarily ensnares the people of God into the commission of divers other sins. 3d, That it hath been punished by God with grievous judgments. And, 4th, That utter destruction is to be apprehended, when a people, after having received signal punishments, and merciful deliverances, relapse into the same sin. *Ezra ix. 13, 14.*

“Upon these, and the like grounds, for my own exoneration, that so necessary a truth may not want the testimony of a dying witness of Christ, though the unworthiest among thousands, and that light may be held forth, and warning given in this critical time, I cannot be silent, but must speak by my pen, when I cannot by my tongue, yea, even by the pen of another, when I cannot now by mine own, seriously, in the name of Jesus Christ, exhorting and obtesting all who fear God, and make conscience of their ways, to be very tender and circumspect, to watch and pray, that they be not ensnared into that great and dangerous sin of conjunction or compliance with ma-

lignant or profane enemies of the truth, under whatever prudential considerations it may be varnished; the which, if men will conscientiously do, they shall not only have no cause to repent, but, to the unspeakable joy and peace of God's people, they shall see his work go on, and prosper gloriously.

“GEORGE GILLESPIE.”

### SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

THIS greatly experienced christian, and celebrated divine, was born of respectable parents in the parish of Tongueland, near Kirkcudbright. He was much admired, in his early life, for the brilliancy of his parts, and having taken the course of grammatical learning, was sent to the university of Edinburgh; where his proficiency was such, that, in a short time, and while he was yet very young, he was elected professor of philosophy in that university during the establishment of prelacy. Some time after this he was settled in the parish of Anworth, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, by means of the then viscount Kenmure, and without any acknowledgment of, or engagement to, the bishops. Here he was, in the true sense of the expression, a burning and a shining light. He laboured with great diligence and success, usually rising by three o'clock in the morning, and spending his whole time in the various duties of the ministerial profession. In what year Mr Rutherford was settled at Anworth we have no certain account, only that a letter of his, dated at Anworth, June 6th, 1624, seems to establish the fact, that he was inducted before that period. Having published his *Exercitationes de Gratia, &c.* he was summoned before the court of high commission at Edinburgh, in the year 1630, to answer for some passages which were understood to be levelled at the bishops; but the weather was so tempestuous, that the archbishop durst not venture the passage from Kinghorn; and Mr Colvill, one of the judges, having befriended Mr Rutherford, the diet was deserted. About this time he lost his first wife, after thirteen months of sore sickness, and was himself so ill of a tertian ague, that, for thirteen weeks together, he was scarcely able to preach. In April 1634, he was again summoned before the same court, and accused, by the bishop of Galloway, of non-conformity; but particularly for preaching against the articles of Perth, and writing the forementioned book; in which he had so cut up arminianism, that the bishops found it convenient to have him silenced. He appeared before the court; but declining their jurisdiction as unlawful, and themselves as incompetent, and refusing to give the bishops their titles, lord Lorn and others befriended him to the utmost of

their power on this occasion. But the bishop of Galloway, whose inveterate animosity against Mr Rutherford, and the doctrines he had propagated, neither reason nor justice could modify, declared, that unless he was suffered to perform his duty with less opposition, he would immediately write to the king. Accordingly, Mr Rutherford was silenced, deprived of his living, and charged henceforth to exercise no part of his ministerial calling in Scotland, under pain of rebellion; and commanded, within the space of six months, to confine himself to Aberdeen, and its immediate neighbourhood, during the king's pleasure. To this injunction Mr Rutherford reluctantly yielded, and removed to the place of his confinement, where he remained upwards of a year and a-half. Thus prevented from being publicly useful in the cause of Christ, he carried on an extensive correspondence with his religious friends and acquaintances, and many of his admirable letters were dated from this place of his confinement, strongly expressive of the consolations of the spirit reserved for those who suffer for the sake of righteousness. The bishops could deprive him of his living, and remove him from his beloved flock, and his beloved employment; but all their malice and ingenuity could not interrupt that soul-solacing and heavenly intercourse he enjoyed with his God and Saviour. He delighted in preaching and declaring the grace of God, and the way of salvation to sinful and perishing men. His constrained silence on the Lord's day was therefore so peculiarly distressing, that as soon as he understood that the privy council had received a declinature against the court of high commission in 1638, he ventured to return to his flock; where he was received with inexpressible joy, and attended, in his public exercises, not only by his own parishioners, but also by the principal part of the whole district, who considered themselves as a part of his pastoral charge.

At the famous assembly, held at Glasgow in 1638, Mr Rutherford appeared as one of the commissioners from the presbytery of Kirkeudbright; where, having given a satisfactory account of all the proceedings against him, with respect to his confinement, he was appointed one of the select committee for drawing up their objections to the Service-book, the Book of Canons and Ordination, and the court of high commission. This was thought necessary, that the world might see that the petitions and remonstrances against these things had not been without just cause, and that some monuments of the wickedness and oppression of these times might be transmitted to posterity. On this occasion, he was also appointed, by the assembly, professor of divinity in the new college of St. Andrew's, and colleague to the celebrated Mr Blair, who, about this time, was

transported thither from the town of Ayr. In this new situation, Mr Rutherford, by his indefatigable labours, both in teaching the class, and preaching in the congregation, was made instrumental in changing this seat of the archbishop, and hot-bed of superstition, error, and profanity, into a nursery of sound divinity and solid learning; from which the vacancies of the church were afterwards occasionally supplied with pastors, eminent for their piety, learning, and devotion to the cause of truth.

Mr Rutherford was not a more strenuous advocate for the public order and exercises of religion, than for its private duties and devotions. In 1640 a charge was brought into the assembly, by Mr Henry Guthrie, minister at Stirling, and afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, against private society meetings which then abounded in the land. This was the occasion of a warm discussion. Mr Henderson had drawn up a paper concerning the order to be observed in these meetings; which one side of the House were anxious to have sanctioned by the assembly. This Mr Guthrie, and his party, strongly opposed, and endeavoured to obtain an act for dismissing all these private meetings. But Mr Rutherford, who was never forward to speak in judicatorial assemblies, threw in the following syllogism, and challenged the whole assembly to answer it: "What scripture warrants, no assembly can discharge; but private meetings, for the exercise of religion, scripture does warrant, as appears from Mal. iii. 16. 'They that feared the Lord, spake often one to another;' and James v. 16. 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another;' things which, he observed, could not be done in the public meetings of the church; besides, that the presence and blessing of Christ is promised wherever two or three are met together in his name." The earl of Seaforth, and others of Guthrie's faction, cast some sarcasms on Mr Rutherford; yet his syllogism had such an influence on the assembly, that all they could procure was an act concerning the order of family-worship; and Mr Rutherford afterwards defended the lawfulness, propriety, and usefulness of these private religious meetings, in a treatise written for the express purpose.

In 1643 he was appointed one of the committee, for managing the negotiations between the general assembly at Edinburgh and the English commissioners; and in the course of the same year, he was also appointed one of the four commissioners sent to the Westminster assembly; where he and his brethren displayed their talents and zeal, especially in settling a presbyterian church government; and Mr Rutherford took his full share of these discussions, and exhibited much learning, and

no small share of acquaintance with rabbinical writings. During his residence in London, he published his *Lex Rex*, and some other learned works, particularly against the crastians and arminians. Mr Baillie, in a letter to Mr Robert Blair, when speaking of Mr Rutherford, says, "For the great parts God hath given him, and the special acquaintance he hath with the question in hand, Mr Samuel is very necessary here at this time, especially because of his book, which will not come off the press for some time; and when it does, will most likely meet with some short affronting reply. Judge ye, therefore, if it be not highly necessary that he be here to answer for himself."

When the principal business of the assembly was over, Mr Rutherford, on the 24th October 1647, moved, that it be entered in the records, that the assembly had been assisted by the commissioners of the church of Scotland all the time they had been debating and perfecting the four following things mentioned in the solemn league, namely, a directory for worship, a uniform confession of faith, a form of church government and discipline, and a public catechism; which having been agreed to, he and his colleagues, in about a week after, returned to Edinburgh. On leaving the assembly, Mr Herle, then the prolocutor, rose, and, in an appropriate speech, thanked the honourable and reverend commissioners, in name of the assembly, for the assistance they had so liberally contributed to the very important labours in which the assembly had been so long and so ardently engaged.

In the general assembly of 1649, it was moved to transport Mr Rutherford from the university of St. Andrew's to that of Edinburgh; "but this (says Mr Baillie) was thought absurd." In this assembly a warm debate took place respecting the election of ministers. Mr David Calderwood peremptorily urged, that, according to the second Book of Discipline, the election belonged to the presbytery, with power to the major part of the people to dissent upon reasons given; which reasons were to be judged and determined by the presbytery. Mr Rutherford and Mr Wood were equally determined in supporting popular election; while the majority of the assembly were of opinion with Mr Gillespie, in his *Miscellanies*, that the direction belonged to the presbytery, the election to the session, and the consent to the people.

Mr Rutherford's reputation for piety, learning, and sound theology, was so highly raised, both at home and abroad, by his writings against the arminians and jesuits, which were composed in Latin, that, upon the death of the learned Dematius in 1651, the magistrates of Utrecht in Holland invited him to the divinity chair in that university. This very kind and honour-

able invitation, however, he declined, from considerations of pure patriotism. He could not think of deserting his country in so critical a period, when, as he elsewhere expresses it, "The Lord had covered the whole land with a cloud in his anger."

During the usurpation of Cromwell, Mr Rutherford continued to labour, with unabating zeal and activity, in the various duties of his pastoral charge, preaching, catechising, visiting the sick, and exhorting from house to house; besides teaching in the schools, and spending as much time with the students, and in fitting young men for the ministry, as if he had no other employment; and, after all, writing as much as could be expected from one constantly shut up in his study. When the unhappy difference took place between those denominated resolutioners and protesters in 1650 and 1651, he espoused the cause of the protesters, and faithfully warned the people against the sin and danger of countenancing these public resolutions, and joined with a number of the ministers, in the shires of Perth and Fife, in subscribing a testimony for the whole covenanted reformation of the church of Scotland, October 1658. But the restoration of Charles II. sadly altered the aspect of public affairs. The conscientious presbyterians, who stood to their covenant engagements, in opposition to the public resolutions, became the objects of his bitter animosity, and were the first sufferers in the horrid persecution that ensued; and in a short time all the honest presbyterians were sent to the furnace, as Wodrow expresses it, on purpose to unite their divisions; and Mr Rutherford's famous book *Lex Rex*, which Charles said, on seeing it, would scarcely ever be answered; and the Causes of God's Wrath, said to have been written by Mr James Guthrie, were prohibited by proclamation, and the copies called in; with certification, that whoever was found in possession of either, after the 15th October 1660, should be accounted enemies to the king, and punished as such, both in their persons and estates; and to save the trouble of refuting them, they were both publicly burnt, at the cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the hangman, on the 17th of the same month. *Lex Rex* was also burnt at the gate of the new college of St. Andrew's, where the author was professor of divinity. This barbarous policy has seldom or never answered the purpose for which it has been practised; and few, but tyrants unacquainted with the human heart and the true principles of legislation, will hazard an experiment so fraught with danger and defeat. Charles II. had the mortification to find, that this, and similar acts of unnecessary cruelty and injustice, alienated the hearts of a class of individuals, to whose conscientious loyalty he was most of all indebted for his

restoration to a crown, which he degraded, and subjects whom he deceived, insulted, and persecuted, till, by the unsupportable tyranny of his family, the race of the Stuart's had for ever forfeited their claim to the government of these lands.

The parliament, which met the following year, before whom he was to be indicted for high treason, had the cruelty, though they knew he was dying, to cite him before them at Edinburgh; and it has been commonly said, that when the summons came, he spake out of his bed, saying, "Tell them I have got a summons already to appear before a superior Judge and Jury, which I behove to answer first; and before their day come, I shall be beyond the bounds of their jurisdiction." On the report of the messenger, it was put to the vote in parliament, Whether he should be suffered to die in the college? When it was carried, *put him out*, with but a few dissenting voices. Lord Burleigh said, "You have voted that honest man out of his college, but you cannot shut the gates of heaven against him." One said, "He would never get there, that hell was too good for him." \*

When on his death-bed, Mr Rutherford lamented that he had been withheld from bearing witness to the work of reformation since 1638; and twelve days before his death, he subscribed a large and faithful testimony against the sinful courses then greatly prevailing in the land. During his last sickness, especially when the time of his departure drew near, he uttered many savoury expressions in commendation of Christ and his honourable service, and of that everlasting salvation and unspeakable glory he hath purchased and prepared for all those who love his appearance. With regard to his own feelings, and glorious anticipations, he often broke out in a kind of seraphic rapture. A few days before his death, he said, "I shall sleep in Jesus, and be abundantly satisfied with his likeness when I awake. My Redeemer liveth, and shall stand on the earth in the latter day, and I shall see him as he is—I shall see him reign, and all his fair company with him—I shall shine. Mine eyes, these very eyes of mine, shall yet behold him in all his unspeakable glory, and I shall have my share; I know I shall ever be with him; and what could the most ambitious soul more desire? This is the end." And stretching forth his hands, he repeated, "This indeed is the end of all perfection." A little after, he said, "It is no easy matter to be a christian; but thanks be to God, he hath given me the victory, and Christ is holding out both his arms to receive me. At the beginning of my sufferings, I had mine own fears lest I should faint, and not be carried honourably through. I laid this before the Lord,

\* Walker's Rem. p. 171.

and as sure as ever he spoke to me in his word, his Spirit witnessed with my spirit, saying, 'Fear not, my grace is sufficient, and the outgate shall not be matter of prayer, but of praise.'" A person who visited him, speaking concerning his faithfulness in the ministry, he cried out, "I disclaim all that ever he made me, either will or do in his service, as coming from myself. The port I would be in at is redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins." In the afternoon of his last day, he said, "Oh! that all my brethren in the public knew what a gracious and loving Master I have served, and what peace and consolation he has bestowed upon me in this concluding part of his service. O for arms to embrace him! O for a well-tuned harp! I shall live and adore him! Glory, glory to my Creator and Redeemer! Glory dwells in Emanuel's land!" Thus died the famous Samuel Rutherford, in March 1661, the day before the act rescissory was passed in parliament.

Wodrow says concerning him, "That clear shining light, Mr Samuel Rutherford, may very justly come in amongst the sufferers during this session of parliament. He was evidently a martyr, both in his own resolution, and also in the determined intention of the public functionaries. He is so well known to the learned and pious world, that I consider it unnecessary to enlarge on his merits. Those who knew him best, were at a loss which to admire the most—his sublime genius in the school, and peculiar powers of controversial disputation, or his familiar condescension in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers in his time, or perhaps in any age of the church. He seems to have outdone himself, as well as every body else, in his admirable and every way singular letters, which, though jested upon by profane wits, because of some familiar expressions, will be admired and acknowledged, by all who have any relish of piety, to contain such sublime flights of devotion, and to be fraught with such massy thoughts, as strongly bespeak a soul closely united to Christ, and must needs at once ravish and edify every serious reader. In a word, few men have ever run so long in an undeviating course of holiness, and unyielding adherence to the laws of Christ, or contended more heroically for the faith once delivered to the saints."

*His Testimony.*—"Though the Lord stands in no need of a testimony from such a worm as I, and although, should the whole world be silent, the very stones would cry out; yet is it more than debt that I should confess Christ before both men and angels. It would afford me unspeakable satisfaction were the throne of the Lord Jesus exalted above the clouds, the heaven of heavens, and on both sides of the sun; and that I, by his

grace, might put my seal, poor as it is, to the song of those, who, with a loud voice, sing, 'Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood;' and blessed were I, could I but lay to my ear of faith, and listen to the psalm sung by the many angels round about the throne, and the beasts, and the elders, and the ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands, who, with a loud voice, sing, 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing;' and if I heard every creature in heaven, on earth, or under the earth, and such as are in the sea (as John heard them), saying, 'Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be ascribed to him who sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever.' I do not, however, mean any such visible reign as the millenarians fancy. I believe (Lord help my unbelief) the doctrine of the holy prophets, and the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, to be the undoubted word of God, a perfect rule of faith, and the only way of salvation; and I do acknowledge the sum of the christian religion, exhibited in the confessions and catechisms of the reformed protestant churches, and in the national covenant of Scotland, divers times sworn by the king's majesty, the state, and the church of Scotland, and sealed by the testimony and subscriptions of the nobles, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers, and commons of all ranks in the land; likewise in the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland; from all which I do judge, and, in conscience, believe, that no power on earth can absolve and liberate the people of God.

"With respect to the power and purity of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, the church of Scotland had once as much of the presence of Christ, as many churches we read of since the Lord took his ancient people to be his covenanted church. The Lord stirred up our nobles to make an attempt at reformation of the church during the last century; which they did in the face of many difficulties, and a powerful opposition from those in supreme authority. He made bare his holy arm, and his right hand got him the victory; the work went on gloriously, and the idolatry of Rome, with all her accursed masses and ridiculous mummery, were trodden in the dust. A hopeful reformation was in some measure settled, and a sound confession of faith agreed upon by the lords of the congregation. The people of God, at that period, according to the laudable example of the protestants of France and Holland, the renowned princes of Germany, and other ancient churches, car-

ried on the necessary work by an innocent and defensive warfare; which the Lord was pleased to bless with abundant success. While our land and church were thus contending for the faith of the gospel, not only did those in authority continue strenuously to oppose the work, but from among ourselves also did enemies arise, men of prelatical spirits, who endeavoured to sap the foundation, while the court threatened violently to break down the walls of God's house; and we ourselves, doating too much upon sound parliaments, and lawfully constituted general assemblies, fell from our first love into self-seeking and secret banding, lost our zeal, and became cold to the oath of God.

“ Our work in public afterwards consisted too much in sequestrating estates, fining and imprisoning; while we ought to have compassionately mourned over those who stood in opposition to our work, and won them with christian tenderness. In our assemblies, we were more bent upon forms, citations, leading of witnesses, and suspensions from benefices, than to work on their consciences, and persuade them in the meekness and gentleness of Christ. The glory and royalty of our princely Redeemer and King was obviously trampled down in our assemblies. Whatever way the army, the sword, and the countenance of nobles and officers seemed to point, in that way was the censures of the church principally directed. It had been much better had there been more days of humiliation, and that our adjourned commissions, new peremptory summonses, and new drawn up processes, had been much less numerous. Had the meekness and gentleness of our Master got so much place in our hearts, that we might have waited on gainsayers and opposing parties, we might have driven gently, like Christ, who loves not to overdrive his flock, but carries the lambs in his bosom, and gently leads them that are with young. If the scripture of the Old and New Testaments be a sufficient rule to ascertain what constitutes a christian army, whether offensive or defensive, whether clean or foul, sinfully mixed or pure—then must we leave the question between our public brethren and us to be determined by that rule. But the confederacies and associations of the people of God, with the idolatrous apostate Israelites, with the Egyptians and Assyrians, such as that of Jehoshaphat with Ahab, and those of Israel and Judah with Egypt and Assyria, are often reprov'd and condemn'd in the scripture. We are not contending for an army of saints free of every mixture of ill-affected men—in this world tares grow up with the wheat; but inasmuch as the scriptures of truth point out and determine what is a right constituted court, and what is not, Psal. x. ‘What is a right constituted house, and what not,’ Josh. xxiv. 15. ‘What is a true church, and

what is a synagogue of satan,' Rev. ii. 'What is a clean camp, and what is an unclean'—what a prevaricating absurdity must it be for churchmen to counsel and advise, and preach up the propriety of confiding the management of the most important concerns of Christ's kingdom, to men who have shown, and still show themselves enemies to the cause of the reformation, men who have acted, and still act, contrary to the word of God, the declarations, remonstrances, solemn warnings, and serious exhortations of his church! whose public protestations the Lord did so admirably bless, to the encouragement of the godly, and the terror of all the opposers of that blessed work.

“Since we are very shortly to appear before our dread Master and Sovereign Lord, we cannot pass from our protestation, trusting we are therein accepted of him, although we should be considered of schismatical spirits, and unpeaceable mien. To the king's majesty we acknowledge all due obedience in the Lord; but that ecclesiastical supremacy, in and over the church, which some ascribe to him, we must and do condemn: That power of commanding external worship, not appointed nor tolerated in the word, and that binding of mens' consciences, where Christ has made them free, we most solemnly oppose, and leave our testimony against all infractions made or meditated against the prerogatives of the King of kings, and head of his spiritual body the church. We disown antichristian prelacy, bowing at the name of Jesus, saints' days, canonising of the dead, and all such corrupt inventions of men, and consider them as opening a passage back to that idolatrous worship, from the thralldom of which God in his great goodness aforetime had delivered these lands. Alas! there is no need of the spirit of prophecy to declare what shall be the lamentable consequences of breaking our covenant, first practically, and then legally, confirmed with the Lord our God; and what shall be the day of scrutinizing visitation to all the negligent shepherds, and silent and unwarning watchmen, placed on the towers of Scotland? Where shall they leave their glory? And what if Christ should depart from our coast?

“We are verily persuaded, that they are the most loyal to the king's majesty, who sincerely desire, and strenuously endeavour, to separate the dross from the silver, and establish the throne in righteousness and judgment. We are not (our witness is in heaven) against his majesty's title by birth to the kingdom, and the rights of the royal family, but that the controversy of wrath against the royal family may be removed, that the enormous load of guilt that presses down the throne may be mourned over before the Lord, and that his majesty may stand stedfastly, all the days of his life, to the covenant of God,

and his subjects, by oath, seal, and subscription, solemnly manifested to the world; so that peace, and the blessings of approving heaven, may attend his government; that the Lord may be his rock, shield, and supporter; that the just may flourish in his time; that men, fearing God, and hating covetousness, men of known integrity and godliness, may be judges and rulers under his majesty; and we believe, and are equally persuaded, that those who desire not, but oppose the propriety and use of such qualifications in the supreme magistrate, are neither friends to their country, nor loyal and faithful subjects to their prince. We are not in this particular contending, that a prince, who is not a convert, or a sound believer of the gospel, forfeits his title and claim to his kingly dominion on that account. The word of God warrants us to pray for, and obey princes and supreme magistrates, in the Lord, who are otherwise, and render them all due obedience in the Lord, Rom. xiii. 2, 5. 2 Tim. ii. 12. 1 Pet. ii. 18. The burning of 'The causes of God's wrath too, like the burning of the roll by Jehudi,' Jer. xxxvi. 22. was a lamentable and God-provoking transaction, for which our souls should be afflicted before the Lord. In all these controversies we ought particularly to consider, that Christ is a free, independent, and Sovereign King and lawgiver. The Father hath appointed him his own King in mount Zion; and he will not, and he cannot endure, that the powers of the world should encroach upon his royal prerogatives, and prescribe laws for the government of his own house—a presumption of equal audacity with that of the citizens mentioned in Luke xix. 14. who hated him, and said, 'This man shall not reign over us;' and of those, who, in Psalm ii. 3. are for 'breaking asunder his bands, and casting away his cords.' But this audacious presumption of the rulers of this world is aggravated above measure, from the consideration, that the man Christ has left the power of the civil magistrate free from all encroachments from the church, and not only refused to take upon himself the function of a Judge, Luke xii. 14. but discharged his disciples from exercising a civil lordship over their brethren. True it is, the godly magistrate may command the ministers of the gospel to do their duty, but not under the pain of ecclesiastical censure, as if he had the power of calling and uncalling, deposing and suspending, from the exercise of the holy ministry. The lordly spiritual government, in and over the church, is given to Christ, and to none beside. He, and he alone, is, was, and shall be the ecclesiastic lawgiver. It only belongs to him to smite with the rod of his mouth; nor is there another shoulder in earth or heaven able to bear up the weight of the government. As this hath been the great controversy between our Lord Jesus and

the powers of this world from the beginning, so it has been the ruin of all who have attempted to oppose him. They have been greatly offended with Christ; but he has proved a *rock* of offence, against which they have dashed themselves to pieces; and all those, who may yet enter the lists with him, will assuredly find, that the stone, cut from the mountain without hands, will grind them to powder: That Christ is the only head of his own church, is as sure as that of his death, burial, and resurrection. Not only was this great truth greatly contended for by the ancient prophets, and the apostles of Christ, against the powers of this world, but the victorious and prevailing fact has been preached and attested by his ambassadors, in every age of the church, and attested by the blood and sufferings of innumerable precious saints, who accounted it an honour to suffer persecution, indignity, derision, and death, for the name of Jesus; and blessed are the souls who love not their lives unto death, for on such rests the spirit of glory and of God.

“The present is a sad and serious time to our church and land. It is a day of darkness, and rebuke, and blasphemy. The Lord hath covered himself with a cloud in his anger. We looked for peace, but behold evil. When his majesty had sworn, and affixed his seal and subscription to the covenant of God, the hearts of his subjects blessed the Lord, and rested with confidence on the healing word of a prince; but now, alas! that solemn oath has been broken, and the violation sanctioned by a contrary law. The carved work has been broken down, ordinances are defaced, and we are again brought into the bondage and chaos of prelatical power and superstition. The royal prerogative of Christ, his mediatorial crown, is pulled from his head; and after all the days of sorrow we have seen, we have every reason to fear that we shall yet be made to read, yea, to eat, that roll, wherein is written, mourning, lamentation, and woe. But notwithstanding all the evils under which the church of Christ in these lands is now pressed down, or has reason to apprehend, we are not called to mourn like them that have no hope. We believe that Christ will not so depart, but that a remnant shall be saved, and that he shall reign for ever, and, in spite of all the powers of the world, and the malice of hell, victoriously conquer to the ends of the earth. Oh! that the nations, kindreds, tongues, and all the people of Christ’s habitable world, were encompassing his throne, with cries and tears, for the Spirit of supplication to this effect.

“*Sic sub.* SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

“*February 28th, 1661.*”

## ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

IF men of talent, integrity, and fortitude, who have sacrificed their ease and their interest in defending the rights, and promoting the safety and happiness of society, have any claim to the gratitude and honourable remembrance of their countrymen, the subject of the following memoir must come in for an uncommon share. Amongst the distinguished characters, whose learning and abilities the religious controversies of the seventeenth century called into exercise, Alexander Henderson, one of the ministers of the city of Edinburgh, acted a most conspicuous part. He was born about the year 1583. Of his parents, and other circumstances connected with the early part of his life, no satisfactory information has reached us. With a view to the church, he was sent to the university of St. Andrew's, to finish his education, about the beginning of the seventeenth century; where, having gone through his courses of learning, and passed his degrees with applause, he was chosen teacher of a class of philosophy and rhetoric in that ancient seminary, some short time before the year 1611, as appears from his name being affixed to a letter of thanks to the king of that date.

The church of Scotland, about this time, was in a most deplorable condition. The liberty of her assemblies no longer existed. The king claimed an absolute power in all church matters, and changed, by his proclamations, both the time and place of their meetings, as it suited his caprice, interest, or inclination. *No bishop, no king, was now the word*; for his majesty had got into his head, that the presbyterian equality among the ministers of the church, could by no means correspond with a monarchy in the state, and that nothing but a batch of bishops could give a firm establishment to the three estates in parliament. Full of this chimerical notion, he attempted, both by deceit and violence, to favour his beloved subjects in Scotland with the splendid hierarchy of the church of England; and the crafty prelates, catching at preferment, basely flattered him therein. So that prelacy, with all its numerous train of ceremonies and superstitions, was audaciously obtruded on the church of Scotland, notwithstanding that of late she had most deliberately and very solemnly relinquished, and for ever cast off, that unsufferable yoke. The better to support these tyrannical and obtrusive measures directed against the presbyterian government of the church of Scotland, her ablest ministers, and most faithful watchmen, were shamefully and most unjustly silenced, imprisoned, and either banished the king's dominions, under the pain of death, or driven into remote corners of

the land, where they had no opportunity of opposing these tyrannical measures of the king and his corrupt court. Even at the time of the king's departure to England, that courageous opposer of prelacy, Mr Robert Bruce, was suspended from preaching, and afterwards shut up in Inverness for four years. Mr Andrew Melvill and Mr John Davidson were also detained in confinement at the king's removal, though the prison doors were thrown open, as he proceeded on his journey, to a very different description of prisoners. The Scotch universities, and other seminaries, were greatly corrupted, at this time, by the casting out of sound teachers, and filling their places with corrupt and time-serving men, who encouraged the measures of the court. Hence the youth, placed under the tuition of these court parasites, by imbibing the heterodox poison which they had industriously cast into the fountain, rapidly disseminated it through the whole land.

In this state of confusion and dismal anticipation, Mr Henderson, being then a young man of surprising abilities, and ambitious of preferment, adopted the principles, and advocated the measures of the court and prelatical party in the church; and shortly after, through the patronage of archbishop Gladstones, he was presented to the parish of Leuchars in the shire of Fife. His settlement, in this place, however, was peculiarly unpopular. On the day of his ordination, the opposition of the people was such, that they so firmly secured the church doors, that the ministers who attended, together with the presentee, were obliged to break in by the window. Mr Henderson was well known for a defender of those corruptions to which the body of the Scottish nation were exceedingly averse; but what augmented the evil, and rendered his ministry, if possible, more exceedingly unpopular, was the little or no regard he discovered for the instruction and edification of the flock on whom he had been so wantonly obtruded. It was not long, however, till his religious sentiments and character underwent a change, which happily influenced the whole of his future life. The occasion was this, Mr Bruce, who had been banished to Inverness, having obtained liberty to return from the place of his confinement, improved every opportunity that offered itself in preaching the gospel, and multitudes flocked to his ministry. Mr Henderson, hearing of a communion in the neighbourhood where Mr Bruce was expected to assist, went secretly, and took his seat in a dark corner of the church where he might not be readily observed. Mr Bruce entered the pulpit, and, after a solemn pause, in his usual manner read his text with his accustomed emphasis and deliberation, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not in by the door, but climbeth

up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber;" words highly descriptive of an intruder, and so literally analogous to the mode by which Mr Henderson entered on his pastoral office at Leuchars, that it went like a dagger to his conscience, and left an impression on his heart, which issued in his conversion to God; and ever after he had a strong affection for Mr Bruce, whom he considered his spiritual father, and often spoke of him in terms of the highest respect. It was not long till the change, which had been wrought on his mind, discovered itself in a very different manner of ministerial conduct. He now became zealous in the cause of his divine Master, and peculiarly active in promoting the spiritual interest and welfare of his flock, by all means endeavouring to remove the offence that his irregular settlement had occasioned amongst them. Upon this interesting subject, let us take his own words when addressing his brethren, from the moderator's chair, at the famous assembly at Glasgow many years after. "There are divers amongst us (says he), who have had no such warrant for entering on the work of the ministry as the laws of Christ prescribe. Alas! how many of us have rather sought the kirk, than been sought by the kirk? How many have rather had the kirk given to them, than been given to the kirk for her edification? And yet there must be an obvious difference between those who have lived and officiated for many years without any warrant from God, and those, who, in some respects, have entered unlawfully into the pastoral charge, and having afterwards discovered their error, done what in them lay to repair the injury. The one is like a marriage altogether unlawful, and consequently null in itself; the other is like a marriage in some respects unlawful and inexpedient; which, nevertheless, may be mended and improved by the diligence and fidelity of the parties, in afterwards conscientiously discharging their reciprocal duties. Just so should it be with us, who have lately entered into the work of the ministry. If there were any faults or wrong steps in our entry, as who amongst us are altogether free in this respect, let us consider, that the Lord has called us, if we have since got a seal from heaven, and let our former improprieties induce us to double our diligence, zeal, and integrity, in the work of the gospel."

Mr Henderson began to see the object of the prevailing party, and the measures by them adopted for obtaining that object, in a very different light than he had formerly done through the false medium of ambition and worldly aggrandisement. By a deliberate and minute investigation of the scriptures, and the writings of the ancients, he was fully satisfied, that prelacy, such as it is in the church of England, has no foundation in the

word of God: That presbytery was more conformable to the sacred oracles and the practice of the primitive church, and much more favourable to piety and christian liberty, than that prelatical system which had been imposed on the Scottish people. From this time forward Mr Henderson became an active opposer of the innovations of the court, and of those despotic measures by which they endeavoured to supercede the presbyterian religion in Scotland. His rare abilities pointed him out as a proper person for taking a leading part in the public concerns of the church during that critical period; which, at the earnest solicitations of the party, he undertook, and by his undaunted courage, and dexterity in argument, his peculiar skill and activity in managing the most difficult and delicate affairs, procured for himself a distinguished reputation, and, to the end of his days, retained the confidence, and merited the unqualified approbation of his own party, while he commanded the respect even of his enemies.

From the moment that prelacy was first obtruded on the church of Scotland, a plan had been in operation for changing also the presbyterian mode of worship, and bringing all to the standard of the church of England. In the prosecution of this plan, after a number of preparatory steps had been tried, an assembly was suddenly convened at Perth, with the view of taking the presbyterians by surprise. Above thirty noblemen and gentlemen, friendly to the king's measures, were invited, by letters from his majesty, to attend this assembly, where, by the most shameful and barefaced partiality, the following articles were carried, after a strenuous opposition, and much argument from the faithful adherents to the good old principles of the Scotch church, amongst whom Mr Henderson held a conspicuous place. These Articles, commonly known by the five Articles of Perth, are, 1st, Kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper. 2d, The celebration of five holidays, namely, the nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and the descent of the holy Spirit. 3d, Private baptism. 4th, The private administration of the Lord's supper. 5th, Episcopal confirmation.

In August 1619, Mr Henderson, and two other ministers, were called before the court of high commission at St. Andrew's, charged with composing and publishing a book, entitled, Perth Assembly, proving the nullity of all their decisions, and with raising a subscription to defray the expenses of said publication. They accordingly made their appearance, and are said to have answered for themselves with so much wisdom, that the bishops could obtain no advantage against them, but very reluctantly dismissed them with severe threatenings.

From this period, till the year 1637, he does not appear to have suffered much, though strictly watched, and considerably cramped in his exertions to promote the cause of truth. The time thus spent in retirement, however, was not the least useful or happy period of his life. Sequestered in a great measure from the busy world, he improved his leisure hours in pushing his researches into the open and extensive field of theological controversy, in treasuring up those stores of knowledge, and sharpening those weapons of controversial warfare, which he was afterwards called upon to wield in defence of the truth. In the meantime, the conscientious discharge of his pastoral duties afforded him regular employment, and his success therein rewarded him with the purest gratifications. He had, besides, frequent opportunities at fasts, and sacramental occasions, of meeting with his brethren of the same sentiments, where, by their sermons and conferences, they stirred up and encouraged one another in adhering to the persecuted cause of Christ, and united in their prayers to God for deliverance from the evils under which they were pressed down. Mr Livingston informs us, "That in attending these solemn occasions, he had become acquainted with Mr Henderson, between the years 1626 and 1630, and that his memory was precious and refreshing. Mr Henderson was indefatigable in his labours for the promotion of truth and rectitude of conduct, while his own life and conversation corresponded with the doctrines he taught; yet, in spite of his superior talents, and the purity of his motives, he was often calumniated, and most maliciously misrepresented." Bishop Guthrie affirms, "That the tumult which took place at Edinburgh, on the first reading of the Liturgy, on the 22d July 1637, was the result of a previous consultation, held in the month of April, when Mr Henderson came from the brethren in Fife, and Mr David Dickson from those in the west; and, in concert with Lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, engaged certain matrons to put the first affront on the Service-book." This story, however, is completely contradicted by the official accounts of that transaction, not only by those of the town council of Edinburgh, and the privy council, but also by that of his majesty; all which agree in the declaration, that, upon the strictest inquiry, it appeared, that the tumult was raised by the meaner people, without any influence, concert, or interference of the superior classes. The truth is, Mr Henderson had no other hand in this affair, than by pointing out the dangerous tendency of the measure, and the fatal consequences to be apprehended from acquiescing with a system so directly opposed to the oath of God, which the presbyterians had so solemnly sworn. On March 9th, 1637, about three months before this

tumult took place, we find a letter of Mr Samuel Rutherford's, addressed to Mr Henderson, in which, amongst other things, he says, "As for *your* case, my reverend and dearest brother, you are the talk of the north and the south, and so looked to as if you were all crystal glass; but your motes and your dust will soon be proclaimed, and trumpets blown at your slips. But I know you have laid your help upon One who is mighty. Trust not your comforts to men's airy and frothy applause, neither lay your downcastings on the tongues of the mockers and reproachers of godliness. God has called you to Christ's side; and seeing the wind is now in Christ's face, and you are with him, you cannot therefore expect the lee side of the ship, or the sunny side of the brae; but I know you have resolved to take Christ upon any terms."

The archbishop of St. Andrew's, on purpose to deter others, charged Mr Henderson, and other two ministers, to purchase, each of them, two copies of the Liturgy, for the use of their parishes, and that within fifteen days, on pain of rebellion. Mr Henderson went to Edinburgh in the month of August, the same year, 1637, and presented a petition for himself and his brethren, stating their objections, and praying for a suspension of the charge. To this petition, and others of a similar nature, presented from almost every quarter, about the same time, a favourable answer was obtained from the council, and an account forthwith transmitted to London, stating the strong and general aversion of the people to a conformity. This step was of great importance, by directing those who were aggrieved to the proper mode of obtaining redress. From this time Mr Henderson had his hands full of employment, and greatly distinguished himself by his activity in promoting the measures of the petitioners, and his prudent management had no small share in bringing them to an agreeable termination.

The time to favour Zion was now at hand; and we are informed, that the privy council having, at this time testified their aversion to the violent enforcement of the prelatical usages, did afterwards, on many interesting occasions, befriend the petitioners. In 1636 a book of Ecclesiastical Canons was sent down from London, and, during the same year, a book of Ordination; and after a short pause, and some serious deliberation and delay, the Liturgy, or Service-book, which was intended to complete this tyrannical work, made its unwelcome appearance in Scotland. This Service-book was substantially the same with that used in the church of England, only it had been considered necessary, on this critical occasion, to make some trifling alterations, lest the national pride of the Scottish people might spurn at a literal copy being imposed on the church.

Had Scotland tamely submitted to this bold obtrusion, and suffered them to rivet the chains with which they had already fettered the nation, she might afterwards have sighed and struggled for her liberty, but she must have struggled in vain. But the bold and arbitrary measures, by which these innovations were obtruded on the nation, were no less offensive than the innovations themselves. This, added to the chagrin produced by former tyrannical measures of the court and the bishops, excited universal disgust, and aroused an indignant spirit of opposition; which never subsided, till not only the obnoxious acts were swept away, but the whole fabric of episcopacy, which, during so many years, they had been so anxiously labouring to consummate, was levelled with the ground. In the meantime, the petitioners were active in preparing themselves for meeting the doubtful crisis which was evidently approaching. They held their meetings for deliberation, and stirred up one another to an inflexible adherence to what they considered the cause of Christ and his gospel. Their meetings, in the meantime, were winked at; but after they had for a while been amused with fair promises, all of a sudden they were prohibited, by a proclamation from his majesty, under pain of rebellion. This unexpected procedure, on the part of the government, convinced the petitioners, that they had no reason to confide in the faith and promises of the court; but that it behoved them to provide for their own safety, and the defence of their cause, by some other means than they had yet resorted to. Accordingly, the recollection, that the nation of Scotland, in a similar situation of danger, had formerly entered into a solemn covenant, by which they bound themselves to God, and one another, to continue in the true protestant religion, and support and defend one another in accordance with the oath they had sworn against all their opposers—made them resolve, that this, the covenant of their fathers, should be renewed, and sworn by all who were willing so to support the independence of the Scottish church and nation. A draught of this covenant was therefore taken. It was substantially the same with the national covenant of Scotland, which had been sworn by all ranks, and ratified by all authorities in the kingdom, during the preceding reign, only that it was adapted to the circumstances in which they found themselves then placed, and also to the corruptions which had been latterly introduced. This covenant was sworn with uplifted hands, and subscribed in the Gray-friars church, Edinburgh, on the 1st March 1638, by thousands, consisting of noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons from all parts of Scotland. “This memorable deed (says Mr Lang), of which it would be improper to forget the

authors, was prepared by Alexander Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and Archibald Johnston, afterwards of Warriston, advocate—men in whom the supplicants chiefly confided—and revised by Lords Balmerino, Loudon, and Rotheris. The covenant being thus agreed to, and sworn throughout the nation with much alacrity, the marquis of Hamilton was commissioned by the king to suppress it; but after several conferences with the presbyterian deputation, and finding them inflexible, he proposed, in the name of his majesty, to withdraw the book of Ordination and the Liturgy, providing they would, on their part, relinquish their covenant. But instead of yielding, this proposal had the effect of making them more intent in supporting and vindicating this solemn transaction, and Mr Henderson soon furnished the country with sufficient reasons why they should not relinquish any part of it. At this time the inhabitants of Scotland were divided into two parties, the covenanters and non-covenanters; and several of the former had partly submitted to the bishops, and conformed to the articles of Perth, though still accounted orthodox preachers, and zealous opposers of popery and arminianism; such as Messrs Robert Baillie, Henry Rollock, John Bell, Andrew and Robert Ramsay, &c. who, upon the first appearance of the Service-book, joined with their brethren in opposing the innovations. The town and shire of Aberdeen, influenced by their doctors in the university and the marquis of Huntly, had hitherto declined to join with the rest of the nation in carrying on the reformation. In order to persuade them to make common cause with the country, in this important national concern, *the tables*; as they were then called, or committees for managing the affairs of the petitioners, thought it advisable to send lord Couper, and the earls of Montrose and Kinghorn, together with Messrs Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, to persuade them to embrace the covenant. On their arrival at Aberdeen, they were but coldly received by the leading characters in the town. They were not permitted to preach in any of their churches, and their doctors presented them with fourteen captious and ensnaring questions, respecting the covenant, which they had drawn up with singular art and care. Different papers passed between the parties on this occasion, which were afterwards published. Those of the covenanters are said to have been written by Mr Henderson. Under these unpromising circumstances, the three ministers resolved to preach in earl Marischal's Closs or Hall, as the weather permitted, and accordingly preached by turns; Mr Dickson in the morning, Mr Cant at noon, and Mr Henderson in the evening, to great multitudes. They used every possible argument to persuade them to subscribe the covenant, and stand or fall with their

christian brethren; which had the effect of bringing over about five hundred men, some of them of the first rank, who subscribed with cheerfulness.

The covenanters, alive to the danger that threatened them, had been surprisingly active in uniting and arranging themselves; and the astonishing success that attended their endeavours so animated them, that the court was shut up to the necessity of granting the prayer of their petitions, that a general assembly and a parliament should be called, that the national grievances might be deliberately considered, and fairly redressed. Accordingly, a general assembly was called, and met in the High Church of Glasgow, on the 21st of November 1638, where, besides an amazing concourse of the people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, either as members, assessors, or spectators. The assembly was opened by Mr John Bell, with a sermon from Rev. i. 12, 13. "I saw seven golden candlesticks, and in the midst of the candlesticks one like unto the son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle." Mr Bell also constituted the assembly in the name of Christ, the King and head of the church, and held the moderator's chair till another was chosen. The assembly had just proceeded to the election of the moderator, when the bishops presented a declinature or protest against the legality of the assembly; and the marquis of Hamilton, the king's commissioner, strongly urged, that this protest should be read before a moderator was chosen. To this it was reasonably objected, that without a moderator there could be no assembly, and therefore it was indispensably necessary first to make choice of a moderator. The commissioner, finding he could not prevail, protested against the refusal, and ordered it to be recorded. Before the election, the commissioner entered another protest, "That this choice should neither prejudice the king's prerogative, nor any law of the kingdom, nor bar the king from taking legal exceptions, either against the person elected, or the election itself." Considering the critical state of affairs, the length of time that had elapsed since a general assembly had been held in Scotland, the opposition and important discussions expected, and the multitude assembled to witness this momentous crisis, it was requisite, that a person of uncommon authority, resolution, and prudence, possessed of a profound judgment, and a ready elocution, should occupy that important place on so memorable an occasion. The eyes of the assembly were fixed on Mr Henderson, who had, on several occasions, given signal proofs of his capability for such a difficult situation. He was, accordingly, chosen without a dissenting voice; and having

taken the chair, and by solemn prayer constituted the assembly *de nova*, he addressed the members in a neat and appropriate speech, and so conducted himself, till the conclusion of their important labours, as to exceed the expectations of his greatest admirers. To the king's commissioner he behaved with the greatest respect, and at the same time with an independence that became the head of a free assembly. To the nobility and gentry present, and to his brethren, he was equally decorous; but his prudence and ability were both brought to the test by the excommunication of the bishops, and the premature dissolution of the assembly by the king's commissioner.

Notwithstanding that his majesty found it expedient to call together this assembly in the then distracted state of the church and nation, in order to prevent them from meeting without his concurrence, it would appear, from his after conduct, and the instructions given to his commissioner, that he never intended they should be allowed freely to proceed with their business. The nation was determined to abolish prelacy; the king, on the other hand, was equally determined to establish it in the country, and seemed to think he had been sufficiently condescending when he allowed them to register such concessions as the state of his affairs rendered it impossible for him much longer to withhold. His commissioner was instructed to give no formal consent to any part of the assembly's procedure. But the members, considering themselves met in a free assembly, were determined to exercise that freedom which the laws of Christ authorize and prescribe. The protest of the bishops, after considerable altercation, was at last read at the repeated request of the commissioner; in which they endeavoured to prove the illegality of the assembly; which allegation was triumphantly rebutted by some of the members. The assembly, of course, proceeded to vote themselves competent to decide on the merits of the libels presented against the bishops notwithstanding their declinature; when the royal commissioner interposed, by declaring, "That if they pretended to assume the right to try the bishops, he could neither give his consent, nor witness the transaction." Here he made a speech, the substance of which may be seen in Stevenson's History; and delivering the king's concessions to the clerk to be read, he ordered them to be registered. After this Mr Henderson addressed the commissioner in a speech, the substance of which is as follows: "It well becomes us, his majesty's true and loyal subjects, convened in this honourable and reverend assembly, to receive so liberal a token of his majesty's goodness with all thankfulness, and gratefully acknowledge the smallest crumbs of his majesty's liberality. With our hearts we acknowledge before God, and with our

lips we declare before the world, how far we consider ourselves obligated to yield obedience to our dread sovereign, wishing that the thoughts of our hearts, and the manner of our lives in time past, were manifest to him. It hath been the glory of the reformed churches, and we account it our glory, to give to kings and magistrates whatever belong to their respective places of power and authority. We know, and cheerfully acknowledge, that, next to piety towards God, we are bound to be loyal to the prince; and there is nothing due to kings and princes, in matters ecclesiastical, which I trust will be denied by this assembly to our king: For besides his authority and power in matters civil, to a christian king also belong, 1st, Inspection of church affairs. 2d, Its vindication and protection from contempt and abuse. 3d, To sanction the constitutions of the kirk, and give them the authority of law. 4th, The power to compel kirkmen to perform the duties of their respective places. 5th, The christian magistrate hath also power to convoke ecclesiastical assemblies, when the state of religion renders such a measure necessary; and in assemblies, when they are convened, we acknowledge his power is also great. Moreover, we heartily acknowledge, that your grace, as high commissioner, and representing the royal person of our sovereign, has an eminent place in this reverend and honourable assembly. 1st, We hope as a good christian; 2d, As his majesty's high commissioner; and, 3d, As one endued with singular gifts, and abundantly qualified for this employment. Far be it from us to deny any thing that is due either to the supreme ruler, or those delegated by his authority. When Alexander the Great came to Jerusalem, he desired them to set up his image in the temple. This the Jews modestly refused to do, because it was against their law, and that the law of God; but they liberally offered him what was in their power to grant, a favour much more honourable to the king, namely, to commence their reckoning of time from his arrival at Jerusalem, and also to call their first-born sons by his name. What is our own, let it be given to Cæsar, and given with cheerfulness. But let God, by whom kings reign, have his own place. Let Christ Jesus, the King of kings, have his own prerogative, by whose grace our king reigns; and, we pray, long may he reign over us in happiness and prosperity."

The high commissioner seemed to receive this address with satisfaction. He replied, "Sir, you have spoken like a good christian and a dutiful subject, and I am hopeful you will conduct yourself with that deference which you owe to our royal sovereign; all of whose commands, I trust, will be found consistent with the commandments of God."

The moderator then asked the members, if he should now put the question, Whether or not the assembly found themselves competent to decide on the case of the bishops? But the commissioner urged that the question be deferred. "Nay (said the moderator), with your grace's permission, that cannot be. This is the only proper time after the consideration of the declination." "In this case (said the commissioner) I believe to withdraw." "I wish the contrary (said Mr Henderson), with all my heart, and that your grace would favour us with your presence, without obstructing the work and freedom of the assembly." Finding the assembly were determined to proceed, the commissioner having urged Mr Henderson, but without effect, to conclude by prayer, he, in his majesty's name, dissolved the assembly, forbade their further procedure, and withdrew. On the departure of the commissioner, Mr Henderson delivered the following animating speech: "All present know how this assembly was indicted, and what power we allow to our sovereign in matters ecclesiastical; but though we have acknowledged the power of christian kings for convening assemblies, and their power in them, that must not derogate from Christ's right, who has given warrant to convocate assemblies whether magistrates consent or not. Therefore, perceiving that his grace, my lord commissioner, is zealous in fulfilling the orders of his royal master, have not we an equal, if not a more powerful inducement, to be zealous in the cause of our divine Master Christ, and to maintain the liberties and privileges of his spiritual kingdom? You all know, that the work now on hand hath been attended with many difficulties, and yet hitherto the Lord has helped us to surmount them all. Let us not therefore be discouraged at our being thus deprived of human authority, a circumstance which ought rather to animate our courage, and stimulate our exertions in finishing the important work before us." Having thus spoken, he desired any of the reverend and honourable members, who pleased to speak a word for the encouragement of their brethren, as God should put it into their hearts. Upon this Messrs David Dickson, Henry Rollock, Andrew Cant, and Andrew Ramsay of the clergy; Loudon of the nobility; Keir of the gentry; and Mr Robert Cunningham of the boroughs—delivered beautiful and pathetic speeches, by which the members, and many of the spectators, were greatly encouraged. The moderator now put the question, Whether the assembly would adhere to the protestation against the royal commissioner's departure, and proceed with the business for which they were convened? Which was carried with only about five dissenting voices. The competency of the assembly, to decide on the cases of the bishops of Scotland, was next car-

ried with only four dissenting voices. A proclamation was issued, with great solemnity, at the Market-cross of Glasgow, against the assembly; but opposition rather animated than discouraged the members of this venerable body.

At the opening of the next session, Mr Henderson again addressed the assembly, warmly recommending gravity, quietness, and good conduct; "the propriety of which (he said) was obvious on every occasion, but more especially so under the circumstances in which the assembly were convened, when the eyes of the nation were on them, and their enemies watching for an opportunity of scandalizing their proceedings; not that he assumed any thing to himself, but he was bold to direct them in a course which he was assured their own prudence and discretion must have chalked out on the present occasion." To this prudent admonition the members of the assembly paid the strictest attention through all their sittings.

The earl of Argyle attended this second session, when the moderator earnestly entreated him, though no member, yet, for the common interest he had in the church, that he would be pleased to countenance them with his presence, and bear testimony to the rectitude of their proceedings; which he readily promised, and faithfully performed. Argyle was desirous that the Confession of Faith should be clearly explained. On which the moderator said, "Although we do not compare the Confession of any reformed church with the word of God, nor account it a rule of life, neither indeed that of our own church, any thing more than a form of confession, yet have we good reason to consider it with honourable regard. Other churches have given it an ample testimony, and it were a shame for us to do less; and that we may do this with the greater propriety, it becomes necessary that we clearly understand the various articles it contains, especially such as have been controverted. But that, however necessary this was, it would require much time to hear and peruse all the books and acts necessary for effecting this desirable work; he proposed therefore that a committee be appointed for that particular purpose." To this the assembly readily acceded. This assembly condemned the proceedings of six former assemblies; on which occasion Mr Henderson said, "Having unanimously agreed to the condemnation of these corrupt assemblies, I hope henceforward they shall be considered as so many beacons, to prevent our striking on such dangerous rocks.

Some ministers, who had been tried by their respective presbyteries, and suspended, were remitted to this assembly for a higher punishment. When their case was under discussion, the moderator delivered a grave discourse on the power of the

church; in which he observed, "That they ought to be heard with a feeling of compassion for themselves, and of joy and gratitude to God, who was now putting forth his hand for the cleansing of his own house—hoping, and exhorting, that the several judicatories would now faithfully exercise the power which the Lord had put into their hands." Before sentence was given against the bishop of Galloway, Mr Henderson made a short speech; in which he said, "The preaching of false doctrine, to seduce the people from their profession to that of popery and idolatry, is a crime deserving an high censure. But this man's breach of the caveats, his bringing into this church the Service-book, which you have already condemned for the many gross abominations therein contained, and his declining this lawful assembly, independent of his personal faults, deserve the highest censures of the church. It is well known, that the church of Scotland has been in the practice of excommunicating papists, and persons disobedient to the discipline of the church, from partaking of the holy communion; and seeing the bishops are guilty in both these respects, why should not that high censure be inflicted upon them? What a reverend father (Mr Andrew Melvill) said, with respect to archbishop Adamson, is equally applicable to these pretended bishops: 'The old serpent has stung them with such avarice, and swoln them with such exorbitant pride, domineering and tyrannical power, as threatens the destruction of the whole body, unless they be cut off.' It seems indispensably necessary therefore, that this last mean be essayed; and let us pray to God to make his ordinance effectual for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

Having finished the process of the bishops, the assembly, at the close of their nineteenth session, resolved, "That the sentences of the bishops should be pronounced next day, by the moderator, in presence of the assembly, after preaching a sermon suited to the solemn occasion." This part of the work Mr Henderson undertook with great reluctance. It was in vain that he pled the great fatigue he had undergone, the multiplicity of affairs that distracted his attention, and the shortness of the time for preparation. No excuse would be admitted. Accordingly, after preaching from Psalm cx. 1. "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool," he caused an abstract of the evidence to be read for the satisfaction of the people, narrated the various steps taken by the assembly, pointed out the necessity of the measure, and the warrant they had in the word of God for carrying it into execution. He called over the names of the eight bishops of Scotland, and pronounced the sentences of excom-

munication and suspension, in such a dread and solemn manner, says one who was present, that the whole assembly felt the mingled emotions of pity, admiration, and awe.

On the following day, a petition from St. Andrew's was presented to the assembly, praying that Mr Henderson might be removed from Leuchars to that city. This was strongly opposed by the commissioners from Edinburgh, who insisted that he was their elected minister, and urged their privilege of transporting from any part of the kingdom. Mr Henderson, who was averse to any removal, insisted, "That he was now too old a plant to take root in any other soil." He had been at this time eighteen years minister, and appears to have been about fifty-three years of age. After a warm contest, which lasted two days, Edinburgh carried it by seventy-five votes, and Mr Henderson submitted, on obtaining a promise, that, in case of ill health, or when the infirmities of old age should overtake him, he should be allowed a country charge.

When the assembly had finished their business, Mr Henderson addressed them in a speech of considerable length, of which we can only present the reader with an outline, the substance of which may be seen in Stevenson's History. He modestly apologized for his deficiencies in discharging the duties of the situation in which they had placed him, and thanked the assembly for rendering his task so easy, by the praise-worthy manner in which, through the whole of their arduous labours, they had all conducted themselves. He exhorted them to consider the wonderful goodness of God to the church and kingdom of Scotland, both in the days of their fathers, and in latter times, when their adversaries were the head, and they only the tail, and especially his glorious appearance in their behalf on the present memorable occasion, when he has delivered us from the galling yoke, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear. "Now (said he), in his abundant mercy and loving-kindness he has delivered us from the Service-book, which was a book of slavery; from the book of Canons, which tied us down in chains of spiritual bondage; from the book of Ordination, which was a yoke of unsupportable weight on the necks of all faithful ministers; from the high commission, which was the watchful guardian that kept us under all that slavery; and the civil places of churchmen, the capital that ornamented the unhallowed structure, adding a glare of splendour to all these abominations. Seeing, therefore, that our God has thus kindly dealt with us, turning our sorrow into rejoicing, and our sackcloth into the garments of praise, leading captivity captive, and making our lordly oppressors incapable of further oppression, it behoves us, in gratitude to God, and consciousness of that li-

berty wherewith Christ hath made his people free, to hold fast that whereunto we have attained, and not be again entangled in the yoke of bondage. A courtier once degraded, you all know, but rarely regains his credit; and this especially holds true in spiritual concerns. I grant, the Lord can give eyes to the blind, and raise the dead, of which we are witnesses this day, having ourselves been brought back to the Shepherd of our souls, after running far on in a course of backsliding. But take heed to yourselves, and beware, I beseech you, of a second defection. I grant the cross is hard to look upon; but if we get strength from our Lord, it will be an easy yoke. He has promised sufficiency of grace, let us therefore endure the greatest extremity, rather than again put our necks under this yoke of debasing slavery. Remember the plague of Laodicea, and beware of her sin. Concerning the nobles, barons, and burgesses, who have attended here, I must say, and can say it in all the confidence of the word of truth, them who honour God, God will honour. Those nobles, said he, whose hearts the Lord hath moved to be the chief instruments in this great work, like the tops of the mountains, were first discovered in this deluge; which encouraged the vallies to hope, that these waters of affliction would also be removed from them; which hope we have all seen realized this day. A few years ago, he would have been thought a foolish man who expected such things from our nobles as we now see; but our Lord has nobilitated them, so that they have taken part in all our trials, and had a principal hand in all the conclusions which we have brought to pass, and their liberality hath abounded to many on this occasion. The Sun of Righteousness has shined on these mountains, and long, long may he continue to shine upon them, for the comfort of the hills, and refreshing of the vallies. May the blessing of God rest upon them and their families, and we trust it will be so seen to after generations." He recommended a favourable construction of his majesty's opposition to the measures they had been engaged in forwarding, expressed his grateful sense of the harmony that had so conspicuously distinguished the assembly during their long and ardent labours; and concluded, with gratefully acknowledging the generous and hospitable treatment the members of the assembly had received from the inhabitants of Glasgow, and the particular countenance and aid afforded them by their chief magistrate. Having concluded the business of this famous assembly by prayer, he sung the cxxxiii. Psalm, and pronounced the apostolic benediction; and while the members were rising to depart, Mr Henderson stood up, and said, "We have cast down the walls of Jericho; let him who attempts to *rebuild* them, beware of the *curse of Hiel the Bethelite.*"

Thus episcopacy, which was held an abomination in Scotland, with all its tyrannical appendages, was abolished, and declared unlawful, and the whole fabric, which James and Charles had, both by stratagem and strength, been so many years in rearing, was at once overthrown. The formidable opposition which the members of this assembly had to encounter, was sufficient, one would imagine, to damp the spirits, and cool the ardour, of ordinary men. They found the eight lordly bishops of Scotland, with the archbishop of Canterbury, and all their numerous adherents, at their back; while the earl of Hamilton the king's commissioner, the court, and the king himself appeared at their head; but the consideration, that the civil and religious freedom of their country were objects of the first importance to themselves and their posterity, and that the time was arrived, when, in all probability, the last opportunity for exercising their patriotism with even the shadow of hope, had presented itself, they braved every danger.

Mr Henderson's conspicuous place in the assembly, and his singular activity in discharging the duties of his high office, so exposed him to the resentment both of the court and the bishops, that neither the strict propriety, nor the singular moderation of his conduct, could protect him from their malicious rage. When the members of the assembly returned to their respective homes, they carefully published the conclusions the general assembly had sanctioned; which spread the report of their whole proceedings to every corner of the land. It was no sooner known at court, that they had dared to sit after being dissolved by the authority of the commissioner, and after his departure from the assembly, and that the people greatly applauded their conduct, than the king meditated revenge, and resolved to raise an army to reduce them to obedience. Aware of what was going forward in England, the covenanters, during the winter of 1639, were actively employed in preparing for the threatened invasion, and Mr Henderson's pen was employed in several publications to vindicate the measures that had been taken, as well as the duty and necessity of defending the liberties and constitutional laws of the kingdom. At the request of the deputies, he drew up a paper, entitled, *The Remonstrance of the Nobility, Barons, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons, within the kingdom of Scotland, vindicating their proceedings from the crimes wherewith they are charged by the late proclamation in England, February 27th, 1639.* This paper, after being revised by the deputies, was industriously circulated in England by their friends, and proved very advantageous to their cause in that country. He also drew up instructions for defensive arms. This paper he composed, it is said, rather against his inclination;

and being hastily drawn up, he did not allow it to be printed. It was, nevertheless, read from many a pulpit as the work of one of their best penmen. The magnanimity of the Scotch, and the indifference of the English nation, for the royal cause, forced his majesty to listen to overtures of peace, and Mr Henderson was appointed one of the commissioners for the Scotch army, to carry on the treaty of pacification, in June 1639. The king was much delighted with Mr Henderson's discourse, who, during the whole of that long protracted business, displayed his rare abilities, as on all other important occasions.

Mr Henderson was one of the fourteen chief persons, amongst the covenanters, who were required, by an order from the king, to attend his court at Berwick, after the Scotch army had been disbanded. According to bishop Guthrie, the king wished to consult them as to the manner of his coming into Scotland to hold the assembly and parliament in person. Bishop Burnet says, "He meant to try what effect fair treatment would have upon his refractory subjects in Scotland." But Sir James Balfour, Lion king at arms, expressly tells us, "That it was a trap laid to ensnare the principal men of the covenanting party, resorted to by the advice of some corrupt courtier, and that it was by a hint of their danger from some friend at court that they escaped from the snare." Be this as it may, in consequence of an alarm, circulated to this effect, they were stopped at the Water-gate of Edinburgh, when setting out for Berwick, their horses taken from them by the populace, and they were prevented from proceeding; nor did they, after due deliberation, judge it prudent to resume their journey. This disappointment greatly offended his majesty, who, without waiting the meeting of either assembly or parliament, set out for London, in a fit of chagrin, on the 29th of July.

At the opening of the general assembly, which met at Edinburgh on the 12th of August this year, 1639, Mr Henderson, the former moderator, preached from Acts v. 33. Towards the conclusion of his discourse, he addressed the earl of Traquhair, the king's commissioner, to the following effect: "We beseech your grace (said he) to see that Cæsar have his own; but let him have nothing that belongs to God, by whom king's reign. God hath exalted your grace within these few years, and he is still continuing to exalt you more and more. Be thankful for these special marks of his favour, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. Some men have been exalted like Haman, some like Mordecai, and I pray God that these eminent parts, wherewith he has endowed your grace, may be exercised for the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the real advantage of this church and nation." To the members of the assembly, he said,

“Right honourable, worshipful, and reverend, the cause in which you are now embarked, and for the promotion of which you are now assembled together, is the cause of Christ, the cause of common justice between our liege lord the king, and his dutiful subjects. In such a good cause, it becomes you to proceed with all the fervour of a well-tempered zeal, so mingled with moderation, that presbytery, the government we contend for in the church, may appear to the world in every respect consistent with monarchy in the state, that thereby we may obtain the favour of our king, and our Redeemer retain the untarnished honour of his regal crown.” The royal commissioner was anxious that Mr Henderson should be re-elected; but whether from a sense of his qualifications for filling the office, or to answer some end of his royal master, cannot be easily ascertained; only the assembly were suspicious of the latter, and vigorously opposed the motion of the commissioner, as favouring too much the idea of a constant moderator, which had always been the first step towards the introduction of episcopacy; and none discovered a greater aversion to the proposal than Mr Henderson himself.

Mr David Dickson, minister of Irvine, was chosen moderator by a great majority. Bishop Guthrie says, “That Mr Dickson was much inferior to his predecessor in that office, and that he must have been still more embarrassed, had not Mr Henderson been placed at his elbow as his coadjutor.” Whether the bishop has fairly represented the case or not, it shows that Mr Henderson’s abilities were respected even by the episcopalians themselves. In this assembly the whole frame-work of episcopacy was condemned. The royal commissioner required the assembly to state the grounds of this condemnation; which was done by the moderator, Mr Henderson and Mr Andrew Ramsay, who shewed, from the history of the primitive churches, as well as from the holy scriptures, that prelatical superiority amongst the ministers of Christ was utterly unknown in the first ages of christianity; that it had ever been destructive of that simplicity of government recommended by Christ, and adhered to by his followers for several centuries; and that it was merely a human invention, and had frequently been used for the introduction of popery, arminianism, superstition, and idolatry. It was moved by Mr Henderson, that the assembly should take into their consideration the propriety of drawing up a confession, positively condemning the errors and immoralities charged against some ministers, and clearing the doctrine of the church of Scotland, that none might afterwards pretend ignorance. The synod of Dort took this method with the arminians; and the assembly, on this occasion, agreed to Mr Henderson’s motion; but if ever the object was carried into

effect, the report has not reached us. Mr Henderson preached the sermon at opening the parliament, August 31st, 1639, from 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 3. wherein he principally dwelt on the utility, importance, and necessity of magistracy.

The town council of Edinburgh, who were the patrons and governors of the university of that city, having but annually visited that seat of learning during the preceding twenty-five years, the rector had become remiss in discharging the duties which that office imposed upon him. The council therefore, taking the matter under their consideration, came to the resolution of annually choosing a rector, whose powers of office should be pointed out by articles framed for the purpose. In accordance with this resolution, they made choice of Mr Henderson, then one of the ministers of that city, for rector of the university, and ordained that a silver mace should be borne before him on all solemnities, appointing certain members of the council, ministers of the city, and professors in the college, for his assessors. When the war was again renewed against the Scots, and they declared rebels, every regiment was attended by a chaplain, one of the most eminent ministers in the bounds where the regiment was raised; amongst these were Messrs Henderson, Blair, Baillie, Cant, Livingston, Gillespie, and others, who were vested with presbyterian authority, and were to perform every part of their ministerial duties proper in such circumstances. In the beginning of August 1640, the army arrived at Dunse, where they were reviewed by the general, and marched into England on the 20th of the same month. Notwithstanding these warlike measures, the covenanters still used the most loyal and submissive language, declaring that they entered England with no other view than to obtain access to the king's presence, and lay their grievances at his majesty's feet. The English, however, disbelieved them, and disputed the passage of the river, some miles above Newcastle, by a detachment of 4,500 men, commanded by Conway. The Scots first civilly entreated them not to prevent them from approaching their gracious sovereign; but could not prevail; on which they attacked them with great bravery, killed some, and drove the rest from their ground, on the 28th of August the same year. On the rumour of this defeat, the whole English army left Newcastle, and fled to Durham; and not yet thinking themselves sufficiently safe, retreated to Yorkshire. The Scotch army took possession of Newcastle; and though sufficiently elated, they preserved strict discipline, and persevered in their resolution to pay for every thing, in order to maintain the appearance of an amicable correspondence with England. The nation was now universally and greatly dis-

contented; so that the success of the Scottish army, and the distressed condition of the king, induced him a second time to accede to proposals of peace; when a treaty for this purpose was begun at Rippon, and afterwards transferred to London. Mr Henderson was appointed one of the commissioners for this treaty, by whose means the foundation was laid of that conjunction between the two nations, both in civil and religious affairs, which was afterwards confirmed by the solemnity of an oath.

The Scottish commissioners urged the propriety of a unity in religion, and a uniformity in church government, as an especial mean of preserving and perpetuating peace between the two kingdoms; and at the same time delivered to the English commissioners a paper, said to be drawn up by Mr Henderson, clearly stating the reasons for, and the obvious advantages that would naturally result from such a necessary measure. A favourable answer was given to this document, both by king and parliament, intimating in general, that as the parliament had already taken into consideration the reformation of the government of the church, so they would, in due time, proceed with that affair, so as it should appear most conducive to the glory of God, the peace of the church, and to both kingdoms. This was afterwards ratified as one of the articles of the treaty.

The Scottish commissioners had every advantage in conducting their treaty. They were lodged in the city, and had an intimate correspondence with the magistrates, the citizens, and the popular leaders in both Houses of Parliament. While attending on the duties of his commission, respecting the treaty of peace, Mr Henderson was often employed in preaching for one or other of the London ministers, both on the Sabbath, and other days, besides preparing some very important tracts for the press. At the desire of the English ministers, he wrote reasons why the bishops should be removed from the church. This treatise was printed in 1641. The polishing of many important papers was confided to Mr Henderson, and he composed the far greater part of those concerned with the church. While in London, he had a private conference with the king, the particular object of which was to procure, from the rents formerly appropriated by the bishops, some assistance to the much neglected universities in Scotland. He was well received, and had reason to expect something would be done for their relief. Towards the end of July 1641 he returned to Scotland. The general assembly met at St. Andrew's on the 20th of the same month; and at the request of the parliament, who were then sitting in Edinburgh, they removed to that city, where Mr Henderson was chosen moderator.

From the observations he was enabled to make while in

England, in consequence of his familiarity with both ministers and people, he clearly perceived that there would soon be an important change in the structure of the church, and that there was a considerable prospect of their approaching to a nearer conformity to the order of the church of Scotland; and in his capacity of commissioner to the above treaty, he laboured strenuously to promote that conformity. With this important object in view, he very seasonably moved, in the general assembly, that a confession of faith, a catechism, a directory for all the parts of public worship, and a platform of church government should be drawn up; to which the church of England might probably afterwards agree. The motion was unanimously agreed to, and the burden of the labour laid on the shoulders of the mover. Liberty was given him, however, to desist from preaching while engaged in this important business, and power to call the assistance of such ministers as he thought proper to assist him in forwarding the work. The king revisited Scotland in this year 1641, that he might be present at the parliament of his native kingdom, leaving both Houses of the English parliament sitting at Westminster. He was shut up to the necessity of cultivating a closer connection with the Scottish nation, for the support of his tottering throne. Mr Henderson waited on his majesty as his chaplain, and was appointed to provide preachers for him during the time he remained in the country. His majesty, on this occasion, so conducted himself, that the people were beginning to entertain hopes that henceforth he would rather encourage than oppose the reformation then in forwardness; but they were little acquainted with his true character. The last day of the meeting of this parliament was attended with great solemnity. The king, seated on his throne, and the estates all arranged in their respective places, Mr Henderson began with prayer, and closed the meeting with a sermon.

The revenues of the bishopricks were divided at this time, and Mr Henderson exerted himself in behalf of the universities; and by his influence, procured, with great difficulty, what belonged to the bishoprick of Edinburgh, and priory for the university of that city. The emoluments belonging to the chapel royal, amounting to four thousand merks yearly, were, at this time, conferred upon him as a recompence for his painful and expensive services in the cause of the public. The king was, in general, very accommodating and favourable to the nation on this visit, anxious to obtain their assistance against his English parliament, with whom he was at great variance. Argyle was created a marquis, the lords Loudon and Lindsay were raised to the dignity of earls, and all parties were so well pleas-

ed, that on the king's departure, it was said, he departed a contented king from a contented people. But duplicity strongly marked his character; so that those who knew him best, put no faith in his apparent reformation, and therefore joined with the English parliament for the recovery of their liberty, and securing their religion. Mr Henderson was much engaged in managing the correspondence with England during 1642, particularly that relating to reformation and uniformity in religion.

Upon the resolution of the English parliament to abolish episcopacy, they requested that some of the Scottish divines should be sent to London to assist in a synod which they had resolved to convene; and Mr Henderson, with three others, were appointed commissioners to that assembly, and ordered to hold themselves in readiness to remove to England as soon as it became necessary. This journey, owing to the civil war in England, was for some time deferred. Mr Henderson was anxious that the contending parties would come to some honourable accommodation of their differences; and for this purpose, joined with a number of leading men, in an invitation to the queen to come into Scotland, with the view of promoting a mediation; but the king rejected this well meant proposal. Mr Henderson afterwards went in person to the king, and, together with other commissioners from the state, offered the mediation of the Scottish nation. But their assistance in subjecting the English parliament was the object that lay nearest the king's heart at this time; so that their mission was scouted, and their reception unfavourable. Their powers of interference with the internal dissensions of the English nation were called in question, and the religious uniformity, which they proposed as the only specific for cementing the jarring interests of both kingdoms in general, and of the contending parties of England in particular, his majesty did not relish, and, in the present state of his affairs, could by no means condescend to admit. The commissioners were accordingly reviled and threatened by the royalists, and recalled by the nation in disgust. At the first interview, the king endeavoured to convince Mr Henderson of the justice and necessity of his appeal to arms; but finding him less credulous than he had expected, his behaviour was at once transformed from that of the complacent monarch, to a frowning and disappointed despot. While remaining at Oxford, some of the doctors wished to dispute with him on church government; but judging it unbecoming the character of a representative of the church of Scotland to dispute with a private individual, and viewing them rather disposed to cavil than to give or receive information, he signified, that his business in England was with the king. Dr. Taylor, a papist, also chal-

lenged him to a public dispute at Oxford; so insolent were the papists now become through the royal favour. Lord Clarendon is greatly offended at the firmness, or, as he calls it, *the great insolence* manifested by Mr Henderson on this occasion. But on his return to Edinburgh, where he gave a full account of his proceedings with the king to the commissioners of the church, they expressed their entire satisfaction with his whole conduct; and their judgment was confirmed by the next general assembly, who pronounced his carriage to have been faithful and wise.

The Scottish nation were highly displeas'd with the treatment their commissioners had met with at Oxford; and fully convinced, that the king's measures were directed against the liberty of both kingdoms, civil as well as religious, they formed an alliance with the English parliament—upon which Mr Henderson was sent to London, where he remained the greater part of his remaining days.

The general assembly of the church of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh on the 2d of August 1643, was distinguished by the presence of commissioners from the English parliament, the formation of the solemn league and covenant, and other transactions of memorable importance. Foreseeing the mass of business to be brought before them, and discussed in the presence of so many learned and honourable strangers, the first care of the assembly was the choice of a well qualified moderator; and Mr Henderson was unanimously called to the chair for the third time, and every thing conducted with the greatest decency and propriety. The English commission consisted of Sir William Armysyn, Sir Henry Vane, younger, Mr Hatcher, and Mr Darley; with two ministers of the gospel, Messrs Philip Nye and Stephen Marshall. After an introductory speech, said to have been drawn up by Mr Nye and Sir Henry Vane, the delegation presented their commission from both Houses of the English parliament, with ample powers to them, or any four of them, to treat with the covenanters. They likewise presented a declaration of both Houses to the assembly, showing the care they had taken in reforming the church, and expressing their desire that some of the Scottish divines should join with their assembly for that purpose. The royal arms being at this time triumphant, the parliament of England solicited the fraternal assistance of the covenanters, and a covenant was proposed. The English at first were for a civil league, and the Scotch for a religious covenant; which was ultimately agreed to, and Mr Henderson was appointed to set off for London immediately to ratify this solemn deed. He sailed from Leith on the 30th of August, in company with other commis-

sioners, and, on the 25th of September, the covenant was sworn by the members of the House of Commons and the assembly of divines, in Margaret's church at Westminster; on which occasion Mr Henderson delivered an excellent speech, to the following effect :

*“Honourable, reverend, and beloved in the Lord,*

“Though the time be far spent, yet am I bold to crave your patience and attention for a little. Were we altogether to hold our peace on such an important occasion as this, we could neither be answerable to our God, whose work and cause we are assembled to promote, to this church and kingdom, to which we have made so warm professions of regard, nor to our native kingdom, so abundant in her affection towards you, and the cause you have so laudably undertaken to defend, neither indeed to our own hearts, which exceedingly rejoice to see this day. We have greater reason than the lepers, sitting at the gate of Samaria, to say, ‘We do not well, this is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace.’ It is true, the Assyrians are not yet fled; but our hopes, through God, are, that the work this day begun, if sincerely engaged in, and faithfully maintained, will be the means of not merely putting to flight these Syrians and Babylonians, but all others inimical to the cause of God, the honour of the king, and the liberty, peace, and prosperity of these distracted kingdoms. For whatever be the situation in which the people of God are placed, whether in adversity and sorrow, before their deliverance come, or of prosperity, joy, and thanksgiving after, still they are welcome applicants at his throne; and their joining together in covenant with God, and one another, on such extraordinary occasions, is what he expects at their hands—what his people have been accustomed to perform in all ages of the church, and that with which he has been so well pleased, that he has blessed it, and made it the means of their deliverance from the power of their enemies on many a pressing occasion. When a people begin to forget God, and go a-whoring after strange gods, he lifts up his hand to punish their wanderings from the rectitude of his law, from the simplicity of his ordinances, and the purity of his worship; but when they lift up their hands, not only in supplicating the throne of mercy, but also in covenanting before the most high God, he is pleased (such is his mercy and wonderful condescension) to lift up his hand unto them, saying, ‘I am the Lord your God,’ as we have it three times expressed in two verses of the twentieth chapter of Ezekiel, and then stretcheth he out his omnipotent arm to punish his and their enemies. To join ourselves to God, in a covenant never to be departed from, is the best work of faith. To join ourselves in covenant to God and

one another, is the best work of love and christian communion. To join in covenant for the reformation of religion, is the very best work of the best zeal. The best proof of true loyalty, is to join in covenant for the preservation of our king and the constitutional liberty and laws of our native country; and such as withdraw from this necessary work, and refuse to enter into covenant for such important purposes, have reason to enter into their own hearts, and examine the reality of their faith, and the sincerity of their love, loyalty, and natural affection.

“As this duty is acceptable to God, so has it been the practice of his church and people, not only under the Old, but also under the New Testament; nor merely in the primitive ages of christianity, but also by the late reformed churches of Germany and the Low Countries, and likewise by our own noble and christian progenitors, when their religion and civil liberties were endangered by the power and influence of antichrist. The great defect attending their endeavours, however, was, that they did not proceed to the full extent warranted by the word of truth; which, had they done, the corruptions and calamities of these times might have been greatly prevented. To fill up what was wanting in our forefathers, has, however, been reserved for the honour and happiness of us their children; and if the Lord shall be pleased to move, to loose, and enlarge the hearts of his people, in his majesty’s dominions, to take this covenant, not in lukewarmness or dissimulation, but as becometh the people of God, it will prove the means of preventing many heart-rending scenes of misery, and be a copious source of rich and numerous blessings, both spiritual and temporal, to ourselves, our little ones, and their posterity, to many generations.

“The near and neighbouring example of the church and kingdom of Scotland, is, in this case, worthy of our particular observation. When the prelates in that kingdom, by their rents and lordly dignities, by their exorbitant power over all sorts of his majesty’s subjects, ministers, and even magistrates; by their places in parliament, council, college of justice, exchequer, and high commission, had grown to such enormous dominion and greatness, that, like giants, they set their one foot on the neck of the church, and the other on the neck of the state, and, with unparalleled insolence and effrontery, trampled upon the rights of the nation, in defiance of reason, religion, or law, till the people groaned beneath the unsupportable weight of their oppression; so that they chose rather to die than live in a state of such inhuman debasement, or to live in any part of the world rather than in the land that gave them birth. Then did the Lord arise, and say, ‘I have seen, I have seen the afflictions of my people—I have heard their groanings, and I am

come down to deliver them.' The beginnings were small and contemptible in the eyes of their proud and presumptuous enemies, such indeed as used to be the beginnings of God's greatest works; but followed up by indubitable evidences of divine direction, they were led from one step to another, till their mountain became strong. No tongue can express what emotions filled the hearts, what tears of joy poured from the eyes, and what expressions of wonder and amazement fell from the lips of thousands in that distressed land, when they found an unwonted flame warming their dejected bosoms, and perceived the power of almighty God raising them, as it were, from the dead, and creating for them a new world, wherein should dwell truth, religion, and righteousness.

“When destitute both of money and munition, which, next to the spirit and arms of men, are the undoubted sinews of war, the Lord supplied them out of his hid treasures; which was wonderful in their own eyes, and matter of astonishment to their enemies. When they were many times at a pause in their deliberations, and so perplexed that they knew not what to choose or refuse, only that their eyes were towards God, not only the fears and fury, but even the plots and policy of their adversaries pointed their way; so that the devices of their enemies recoiled on their own heads, and served to accelerate the work of God. The purity of their intentions, elevated above all earthly considerations, and the conscious rectitude and peace of their hearts, supported them against the malicious accusations, aspersions, and misrepresentations of their enraged enemies; all which were sensible manifestations of the good providence of God, and legible characters of his favourable interference—such as the church and kingdom of England, exercised at this time with still greater difficulties, have already found in part, and shall undoubtedly find completed, to their great satisfaction in the faithful prosecution of the work now before us. Necessity, which possesseth a kind of sovereignty, that raiseth it above all law, and is therefore said to have no law, does mightily press upon the church and kingdom of Scotland at the present time. It is no small comfort, however, that they have neither been idle nor unconcerned at the dangers that threatened their own, or the church and kingdom of England; but have used all good and lawful expedients to extinguish the flaming combustion that rages in this kingdom, by their supplications, remonstrances, and declarations to his majesty; and after all these means were found ineffectual, by sending commissioners to his majesty, humbly offering their mediation in restoring order and tranquillity. But their humble offer of service has been rejected, on the ground that they had no warrant or capacity for such

an interference, and that the intermixture of the government of the church of England, with that of the state, was a mystery of which they could be no competent judges. The fact, however, that the eighth demand of the treaty, and the answer given to that demand, with respect to the uniformity of religion, evidently afforded them a full and sufficient ground of capacity; while the proceedings of both Houses of *this* Parliament, against episcopal government, wherein it was declared a stumbling block, lying in the path of church reformation, and equally prejudicial to the best interests of the state, sufficiently furnished them with all the necessary means of information. But notwithstanding that these, and many other arguments, were stated in answer to their pretended reasons of objection, our commissioners were insulted, and recalled by a disgusted nation, without effecting any part of their pacific mission. In the meantime, the miseries of Ireland, the distresses of England, and the dangers and pressure upon the kingdom of Scotland, were daily accumulating, while his majesty had refused to call or suffer a parliament to be called. In this state of fear and perplexity, those entrusted with the public concerns of the kingdom, found themselves under the necessity of reverting to the practice of former times, by calling a convention of the estates, for considering the disorders of the country, and applying the most ostensible remedies.

“This convention were scarcely met together, when, by the good providence of God, several plots and conspiracies of the papists, in different parts of the three kingdoms, were discovered and laid before them; and by the same good providence, commissioners were sent from both Houses of this Parliament, to consider, with the estates of the kingdom of Scotland, such articles and propositions as might render the conjunction between the two nations more beneficial and effectual in securing religion and liberty against the attempts of papists and prelates, with their numerous train of adherents. Their consultations with the general assembly, at this time, brought forth a covenant; and considering this the only remaining remedy, after every thing else had been essayed in vain, they yielded to the manifold necessity, which nature, religion, loyalty, and love, had imposed upon them.

“Nor is it unknown in this honourable, reverend, and wise audience, what errors in doctrine, what superstition in worship, what usurpation and intolerable tyranny in government, and what cruelty has been set on foot, exercised, and executed against both the souls and bodies of the saints, for many generations, and now again stimulated by the rising expectations of the church of Rome; all which, we sincerely hope,

and are persuaded, by the blessing of God on the solemn work of this day, will soon be arrested in its mad career of malignity, and the disciples of Jesus permitted to lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty. Had the pope of Rome the knowledge of what is going forward this day in England, and were this covenant written on the plaster of the wall over against him where he sits, Belshazzar-like, surrounded with his minions, in sacrilegious splendour—his heart would tremble within him, his countenance grow pale, the mitre would shake on his head, and his knees smite one against another; while his prelates and cardinals, the agents of his heaven-daring arrogance, would stand transfixed in dumb amazement and motionless astonishment.

“The reformed churches, who, by their letters, have been exciting us to christian communion, sympathy, and the united defence of our common religion, when they shall hear of our blessed conjunction, our uniform religion, and our united exertions in its defence—it will revive their drooping and desponding souls, dispel the fears and gloomy apprehensions that oppress their spirits, and be to them the happy commencement of a jubilee, and joyful deliverance from the power and accursed yoke of antichristian tyranny. From these, and similar considerations, we are very confident that the church and kingdom of Scotland will most cheerfully join in this solemn covenant, at the first motion of which their bowels were moved within them. And that we may give testimony to this our confidence, we, who are commissioners from the general assembly, although we have no particular and express commission to that effect (not, however, for want of willingness, but for want of foresight), willingly offer to join it with our whole hearts and hands, in the confident assurance, that the Lord, in his own time, in spite of all opposition from earth or hell, will crown it with a blessing from heaven: That it is agreeable to the word of God, and sanctioned by the church, both in the Old and the New Economy of Grace, you have seen resolved by the consent and testimony of a reverend assembly of godly, learned, and great divines; and as the word of God, so the prayers of the people of God, in all the reformed churches, are in our behalf. It were more terrible than an host of armed papists, to hear that there were many fervent supplications poured out to God against our proceedings. There are, indeed, blasphemies, curses, and horrid imprecations, in great abundance, from another quarter, levelled against our proceedings; but if God be with us, who can hope to succeed in opposing the promising operation of this solemn transaction: That divine providence, which hath hitherto maintained this cause, and supported his

servants in promoting it, and hath kept matters in an equal balance and alternate success, will, we trust, from this day forth, cast the balance through the weight of this covenant; so that religion and righteousness shall prevail, to the glory of God, the honour of the king, the confusion of the enemies of the truth, and the comfort and safety of the people of God; all which may HE grant, who is able to do exceedingly above and beyond what we can either ask or conceive."

Mr Henderson having concluded his speech, Mr Nye, who had been appointed by the assembly to read the oath and covenant to the intending covenanters, began with an impressive exhortation—which, as it has been greatly admired, and being so intimately connected with the solemnity of this memorable transaction, we present it to the reader at large.

"A great and solemn work, honourable and reverend, has this day been put into our hands. It becomes us, therefore, to stir up and awaken our hearts to its magnitude and importance. Here we have to deal with God as well as with men, and with God in his greatness and excellency; for by him we swear. We have, at the same time, to deal with God in his goodness and tender compassion, who now stretcheth out a strong and seasonable arm for our assistance. We are met together this day, to exalt and acknowledge him who is fearful in praises; to swear by that name which alone is holy and reverend; to enter into a covenant and league never to be forgotten by us, nor by our posterity; and such an oath, as, for the matter of it, the persons concerned, and the circumstances attending it, has not been in any age of which we read, either in sacred or human story, yet sufficiently warranted in both; and I trust the fruits and blessed consequences of this solemn transaction shall be so abundant, that the present and many succeeding generations will have cause to remember it with unspeakable joy.

"The persons engaging in this league are three kingdoms, famous for the knowledge and the acknowledgment of Christ above all the kingdoms of the world. To swear before such a presence, should mould the spirit of a man, one would think, into a great deal of reverence; but how much more to be engaged, to be incorporated, and that by the solemnity of an oath, with such an high and honourable fraternity. An oath is to be esteemed so much the more solemn, by how much greater the persons are who swear. As in heaven, when God swears to his Son; on earth, when kings swear to one another; so in the business before us, where three kingdoms, in the presence of God, angels, and men, mutually bind themselves to God and one another—how great, how sacred must be the obligation?

“And as the solemnity of an oath is to be measured by the character of the persons swearing, so also by the matter sworn to. God would not swear to the covenant of works. It was not to continue, and he would not honour it with his oath. But to the covenant of grace, which is the gospel, he swears, and repents not. He swears for the salvation of men and of kingdoms. And if kingdoms swear to God, and one another, what oath can better become them than one for their respective preservation and salvation, by establishing amongst them the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is a mediator for kingdoms as well as for individuals?

“As the oath itself, and the matters sworn to, are both great and honourable, so also is the end and purpose of these great, these honourable transactions. Two are better than one, saith he, who best knoweth what is best, and from whom every thing hath its goodness and utility. Association is the offspring of divine wisdom, not only the formation of creatures, but their classification also; the cluster, as well as the grape, are the doings of him, who is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working. Concord and harmony among men, and especially among the saints, are highly pleasing in the sight of God; and if the united resolves of two or three, who meet in the name of Christ, shall be confirmed in heaven, how much more when two or three kingdoms meet together, and consent in his name, that God may be one, and his name one amongst them, and that his presence may be in the midst of them. That churches and kingdoms are near to God, and dear in his sight, his patience towards them, and his compassion over them more than individuals, sufficiently testify. But kingdoms, voluntarily engaging themselves for his kingdom, for his saints and subjects, for the purity of his religion, his worship and government, and with all humility sitting at his feet to receive the law from his mouth—What a price does he set upon such kingdoms, especially when sensible of their weakness and infirmity, of their unfaithful hearts, lest they should be unstedfast with their God, and start from his cause whenever they feel the knife or the fire! They bind themselves, as we do this day, a willing sacrifice, with cords, to the horns of the altar. What is the import of this solemn engagement? What is it we vow? Is it not, that we endeavour, so far as the Lord shall assist us by his grace, to preserve religion where it is reformed, and promote reformation where it is necessary? Is it not the reformation of three kingdoms? A reformation universal in respect of doctrine, discipline, and worship, in whatsoever the word of God shall discover unto us—and an endeavour, in our several capacities, to advance the Redeemer’s kingdom here upon earth, that Jerusalem may yet

become, notwithstanding the contradiction of men, the praise of the whole earth? To practise, is a fruit of love; to reform, a fruit of zeal; but so to reform will require great prudence and circumspection in each of these churches. The reformation of religion must be conducted according to God's word, the best rule—and according to the best reformed churches, the best interpreters of this rule. If England has attained to any greater perfection in handling the word of righteousness, and the doctrine that is according to godliness, so as it make men more godly and more righteous; or if, in the churches of Scotland, there be any more light and beauty in matters of order and discipline, whereby their assemblies are more orderly; or if to any other church or individual it has been given, better to have learned Christ, in any of his ways, than any or all of us—we shall humbly bow, and kiss their lips, that can speak right words to us in this matter, and help us to the nearest conformity to the word and mind of Christ in this great work of reformation.

“Honourable and reverend brethren, There cannot be a more direct and effectual way to exhort and persuade the wise, and men of serious spirits, such as they to whom I am commanded to speak on this occasion, than to let into their understandings the weight, the worth, and great importance of the work they have thus undertaken to perform. This oath, in the matter and consequences of it, is of such concernment, that I can truly say, it is worthy of us, it is worthy of all these kingdoms, yea, of all the kingdoms of the world; for it is swearing fealty and allegiance to the King of kings, and a giving up all these kingdoms, which are portions of his large inheritance, to be subdued more to his throne, and to be ruled more by *his* sceptre, in the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end. This we find, in its utmost accomplishment, to have been the oath of the angel, who, setting his feet on two of God's kingdoms, the one on the sea, and the other on the earth, and lifting his hand towards heaven, as you are to do this day, so swearing, that the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and that he shall reign for ever. His oath regards the full accomplishment; ours the means and measures conducive to that glorious event.

“That which the apostles and primitive saints so long and devoutly prayed for; that which our fathers, in latter times, have fasted, prayed, and mourned after, but attained not; even the cause which many dear saints, now triumphing with their Redeemer in heavenly glory, promoted by sufferings the most extreme, poverty, imprisonment, banishment, and death, ever since the dawn of the reformation—that is the identical cause

and work which, through the mercy of Jesus Christ, we are now assembled, not only to pray for, but to swear to. And surely it must be the answer and happy result of so many prayers and tears, of so much sincerity and suffering, that three kingdoms should be thus born in one day, and brought about to such an engagement, that nothing on earth can be greater; for to this end kings reign, kingdoms exist, and states and empires are upheld.

“ It is a special grace and favour of God, brethren, reverend and honourable, that he hath vouchsafed you an opportunity, and put it into your hearts, as this day, to embark your lives and estates in a cause so closely connected with his glory. And should you only lay the foundation stone of this great work, and thereby engage posterity to raise the superstructure, it were honour enough. But you are designed as master-builders, and choice instruments for effecting a settled peace and thorough reformation in these kingdoms; which, if the Lord shall please to finish in your hands, a greater happiness on earth, or a greater means of augmenting your glory in heaven, you are not capable of; and let me add, for your further encouragement, that God has set his covenant like the heavens, not merely for duration, but also for extension. The heavens move, and roll about, and so communicate their light, and heat, and virtue, to all places and departments of the earth—such is this covenant. How much this solemn league and covenant may provoke other reformed churches to a farther reformation, and what light and heat it may communicate abroad to other parts of the world, is only for him to declare, whose inheritance is the uttermost ends of the earth, and whose almighty power can, from the smallest, and apparently the most inefficient means, produce the most astonishing results.

“ But however this may be, one thing I am sure of, that this is a method of procedure, which, in all probability, will enable us to preserve and defend our religion and liberties against our common enemies, and perhaps a better foundation for overthrowing popery and prelacy—the chief of these enemies—will be laid this day, than has ever been resorted to by our fathers in any age of the church. With regard to popery, it has been a religion ever dexterous in fencing and mounting itself by joint strength and association. All its professors are cast into fraternities and brotherhoods; and these orders, carefully united, and bound together by vows one with another; even the states and kingdoms, which in this way they have bound to the papal throne, they endeavour to improve, and secure by strict combinations amongst themselves. Witness, of late years, their *La sainte ligue*, or holy league. Nay, the very rise of popery

seems to have been effected in this way by kings; that is, kingdoms assenting and agreeing (perhaps by some joint covenant—the text says, *with one mind*—why not then with one mouth?) to give their power to the beast, and make war against the Lamb—Where you also read, that the Lamb shall overcome them; and it may not be unworthy of your consideration, whether this triumph may not possibly be effected by the same weapons. He is King of kings, and Lord of lords. He can therefore unite kings and kingdoms, and by giving them one mind and one mouth, thus destroy the whore, and be her utter ruin. And may not this day's work be the happy beginning of such a blessed termination.

—“Prelacy, another common enemy that we covenant and swear against—What is it? or what has it been? but a subtle combination of the clergy, formed into a policy or body of their own invention, framing themselves into subordination and dependence on one another; so that the interest of each is improved by all, and a great power by these means acquired to themselves; of which we have lately had the woeful experience. The joints and members of this body, you all know, are knit together by the sacred engagement of an oath—the oath of canonical obedience, as they call it. You remember also with what cunning industry they endeavoured lately to make this oath and covenant more subservient to their own interest, and that of their posterity, by rendering it a more public, solemn, and universal engagement, than this cause of theirs has ever been supported by since the days of popery; and had they succeeded in their purpose, Scotland and Ireland must unquestionably have been brought at last into this holy league with England. But blessed be God, and blessed be his good hand, the parliament that, from the indignation of their spirits against so horrid a yoke, have dashed out the very brains of this detestable project, and are now this day present before the Lord to receive this blessed ordinance, even an oath and covenant as solemn and as extensive as they intended theirs—uniting these three kingdoms in such a league and happy combination, as will doubtless preserve us and our reformation from their power and malignity, though the mystery of their iniquity should still continue working amongst us. Come, therefore, I speak in the words of the prophet, ‘Let us join ourselves to the Lord, and one to another, and each to all, in a perpetual covenant never to be forgotten.’

“We are now entering upon a work of the first importance to us, and our posterity after us—a work in which the present and following generations are more deeply interested, than in any that has at any time been undertaken by us, or any of our

progenitors before us, or by any of the nations around us. If the Lord shall be pleased to bless this our beginning, it will be a happy day, and we shall be a happy people. An oath is a duty of the first commandment, and therefore one of the noblest order and rank of duties, and ought to come forth attended with the choicest graces, especially with humility and reverential fear—fear, not merely of God, which we ought to possess in an eminent degree, but also the fear of an oath, which is a most solemn duty, established by no less authority than the oath of God himself. ‘I have sworn (saith the Lord), that unto me every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear.’ Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac, as if he had coveted his father’s grace, as well as his father’s God; and this is the genuine character of a saint of God, he fears an oath. Humility is another requisite grace—Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and swear by his name. The apostle Paul was sensible of this engagement, even in the very act of his duty. ‘I call God to witness (says he), whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son.’ Although it be a work of the lips, yet must the heart be engaged, and all the faculties of the soul interested in the performance, if we expect our services to be acceptable to God. ‘Accept the free-will offerings of my mouth, (saith the Psalmist), and teach me thy judgments.’ It must also be gone about in all the plainness, simplicity, and sincerity of our souls. In this solemn work we call God to witness, betwixt us and our brethren, with whom we covenant—God, the searcher of hearts, whose eye penetrates the darkest recesses of our souls, and in whose sight both the deceived and the deceiver stand naked and exposed. If our hearts be not right towards our brethren—with God is wisdom and strength; wisdom to discover our hypocrisy, and strength to punish it. There ought not to be so much as a wish or desire that the words of our covenant should become snares—no, not to the weakest of our brethren that join with us; they are to be considered as bonds of unity in prosecuting and defending this great and necessary work of reformation, as cords of love and social affection, to cheer up and encourage one another to every good work. On the whole, let the same fear and jealousy impress your spirits on this great occasion, which influenced Jacob in a very critical and important concern. ‘My Father (says he) peradventure will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver, and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing.’

“I take the liberty more earnestly to press this caution upon your minds, because oaths and covenants have, on former occasions, been entered into, the fruit whereof, though great, yet came short of our expectation. The Lord hath surely been dis-

pleased with the slight impression these solemn transactions made upon our hearts. Be more watchful, I beseech you, and stir up your whole souls this day. Consider, that as this is the last oath you are likely ever to take of this kind, so is it our last refuge, *Tabula post Naufragium*. If this last remedy fail, through our insincerity and unstedfastness, we are likely to remain, to our dying day, an unhappy people; but if you will indeed swear with all your hearts, and seek the Lord with your whole desire, God will be found, and give you rest from all your enemies round about. But having, with due reverence, humility, plainness, and godly sincerity, sworn and entered into this solemn engagement to God and man, your work is by no means finished—you must make conscience of performing the various duties this solemn transaction imposes upon you, otherwise it had been better not to have vowed, Eccl. v. As it is said of fasting, it is not the hanging down of the head for a day; so of this solemn swearing, it is not the lifting up of the hand for a day, but an honest endeavour to perform the requisitions of this covenant all our days. A truce breaker, you know, is classed among the vilest of christians, Tim. iii. 3.; so a covenant breaker is ranked with the worst of heathens, Rom. i. 31—while he that sweareth, and changeth not, though the contents of his oath should prove even hurtful to his individual interest, such an one shall have his habitation with the most high, and dwell in his tabernacle. And as for you, my reverend brethren, who are ministers of the gospel, there is yet another obligation especially imposed upon you. Let us take heed to ourselves, that our walk and conversation correspond with this our covenant engagement. What a dishonourable reflection it must throw on the truth of the gospel, should we be found to waver and prove careless and lukewarm in any word, part, or purpose of this our oath, were it even in matters of minor importance, you can easily collect from that apology of Paul, 2 Cor. i. 17, 18.; and how much more in such a case as this, should we be found to purpose, nay more, even to vow, covenant, and swear, and notwithstanding of all this, to start aside, fall back, or go on unbecomingly in this solemn undertaking!

“That we may, all of us, who take the covenant this day, be constant and immoveable, always abounding in this blessed work of the Lord, there is a twofold grace or qualification indispensable, and to be earnestly sought after. 1st, We must get courage, and pursue the ends of our engagement with inflexible resolution. It is said, in the prophecy of Haggai, that the Lord stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua the high-priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people, and they came and did work in the house

of the Lord. The work of God's house, reformation work in particular, has ever been a stirring work. Read the history of the church of God from the beginning, and you shall not find, in any age or country, that any significant reformation was at any time effected, either in doctrine or discipline, without great stir and opposition. This was foretold by the same prophet, chap. ii. ver. 7. The promise is, he will fill his house with glory: But mark what goes before, in verse 6th, 'Yet a little while, and I will shake the heavens and the earth, the sea and the dry land'—denoting the nations of the earth, with all their diversified degrees of classification. The same place is applied, Heb. xii. to the removing of the Jewish rites, their ceremonial law, the moveables of God's house. In the apostles' times, you will also find, that the gospel being preached, some believed, and some believed not. Hence the stir commences, verse 6th, Those who believed not, took unto themselves certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and having gathered a company, set all the city in an uproar, and then charged the brethren with the disturbance themselves had created. These are the men, say they, who turn the world upside down! In such a work, therefore, we have need of courageous, composed, and persevering spirits, that we may not be struck with fear and amazement at the noisy proceedings of our enemies; but by shaking off all drowsiness and timidity, press forward, with well-directed exertions, unappalled by all the din, bluster, and opposition that may surround us. Nay, it is not impossible, that even amongst ourselves there may be outcries in abundance. 'Sir, you will undo all (says one).' 'You will put every thing into confusion (says another).' 'If you proceed in this course (says a third), we can expect nothing but blood.' But a wise statesman, like an experienced mariner, knows the compass of his vessel; and though it heave and be tossed by the wind and the waves, while the affrighted passengers cry out, all will be lost, still he keeps the possession of himself, attends to his proper work, and steers his course onward to the desired haven.

"If you are determined in your hearts to do any such work in the house of God as this, if you mean to pluck up what has many years ago been planted, to build up what was then cast down, and go through this difficult service with fearless intrepidity and unrelinquishing perseverance, you must pray the Lord of the house to furnish you with this excellent, this active and enterprising spirit, otherwise you will be outspirited by your opposers, and both yourselves, and the cause you have so warmly espoused, slighted and dishonoured. On the other hand, our zeal must be tempered with prudence, and our resolution and activity mingled with gentleness and humility. A

man may be very zealous in prosecuting a good cause, and at the same time both meek and merciful. Jesus Christ was both a Lion and a Lamb. He tells us, 'That he came to send fire on the earth;' and on another occasion, he rebukes his disciples for their fiery spirit, saying, 'The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save.' Such also were the tempers and compositions of Moses and Paul; and similar dispositions will be found highly profitable to us in this work of reformation. I have never observed any disputes carried on with more bitterness and ill-natured animosity in men's writings, nor with more unsanctified heat of spirit, yea, and by godly men too, than in those controversies relating to discipline, church government, and ceremonies. Surely to dispute concerning government with such ungoverned passions, and argue for reformation with a spirit so unreformed, is of all uncomely things the most uncomely. Let us be zealous, as Christ was, to cast out all, to extirpate and root out every plant that his heavenly Father hath not planted; and yet let this be effected in an orderly manner, and in the spirit of Christ, whose servants we are. For the servant of Christ must not strive, but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, and patient, in meekness instructing such as oppose, 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. We solemnly engage this day to use our utmost endeavours for reformation; but let us remember; that too much heat, as well as too much coldness, in prosecuting this great undertaking, may harden men in their ways, and retard our progress in rectifying the disorders of the house of God.

"Brethren, let us proceed to this blessed work with such a frame of spirit, with such a mind for the present, and with such resolutions for the time to come. Let us not be wanting to the opportunity God has this day put into our hands, and then I can say with the prophet, 'Consider this day and upwards, even from this day, that the foundation of the Lord's work is laid—consider it; for from this day will I bless you, saith the Lord.' Nay, we have received as it were the first-fruits of this promise already. It is said of some men's good works, that they are manifest beforehand; even so may it be said of the good work of this day. God hath as it were beforehand testified his acceptance. While we were thinking and proposing this freewill offering, he was protecting and defending our army, causing our enemies, the enemies of this good work, to flee before us, and has given us a victory by no means to be despised. Surely this oath and covenant shall be Judah's joy, the joy and comfort of this whole kingdom, yea, of all the three kingdoms, and matter of rejoicing to all the reformed churches.

“Jesus Christ, King of the saints, govern us by his Spirit, strengthen us by his power, undertake for us according as he hath sworn, even the oath which he sware to our fathers, that he would grant unto us, that we, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our lives. Grant unto us also, that when we are gathered to our fathers, our children after us may stand up in the defence of this cause, and enjoy its manifold blessings, that his great and reverend name may be honoured and exalted, till he himself shall come and perfect all by his own wisdom and power. Even so, come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. *Amen.*”

Having thus concluded his exhortation, Mr Nye read the form of the oath and covenant; which having done, all the members of the House of Commons, and those of the Assembly of Divines, stood up, with their right hands raised, and uncovered, while Mr Nye, with great solemnity, again read over the form of the obligation; after which the solemn service of this remarkable day was concluded with prayer.

But we return to Mr Henderson, who, as a member of the assembly, greatly distinguished himself by the solidity of his arguments in favour of a thorough reformation; but particularly in pressing upon the members the beauty, order, and utility of a presbyterian form of church government, to the establishment of which, his talents and exertions contributed to no small degree. His deportment was grave, and well becoming the dignity of a representative of the church. He discovered a conscientious uprightness in all his designs, his opinions were therefore regarded with great deference, and his influence was very considerable. When it became necessary to vindicate the principles of the church of Scotland, or any of the reformed presbyterian churches, he discovered, by his speeches, how well he understood their doctrine and discipline, and how able he was to defend them; but his rare abilities were peculiarly displayed in reconciling contending interests, and maintaining harmony amongst the members. Being a thorough presbyterian, nothing proposed in the assembly, at variance with that system, could pass without his determined opposition. Hence he stood equally opposed to independency and erastian supremacy, which were pressed on the assembly by men of the first talents and erudition, and greatly befriended by their respective parties in both Houses of Parliament.

In the beginning of the year 1645, Mr Henderson was appointed, by the parliament, to assist their commissioners in the treaty between them and the king at Uxbridge. The parliamentary commissioners were instructed to demand the abolition

of episcopacy, and the ratification of the presbyterian church government. The king's commissioners opposed this demand; upon which it was agreed to hear the divines on both sides. Mr Henderson opened the proceedings in a speech, which even Lord Clarendon acknowledges was not destitute of eloquence. He took up the ground which he conceived was best calculated for bringing the dispute to an early conclusion, and waving the lawfulness of episcopacy, he said, "The question before them was, not whether episcopal government was lawful, but whether it was so necessary that christianity could not subsist without it?" He argued that it was not, and that such an affirmation could not be made without condemning all other reformed churches: That the English parliament had found episcopacy a very inconvenient and corrupt government: That the hierarchy had been a public grievance from the reformation downwards: That the bishops had always encouraged popery, and had retained many of her superstitious rites and customs in their worship and government; and that they had lately made an obvious approximation to the Romish communion, to the great scandal of the protestant churches of Germany, France, Scotland, and Holland: That the prelates had embroiled the whole of the British islands, and kindled the flame which then raged throughout the three kingdoms: That for these reasons, the parliament had resolved to change this inconvenient and mischief-making government, and set up another, more naturally formed for the promotion of piety and christian fellowship, in its place; and that this proposed alteration was the best expedient that could be resorted to, for extinguishing the remains of popery, and uniting the protestant churches and states in christian amity, and in the defence of their religious principles and civil rights; nor could he conceive how his majesty's conscience should feel opposed to such a salutary measure, after having already agreed to the suppression of prelacy in his kingdom of Scotland.

But the advocates for episcopacy, aware that this plain mode of reasoning, adapted to the understanding of every person possessed of ordinary good sense, would be too easily comprehended by the people, they would not therefore hazard their cause upon such doubtful ground, but endeavoured to involve the question in a maze of learned obscurity, by introducing a general dispute respecting episcopal government. Dr. Stuart, the king's commissioner on the part of the church of England, enlarged on the apostolical institution of episcopacy, and endeavoured to prove, that without bishops the sacerdotal character could not be conveyed, nor the sacraments administered to any significancy—desiring, at the same time, that the controversy

might be maintained syllogistically, as became scholars. To this Mr Henderson readily agreed. The dispute was long and close; and although each party, as usual, claimed the victory, it was allowed by some of the auditors, who have never been considered as prejudiced in favour of presbyterianism, that while Mr Henderson equalled the king's commissioners in learning, he surpassed them in modesty. The treaty was, however, broken off; and matters, in place of being mended, became worse and worse. The king's affairs, after being a considerable time on the decline, were totally ruined in the spring of 1646; and he finding no other outgate, threw himself into the Scottish army, which retired with him to Newcastle. When he arrived there, he sent for Mr Henderson, being his chaplain, to attend him.

In the present ruined state of the king's affairs, the increasing strength of the parliamentary forces, and the popularity of their claims, the only measure likely to settle the war, and restore the king to the exercise of his authority, seemed to be his acquiescence in the measures proposed by the parliament, namely, to take the covenant, and abolish the hierarchy, and ratify a presbyterian government in the churches of both kingdoms. Mr Henderson was considered the best qualified for dealing with the king in this delicate concern; and notwithstanding his ill state of health, he complied with the king's request, and the entreaties of his fellow-commissioners. Accordingly, arriving at Newcastle about the middle of May, he received a kind welcome from his majesty; but soon perceived that he was determined not to comply with the requisitions of his parliament. The king signified, that he could not, in conscience, consent to the abolition of episcopacy, and proposed that Mr Henderson should carry on a dispute with some episcopal divines, a list of whose names he gave him. This, however, Mr Henderson declined, as a business he had no authority to undertake, and as little reason to expect when he complied with his majesty's request of coming to Newcastle. "Besides (said he), such disputations have seldom had any good effect in ending controversies; and in the present state of your majesty's affairs, must be extremely prejudicial to your majesty's interest. All that I intended, says Mr Henderson elsewhere, was a free, yet modest declaration of the motives that induced me to dislike and abandon episcopal government, in which I was bred in the university." It was therefore agreed, that the king's scruples should be discussed, in a series of papers, privately between himself and Mr Henderson. These papers are eight in number, five by his majesty, and three by Mr Henderson, from some time in May till the 16th of July.

Mr Henderson apprised his majesty, on this occasion, of the

great loss his cause had sustained, and was likely still farther to sustain, by exciting learned men to dispute on the power and prerogative of princes—subjects that, for the most part, were incapable of standing the light of critical investigation. But perceiving that he tenaciously adhered to opinions discarded by all the moderate episcopalians, and maintained by those only who were leading him to the brink of a precipice, he declined entering farther into a fruitless contest. Mr Henderson, whose health was considerably impaired when he came to Newcastle, grew much worse while he remained with the king. His constitution, worn down with incessant labour, the sorrow and anxiety that preyed upon his spirits, from the obvious infatuation and incurable obduracy of the king, increased his disorder; and considering his dissolution fast approaching, he resolved to return to Scotland. Before leaving Newcastle, he had an audience of the king; where he again reminded him of the very critical situation of his affairs, and his full conviction that nothing but his concurring with the claims of his parliament could restore his authority, and tranquillize the general ferment that pervaded every part of his dominions. Thus having discharged the duties of that employment which placed him about his majesty's person, he took his final farewell. He returned by sea, and arrived at Leith on the 11th of August 1646, very sick, and much exhausted. He continued so weak, that he was often unable to speak; but when able, he expressed himself much to the satisfaction of his brethren and christian acquaintances who visited him; and within eight days from his arrival in Scotland, he rested from his labours, on the 19th day of August 1646.

In the course of examining his papers, there was found amongst them a short Confession of his Faith, written with his own hand, wherein he expresses his dying thoughts at this trying hour; and, amongst other things, declares, "That most of all he was indebted to the free grace and goodness of God, who had called him to the faith of the promises, and had exalted him to preach them to his fellow-sinners, and to be a willing, though weak, instrument in promoting this wonderful work of reformation; which he prayed the Lord to bring to a happy termination." Mr Livingston, in his *Characteristics* at the end of his life, declares, "That he was present at his death, and saw him expire in great peace and comfort." And Mr Baillie says, "He died as he lived, in great modesty, faith, and piety." His mortal remains were interred in the Gray-friar's church-yard, Edinburgh. Having no family of his own, his nephew, Mr George Henderson, performed the last kind offices of humanity to his mortal part, and erected a monument, with appropriate

inscriptions, which testify how very highly he was esteemed by all classes, both in Scotland and England, by whom his death was greatly lamented. After the restoration of king Charles, when every species of indignity was done to the reformation, and to those who were active in promoting it, the earl of Middleton, the king's commissioner, procured an order of parliament, in July 1662, for disfiguring the monument, and erasing the inscriptions; but at the revolution the monument was repaired, and the inscriptions replaced, and it still stands entire on the south-west side of the Gray-friars church. It is a quadrangular pillar, with an urn at the top.

Mr Henderson having died soon after his conferences with the king, the episcopalians industriously circulated a report, that he was not only vanquished, but even converted by his royal antagonist—a report, however, that had not the least shadow of truth to support it, and which was keenly contradicted by all who had an opportunity of being well acquainted with Mr Henderson's sentiments at that time, and during the short period of life after his return to Edinburgh. But all this was not sufficient; for about two years after his death, a declaration, in his own name, made its appearance; in which he was represented as expressing great contrition for having acceded to the proceedings of the presbyterians. This base forgery was done by a Scottish episcopalian divine; on the appearance of which, the general assembly of the church of Scotland called and examined those persons who were present along with Mr Henderson during his conferences with the king, and also several of those who were most conversant with him during the short period that elapsed from his return to Edinburgh till his death; who unanimously declared, that he continued to the last unaltered in his sentiments. Upon this the assembly passed an act, declaring the said pamphlet forged, scandalous, and false, and the author and contriver of the same destitute of charity and a good conscience, a gross liar and calumniator, led by the spirit of the accuser of the brethren. Again, about the middle of the eighteenth century, this convicted forgery was credulously revived by Mr Ruddiman, who, notwithstanding his eminent learning, is known to have had the weakest prejudices respecting jacobinism and episcopacy. His attempt was, however, triumphantly exposed by Mr Logan. Bishop Guthrie, in his *Memoirs*, page 24th, says, "Upon Mr Henderson all the ministers of the presbyterian persuasion depended; and no wonder, for in gravity, learning, wisdom, and state policy, he was by far their superior." Pinkerton calls him "The Franklin of the Scottish commotions." And Granger, a minister of the church of England, says concerning him, "Mr Henderson, the

chief of the Scottish clergy in this reign, was learned, eloquent, polite, and perfectly versed in the knowledge of mankind. He was at the helm of affairs in the general assemblies of Scotland, and sent into England in the double capacity of a divine and plenipotentiary. He knew how to rouse the people to war, or negotiate a peace. Whenever he preached, it was to crowded audiences; and when he pleaded or argued, he was regarded with the mutest attention." His parts and acquirements qualified him for acting in the most difficult situations either in church or state, and the circumstances of the times placed him in both; where his prudence, activity, and incorruptible integrity, commanded the universal approbation and gratitude of the covenanters, and excited even the admiration of his enemies. Called from his beloved retirement by the sufferings and necessity of his weeping country, pressed down by the power of ambitious prelates, an arbitrary court, and corrupt statesmen, he entered upon the bustle of public affairs at a time of life when others think of retiring. Nor could the fatigue and anxiety, attending his difficult services, induce him to relinquish his station, till his shattered frame sunk beneath the burden of his labours, and he died a martyr to the cause he had so ably supported.

His unremitting labours, in the public concerns of the church and nation, left him little leisure to prepare works for the press. The public papers he drew up, however, point him out as one of the best writers of his time; and even his few sermons which have been published, though hastily written, amidst a multiplicity of diversified avocations, justify the reputation he had gained for this species of composition. As a public speaker, he was eloquent, judicious, and highly popular. His eloquence was easy, but impressive, grave, but fluent, like the motion of a deep river, that carries one insensibly along with it, rather than the rapidity of a dashing torrent; and few preachers have ever been better attended, or listened to with more watchful anxiety.

---

### RICHARD BAXTER.

AMONGST the countless number of human beings, who have succeeded one another on the bustling theatre of this world, acted their various parts and disappeared, how few have had their names and virtues transmitted to posterity. Even amongst those who have made the greatest figure in life, or had the greatest applause after their death, the far greater part have owed their distinction to the root from whence they sprung, to the fortunate circumstances of their lives, the influence and interest of their friends, and other external causes and happy co-

incidents not to be accounted for; while the great mass of mankind either pass off in unnoticed silence, or, having exercised their talents to the hurt of society, and the disgrace of humanity, are stigmatized, and hung up in the annals of human transactions for a terror to succeeding generations. There have, nevertheless, been in every age some few individuals, who, by their remarkable endowments, have broke through all the difficulties that stood in their way, and without the aid of parentage, patronage, or pecuniary resources, have, by their meritorious exertions for the good of mankind, dissipated every cloud that envy or malice could raise to obscure their worth, and left behind them memorials to emblazon the annals of time. Such blessings have some men been to the world, that every attempt to detract from their merits has recoiled on their detractors, and marked them with indelible disgrace.

In this distinguished class of individuals, Mr Richard Baxter, the subject of this memoir, holds a prominent place. His soul was too great for a useless or inactive life. His piety and integrity were too conspicuous to justify even a suspicion, that he could pervert his uncommon abilities, or use his great interest in promoting principles which his conscience did not allow. His origin was low, and his descent obscure. He had no external advantages to raise and distinguish him; but found his progress opposed by a host of difficulties, some of them apparently insurmountable; yet his personal merit has procured him a name, which, while it eclipses the fame of his detractors, will outlive all their calumnies.

He was born at Rowton, near high Ercal in Shropshire, on the 12th of November 1615, in the house of Richard Adency, his grand-father on the mother's side, where he spent his infancy, which was remarkable in nothing but a pious inclination. At the age of ten years he was taken home to his father's house at Eaton Constantine, a village about five miles from Shrewsbury, where he passed away his childhood and youth; which, upon after reflection, he found to correspond with the declaration of the wise man—"Childhood and youth are vanity." His father was a freeholder of Shropshire, who made no great figure in the world. His estate was small, and so encumbered with debt, that in order to clear it, he was shut up to the most parsimonious economy. This circumstance prevented his son from receiving a regular and liberal education. For want of better instructors, he fell into the hands of the readers in the village where he resided. His teachers were both lewd and ignorant; for learning was in a very low and languishing state in that remote corner of the land at the period we are speaking of; nor could much improvement be expected from such ignorant and

indifferent instructors. His greatest help, in grammatical learning, he received from Mr John Owen, master of the free-school at Wroxeter, with whom he continued till he had been for some time captain of his school, and advanced as far as he was qualified to forward him.

No man could be more desirous of academical instruction; yet of this he was wholly deprived, in consequence of an observation of Mr Owen's, when he was leaving his school, "That it might perhaps be better for him to go and live with Mr Wickstead, chaplain to the council at Ludlow, who had authority from the king to keep one to attend him." Mr Baxter was exceeding sorrowful at the proposal; but his parents were so highly pleased to have their son so near at home, that he was obliged, though with great reluctance, to acquiesce. But Mr Wickstead was no great scholar himself; and though in other respects he used Mr Baxter well, he took no pains to instruct him; so that the only advantage he had in this place was the free use of an excellent library, and abundance of time to study; which he improved to the utmost of his power. Here, however, he spent a year and a-half; and having returned to his father's house, he was soon after, at the request of Lord Newport, engaged to supply the place of Mr Owen, who had fallen into a consumption, of which he died. Strongly inclined to the ministry, he was anxious to obtain the necessary qualifications for that sacred office; and disappointed in his hopes of a university education, he now applied himself to a rigid course of study, under the direction of Mr Francis Garbett, minister of Wroxeter; and with his assistance, ran through a course of philosophy. His industry, at this time, was constant and severe; but the delicacy of his frame greatly retarded his progress. He endeavoured to manage his studies in divinity with the occasional advice of several neighbouring ministers, with whose help he was making hopeful progress, till a new motion was made, which had well nigh turned his thoughts to a very different course of life.

When about eighteen years of age, Mr Wickstead persuaded him to abandon all thoughts of the church, to leave the country for the court, and make interest for some office, by which he would have an opportunity of rising in the world. The thing was pleasing to his parents; and by their instigation, he came up to Whitehall, with a recommendation to Sir Henry Herbert, then master of the revels. He was courteously received, and kindly entertained; but found nothing desirable in a court life, but much that made him very uneasy; and in a month's time he resolved to leave those scenes of dissipation and courtly insincerity for the country, where he resumed his former course of

studies; which he now prosecuted with more indefatigable ardour than can be well imagined, till, at the earnest solicitation of Mr Richard Foley of Stourbridge, he accepted the mastership of a free-school, which that gentleman had lately erected at Dudley, having an usher under him. By this time God had fitted him for great service in his church, by bringing him to more than ordinary seriousness. While teaching the free-school at Dudley, he read a variety of practical treatises; which were the means of impressing his mind with the importance of religion, to which he was not a little quickened by the weakness of his body, and a bad state of health, which he then believed would carry him off in less than a twelvemonth.

We are informed by Dr. Calamy, "That from twenty-one to twenty-three years of age he was constantly under the apprehension of death, and greatly exercised about the concerns of his soul; which created in him an earnest desire to instruct ignorant, presumptuous, and profane persons in the important truths that concern the salvation of their souls. In the meantime, the ridicule and censure he was likely to draw down upon himself, for entering into the ministry without an academical education, with all its attendant honours, but especially the awful responsibility attached to the pastoral office, greatly discouraged him; yet the prospect of an early removal to another world, together with a strong desire of being serviceable to the souls of perishing men, by turning them into the paths of righteousness, overpowered all these apprehensions. Having his views thus fixed upon the ministry, he applied to Dr. Thornborough, bishop of Winchester, for holy orders; which, after examination, he received, having as yet no conscientious scruples with regard to conformity to the church of England.

With regard to this controversy, he had consulted the neighbouring ministers, who furnished him with Downham, Sprint, and Dr. Burgess, who had all written in defence of conformity; but they could furnish him with none who had taken up the other side of the controversy, all of whom they represented as mean scholars, whose arguments were weak and inconclusive; whereupon his mind was satisfied, that church conformity was both lawful and expedient, and that the conformists had the better cause. With this conviction he subscribed, without the least scruple, as is usual at the time of his ordination.

Being settled at Dudley, he preached both in the town and neighbouring villages, where he became acquainted with several non-conformists, whom he considered too censorious and bitter in their animadversions against the conformists, although he found them honest and godly people. From them he had the perusal of several writings on their own side of the question;

and, amongst the rest, Ames' fresh Suit against the Ceremonies; which he carefully read, and compared with Dr. Burgess' Rejoinder; and, upon the whole, at this time came to the following conclusions: "That kneeling was lawful—of the surplice he had some doubts, but was rather inclined to consider it no sufficient objection; for although he was determined never to use it, till under a necessity of so doing, he could not perceive how he could justify himself in forsaking his ministry merely on that account. Of the ring in marriage he had not the least scruple. The cross in baptism, he conceived, had been sufficiently proven by Dr. Ames to be unlawful; and with this conviction, never once used that ceremony. The English Liturgy, in particular, he thought very defective, and in great disorder, though not to a degree that should render it unwarrantable to such as could not be better furnished. To a form of prayer, and a liturgy as such, providing the matter therein contained were sound, he had no great objection." He looked for discipline in the church, and lamented the neglect of it; but at this time was not so sensible as afterwards, that the very frame of diocesan prelacy, more than even the negligence of the bishops, either excluded or prevented it from being exercised. Subscription he began to consider unlawful, and repented his rashness in submitting, till he had more maturely examined the contents of those books which he had been called to subscribe. For although he could use the Common Prayer, and had not as yet wholly renounced diocesan prelacy, still to subscribe *Ex Animo*, that there is nothing in the three books contrary to the word of God, was what he would by no means have done, had he taken the same view of the matter at the time of subscription; so that *subscription*, the *cross* in baptism, and the *promiscuous* admission to the Lord's supper of all comers, who had not been excommunicated by a bishop or chancellor, who knew nothing of their life and qualifications, were all to which he was yet disinclined to conform.

While he continued at Dudley, he had a numerous auditory, and a very tractable people to deal with; but within nine months, he was induced to remove to Bridgenorth, the second town in Shropshire, as assistant to Mr William Madstard, where he was indulged in all his scruples, and put upon no work to which he had any conscientious objection; which, with the prospect of peace and quietness, were the only inducements he had for leaving his former charge.

He was scarcely well settled in this place till he was disturbed with the *et cætera* oath, which was framed by the convocation then sitting. But the act of swearing to a blind *et cætera*, which might be legally altered by the king, and, of course, might, in

process of time, become an oath of rebellion, he could by no means agree to. It was an oath, besides, that must have prevented every swearer from making any attempts at church reformation. It was, moreover, an encroachment on the privileges of parliament to have such an oath imposed without their consent. The neighbouring ministers, somewhat alarmed, met together to consult what was best to be done on this threatening occasion; when some were for quietly acquiescing, but a much greater number were for standing up against it. This put Mr Baxter on a more close and critical investigation of the *divine right* of episcopacy; in the course of which, having read Bucer, Parker, and Baynes, which he compared with the reasons of bishop Downam, he was convinced, that though all kinds of episcopacy was not flatly condemned by the scriptures, the English diocesan form of it was calculated to corrupt both the churches and ministry, and to exclude all true church discipline, by substituting a heterogenous thing, the offspring of an interested clergy, in its place; so that this very oath, which had been imposed for the express purpose of subjugating the nation for ever to the diocesans, was the means of alienating the mind of Mr Baxter, and thousands beside him, from their oppressive government.

Many, who before this went quietly on with their own business, and left the bishops to their own measures, were, by the terror of this oath, roused from their indifference to look about them, and consider what they were doing. New animosities were engendered amongst the contending parties, by the unceasing debates which this unreasonable and impolitic oath had occasioned, and its opposers became more and more friendly to the cause of nonconformity, and more conciliated to its defenders, till that which was designed for their ruin ultimately proved their greatest advantage.

While the church of England was thus divided on the question of conformity, the church of Scotland was also in a flame. That nation, which had been accustomed to a presbyterian government in the church, had first a more moderate system of episcopacy imposed upon them than that exercised in England; under which, though they felt uneasy, yet they had continued quiet, and, generally speaking, orderly, till the English Prayer Book, with some trifling alterations, together with the English Ceremonies, were very unceremoniously enforced upon the nation.

The first public reading of this new Service-book occasioned an insurrection in Edinburgh, and roused such an indignant feeling throughout the nation, that, in spite of all the care and industry of the earl of Traquhair, the king's commissioner, the

number of the malcontents still increased, till, the greater part of the nobility falling in with them, they got the whole power of the nation into their own hands. At the same time the king imposed a tax on his English subjects, called shipmoney, on pretence of strengthening the navy; which, being done without the consent of parliament, gave general dissatisfaction. A universal murmuring was thus created through the whole kingdom, more especially amongst the country nobility and gentry, who considered this arbitrary transaction as trenching upon the fundamental laws of the country, the privileges of parliament, and the established rights of individual property.

The universal cry raised by these measures, and the fears of the people at this period, were, "That if parliaments and property were once destroyed, the constitution would, from that moment, be dissolved; so that no man could have the least security, either for property, liberty, or life, save the precarious and capricious pleasure of the king, whose will would be the supreme law." Numbers refused to pay this shipmoney tax, and were thereupon distrained. Mr Hampden and the Lord Sey brought it to a trial at law; in which Mr Oliver, St. John, and others, defended the cause of the people. The twelve judges were consulted, and all, with the exception of judges Hutton and Crook, gave their opinion in favour of the king; which, of course, occasioned a still greater noise.

The Scots, soon after this, entered England with an army, encouraged, it is said, by many of the English nobility, who could not perceive by what other means they might force the king to call a parliament to rectify the disorders of the state. The earls of Essex, Warwick, Bedford, Clare, Bolingbroke, Mulgrave, and Holland, with the lords Sey and Brook, are reputed by some to have been concerned in forwarding this measure. But Heylin says, "That the Scots, after they had entered the country, not the first, but the *second* time, persuaded these noblemen, that the liberties of England depended upon their defending the powers and privileges of their parliament; which moved them at last to petition the king, that he would be graciously pleased to call his parliament together to settle the increasing disorders both of the church and state."

The king met the Scots at Newcastle; a pacification was concluded, and an English parliament called; on which the Scotch army returned home. This parliament, however, soon displeased the king; on which account it was dissolved, and a fresh war undertaken against the Scotch; to the expense of which, besides others, the *papists* made liberal contributions. The Scottish nation loudly complained that this unnecessary war was the effect of popish counsels; and calling their army again

to the field, they marched into England. The English once more petition for a parliament, and once more it is resolved on, and put into execution; but neither the Scottish nor English armies were disbanded. Thus, what was afterwards called the long parliament, had its origin; a parliament the most active, successful, and celebrated of any that ever sat in England.

This parliament being met, they commenced their labours with the reformation both of church and state. Long and energetic speeches were made against shipmoney, against the judges that approved of the measure, the *et cætera* oath, and the convocation of bishops who formed it; also against my lord Strafford, archbishop Laud, and other evil counsellors. There was an astonishing harmony amongst the members; for, at this time, as the king had imposed the shipmoney on the commonwealth, and at the same time permitted the bishops to impose upon the church their intolerant acts of conformity, and suspension for want of supercanonical obedience; so the parliament, consisting of two parties, the one strongly attached to civil, and the other to ecclesiastical liberty, they, by uniting their endeavours, their influence, and their votes, carried every thing before them.

No sooner was the disposition of the majority of this parliament made known throughout the kingdom, than complaints and petitions, respecting grievances, both civil and ecclesiastical, were poured into the house from every quarter of the kingdom, and great things, such as heretofore had been considered impossible, were effected in a very short time. An act was now passed against the high court of commission and the civil power of churchmen; another, that the parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent; and a third, for triennial parliaments; and at length the king was even forced to withdraw his protection from the lord-deputy Wentworth, whom the parliament had charged with treason, and almost every thing assumed a new appearance. Amongst a mass of other important matters, a reformation of the clergy was resolved on, and a committee appointed to hear petitions and complaints against them; upon which multitudes from every corner of the country came up with complaints against their ministers; some for being insufficient, some erroneous, some for imposing illegal innovations, and other some for scandalous lives. Mr John White was chairman of this committee, and published the evidence and decisions against two hundred scandalous ministers, which, Mr Calamy tells us, were filled with most abominable particularities, which had better been concealed than published, to become the sport of papists, athiests, and other profane persons. Among the numerous complaints laid before this committee, the

town of Kidderminster presented a petition, charging their vicar, and his two curates, with insufficiency for their offices; and the vicar, conscious of the fact, compounded the business, by allowing £60 per annum, out of something less than £200, which the living was worth, to support a preacher, who was to be chosen by fourteen of the trustees. The preacher, thus to be chosen, to have permission to preach whenever he pleased; while the vicar was to read the common prayer, and perform such parts of the service as the preacher might consider matter of scruple; for all which he gave a bond of £500. This arrangement being completed, the trustees invited Mr Baxter to give them a sermon; which he did so much to their satisfaction, that he was unanimously chosen to be their minister. He spent two years at Kidderminster before the commencement of the war, and fourteen after. He found the place like a piece of dry and barren ground, ignorance and profanity greatly abounding, both in the town and surrounding country; but by the blessing of heaven on his labours, it soon assumed the appearance of paradise, flourishing in all the fruits of righteousness. Rage and malice at first gave him considerable opposition; but it soon passed over, and, by the divine blessing, his unwearied labours amongst the people had an unprecedented success.

Before his coming to Kidderminster, that town was notable for the vanity of its inhabitants. They had a yearly show, wherein they were wont to exhibit the forms of giants, and other antic devices, in their gaudy processions. Mr Baxter gave them no disturbance; yet the more vicious had still some scurvy thing to vent against him in some part of their exhibitions. Some time after his entering on this charge, the parliament sent down an order to demolish the statues or images of any of the three persons of the Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary, which might be found in churches, or crosses in church-yards. The church-warden was about to proceed in that business, when, lo, in an instant, men from every quarter appeared, with such weapons as came first to hand, in order to protect their images; and Mr Baxter was blamed for all; but, by a happy providence, he was gone about a mile into the country, by which he escaped their rage and deadly resentment. Next Lord's day Mr Baxter dealt plainly with them, pointed out the enormity of their offence, and told them, since they seemed determined to shed his blood, he would leave them, and so prevent them from the commission of such a heinous transgression. The poor creatures were quite ashamed of themselves; for, after all, they were sorry to think of parting with him.

Mr Baxter was not so discouraged by this riot, but that he set about his labours with still more determined resolution. On

two days of every week, he and his assistant took between them fourteen families for private conference and catechising. He spent about an hour with each family, and lest their bashfulness might make it disagreeable, or the ignorance observed might be sent abroad, none else were admitted. In his pulpit services he had a diligent and attentive auditory. Though the church was capacious, and very commodious, his congregation was soon augmented to that degree, that five additional galleries were added for their accommodation.

Before the civil war, the riotous rabble had boldness enough to make serious godliness a common scorn, and stigmatize all who seemed conscientious in the performance of family worship, with the name of precisians, puritans, and round-heads. If they met together for prayer, or left an ignorant or drunken clergyman to hear a godly minister in a neighbouring parish, the bishop's spies watched over them, and the high commission court grievously afflicted them. After the war, the case, in this respect, was considerably altered. Piety was not only at full liberty, but countenanced, encouraged, and protected from insult. On the whole, Mr Baxter found so much of the Spirit of God accompanying his labours at Kidderminster, and had such an affectionate regard to the loving people of this place, that no preferment in the kingdom could have induced him to make an exchange. The civil war now began to rage, and the blood of the nation was pouring out; so that the languishing state seemed almost incurable. The arbitrary measures of the king, and their rigid execution, had thrown the whole into commotion and universal discontent. The common cry, at this time, was for the execution of justice upon delinquents. The favourites, and special advisers of the king, were of course alarmed for their own safety; and having no hope of forgiveness from the people, they urged him on to a war, that proved his undoing. The lord-keeper Finch, and secretary Windbank, fled the country. The judges, who advised the legality of shipmoney, were accused in parliament, and some of them imprisoned. The earl of Strafford and archbishop Laud were committed to the tower, charged with high treason. The trial of deputy Wentworth was strongly opposed and protracted by the king, who did every thing in his power to stop the prosecution; which considerably divided the parliament. The lords Falkland, Digby, and other men of note, were for gratifying his majesty in this particular, and saving his deputy; but others cried aloud for justice—insisting, that, as a conspiracy the most formidable had been set on foot for subverting the fundamental laws of the kingdom and the liberty of the people, and deputy Wentworth being at the head of that conspiracy, if, said they,

this greatest of crimes pass unpunished, it will naturally encourage other enemies of the state to perpetrate similar acts of treason, and thereby hazard the repose of the nation, and even the existence of the constitution. These debates were attended with much heat and party feeling; but the heat soon subsided, and the parliament became more unanimous, and at last resolved to defend their privileges, and those of the people, at all hazards.

The king had a considerable party, composed of state politicians and friends to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who jointly exerted themselves against the parliament; but the country party, depending on the assistance of all true-hearted Englishmen, should matters come to an extremity, carried every thing with a high hand. About this time the London apprentices carried up a petition to Westminster in a body; and falling in with some of the bishops by the way, who were passing to the House in their coaches, these apprentices, forgetting the rules of common civility, raised the shout of *no bishops*, and rudely laughed them to scorn. Whereupon these, with other ecclesiastics, in a pretended fright, met together, and declaring themselves deterred from attending their duty in parliament, by clamour and tumults, protested against any law that might be enacted in their absence. This protest, however, was so resented by parliament, that those who subscribed it were voted delinquents, and sent to prison for thus attempting to destroy the power of parliament. The London petitions were carried up by great numbers of the petitioners; which occasioned such scuffles and tumults, that the king began to consider himself unsafe, either in the city or its vicinity. The two armies of Scots and English were still in the north, undisbanded for want of money to pay them off. The English army, wanting their pay, were discontented; and becoming mutinous, a scheme was laid to march them suddenly to London, and disperse the parliament. But this being discovered, several of the principal officers were examined, who confessed that some near the king had treated with them about marching the army to London. When this was published, it convinced the greater part of the members, that the king, while he amused them with promises, only waited for an opportunity to bear them down by force, and use them at his pleasure. All the measures of the king were laid with so little judgment, and managed with so little address, that they made the parliament more and more popular, while they rendered his intentions extremely suspicious. Being at last advised no longer to stand by and see himself affronted by his parliament, the king took an unprecedented step, by suddenly entering the House, with a company of armed cavaliers, and demanding five of the members whom he charged with high treason; but having got

previous notice, they had retired to the city. The House was hereupon alarmed; and considering, that if their lives and liberties were thus to be menaced by the sword, unless their proceedings were merely the echo of the royal will, they deserved not the name of an English parliament, but a junto of slaves. This rash measure of the court was accordingly voted a breach of privilege, and the effect of evil counsel; which vote they published, to awaken the people to rescue them, as if they were in imminent danger.

But there was nothing that wrought upon the people so effectually as the Irish massacre and rebellion. The Irish papists having raised an unexpected insurrection throughout the whole kingdom, and seized upon almost all the places of strength, on the 23d October 1641, so that Dublin, which was to have been surprised on the same night, was saved almost by a miracle. In this massacre and rebellion they murdered 200,000 persons, in the most wanton, cruel, and barbarous manner ever recorded in history; besides an incredible number whom they had stripped naked, chiefly women and children, and setting fire to their dwellings, left them to perish with cold and hunger. Some thousands of whom, however, escaped to Dublin, and afterwards to England, where they begged their bread through the country, and terrified the inhabitants with the dreadful detail of their sufferings, and the destruction of their murdered countrymen. The Irish declared that they had the king's commission for what they did; which many, by taking all circumstances into consideration, were ready to believe, and all England was struck with terror, lest, having destroyed the protestants in that country, they should come over, and, united with the English catholics, also murder the protestant inhabitants. Such was the alarm at this time, that when the rumour of a plot, discovered at London, was circulated, the poor people, over all the kingdom, were ready to run to arms, or hide themselves, from the terrible apprehension that the papists were coming to cut their throats.

The parliament, under all their embarrassments, were nevertheless anxious to send aid to Dublin in its extreme distress. The king was equally anxious to go thither to head the army himself; but the parliament were too well acquainted with his intention to suffer him, well aware that he would join his own army with that of the Irish, and direct his vengeance against them and the measures they were carrying on. In the meantime, the handful that was still remaining in Dublin defended themselves with desperate courage and resolution; but conscious that, without help from England, they must soon be overcome, they most earnestly entreated the parliament to consider the

importance of the place, which, as matters then stood, was, in reality, the bulwark of England, as well as that of Ireland. For, say they, the Irish papists have threatened, that so soon as they clear their hands of the scattered remnant here, they will pass over to England, and deal with the protestants and parliament there. These threatenings, with the dreadful account of 200,000 murdered protestants, and the horrid detail of their unprecedented barbarities, inclined a very large proportion of the English nation to the opinion, that the parliament ought, on such a dangerous crisis, to put the nation in a posture of defence, by arming the inhabitants. Accordingly, they forthwith appointed lord-lieutenants for the militia. The king did the same, and both published their declarations, justifying their cause. The parliament appointed the earl of Essex for general. The king went to Nottingham, where he set up his standard, and collected about him 2000 men, and the city of London and vicinity quickly furnished a gallant army for the earl of Essex. To defray the expense of this army, the citizens poured in their money and plate, and the ladies their rings and jewels.

In this contest between the king and parliament, particularly after the battle of Edgehill, the generality of the nobility took part with the king, and joined the royal standard at Oxford. A great part of the lords, and many of the commons, also joined him; and unless in the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire, a great proportion of the knights and country gentlemen also adhered to the royal cause; most of their tenants followed their example, as did the most of the poorer sort throughout the nation. A few of the nobles, a larger share of the gentry, and the greatest number of the tradesmen in corporations, especially in the manufacturing towns, the freeholders also, and men of middle fortunes, for the most part ranged themselves on the side of the parliament; who, moreover, might reckon on the friendship of the far greater part of those, who, throughout the nation, were inclined to sobriety and religious strictness. The enemies of profanity and loose living, both ministers and people, adhered to the parliament.—On the other hand, such as were addicted to swearing, gaming, and drinking, to dancing, and other tolerated recreations on the Lord's day, and fond of running down all whom they considered more religious and circumspect in their lives than themselves, both priests and people, these, all along, adhered to the king; and in so doing, determined the choice of almost all sober and honest men for the parliamentary cause. The silencing of vast numbers of godly and laborious preachers, and filling their places by ignorant, scandalous,

and careless men, who were a disgrace to the gospel of Christ, had also the effect of alienating the minds of many from the cause of the king and his bishops. The high church party as loudly complained of the nonconformists, calling them, in derision, puritans, hypocrites, rebels, and round-heads, with other epithets of disgrace. The constitutional government of the kingdom, by kings, lords, and commons, being a mixt government, and, of course, not arbitrary, the friends of the parliament justified their opposition to the king, by saying, if the king's commissions be more powerful than the laws, which have been enacted with the consent of the three branches of the legislature; then must the king be an arbitrary despot, and the people no longer his subjects, but his slaves. In support of this reasoning, they quoted Barclay, Grotius *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, Hooker, and Bilson, all of whom admit of the propriety, nay, the necessity of resisting unlawful acts of power in cases similar to those in which they were unhappily involved. The king urged, that the power of calling forth the militia belonged to him; and the parliament admitted the fact; but urged the necessity, as things then stood, of his relinquishing for a time that part of his prerogative, unless the kingdom were to be given up to murdering papists and delinquents; for although he had the right to command the militia of the country by his kingly prerogative, yet was it obvious, he had only a right to use them against the enemies of the commonwealth, but not to overawe the other branches of the legislature, which his evil counsellors had already urged, and advised him to attempt.

The king marched from Nottingham to Shrewsbury, and filled up his army from Shropshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and Wales; and the earl of Essex marched with a gallant army to Worcester, the several regiments of which were accompanied by some of the most popular divines as chaplains. On the 23d October 1642, the parties came to a trial of strength at Edgehill, where the king's army was worsted, and retreated to Oxford; and Essex towards Coventry, to refresh his troops. But that which most of all tended to strengthen the parliament, and ruin the king, was the want of discipline in his army, the encouragement given to the debauched rabble, to insult, plunder, and threaten the puritans wherever they came; filled the parliamentary army with men of piety and principle, and manned their garrisons with the plundered and insulted inhabitants, who had no mind to meddle with the war, till driven from their ruined abodes by military insolence or popular outrage.

Mr Baxter had all along endeavoured to heal the breach, and cement the jarring interests in the nation, till at last he began to be attacked on both sides, by one party for not going the full

length they desired, by the other for having gone any length at all in the cause of church and state reformation; which they considered were altogether unnecessary, under so pious a king, and such primitive and apostolic bishops. In his politics, Mr Baxter, while endeavouring to steer clear of all the slavish principles of absolute monarchy, also opposed the confounding notions of democratical projectors. He was alike inimical to the arbitrary encroachments of assuming prelates, and the uncharitable and dividing principles of the sectarians. This exposed him to the malignity of each party, and created him much trouble. His conscience, in the meantime, was satisfied with the measures he had taken, and he had no doubt but posterity, after the heat of these contentions was over, would form a more favourable opinion of his conduct than many of his contemporaries, who were actuated by malice, fury, and blind bigotry, in the censures they passed upon him.

He adhered to the cause of the long parliament, so far as he conceived their cause and procedure were justifiable; but neither hope nor fear could either draw or drive him into any measure that his conscience did not recognise. On occasion of the Irish massacre, parliament passed an order, that all the people should take a protestation to defend the king's person, honour, and authority, the power and privileges of parliaments, the liberties of the subject, and the protestant religion, against the common enemy. With this measure Mr Baxter readily agreed, and joined with the magistrates in offering the protestation to the people. Soon after this the king's declarations were also read in the market-place at Kidderminster, and the commission of array set on foot. The lord Howard, who had been appointed, by parliament, lieutenant for the militia of the county of Worcester, not appearing, the rabble grew so riotously outrageous, that a sober man, of acknowledged piety, could no longer hope to remain in the place with safety. The word was, *Down with the round-heads*; so that, in many places, a stranger, with short hair, and a civil habit, could no sooner make his appearance, than down with the round-heads was vociferated, and he was knocked down on the street, where none durst appear in his defence.

To avoid uproars of this description, Mr Baxter was advised to withdraw from Kidderminster for some time, in hopes that matters would become more orderly. He took their advice, and retired to Gloucester, where he found a civil, courteous, and religious people, differing as much from those of Worcester, as if they had lived under another government. Here, having remained about a month, his friends at Kidderminster desired his return, lest the people might interpret his absence the effect of guilt or disloyalty. He returned, and found the

drunken rabble still boisterously threatening all sober and sincere people, and crying out, We will do the puritans' business by and by. They were like mastiffs newly let loose from the chains, flying in the face of every thing sacred or civil; which obliged him again to withdraw. He spent a few days with the earl of Essex' army, then about Worcester, till the approach of the king's army caused them to remove. On the following Lord's day he preached at Alcester; and during sermon, the report of the cannon informed them that the armies were engaged; and this, the battle of Edgehill, began the war. Towards evening the fugitives assured them that all was lost on the parliament's side; but, soon after, another account stated, that while prince Rupert's men were plundering the waggons of Essex' left wing, which they had routed, the right wing and centre prevailed against the rest of the king's army, and ultimately carried the day. Next morning Mr Baxter went to see the field, and found Essex in possession of the ground, with the royal army facing him on a hill about a mile distant, and about a thousand dead bodies in the field between them.

At this time Mr Baxter was at a loss what course to take—to live at Kidderminster was both dangerous and uncomfortable, owing to the passing and repassing of the soldiers, who were ready to lay their hands upon whatever came in their way. But having nothing whereon to subsist elsewhere, in a place of safety, the choice was difficult. At length he resolved to go to Coventry, where Mr Simon King, with whom he was acquainted at Bridgenorth, was minister. There he was determined to remain till the war was ended. So little was he or the country acquainted with war, that they never doubted but a few days, or at least a few weeks, and another battle would bring things to a point. But having remained with Mr King about a month, and peace appearing farther distant than ever, he began to consider how he could make some provision for himself, that he might not be burdensome to his friend. In the meantime, the governor and committee of the city of Coventry desired him to stay with them, and live in the governor's house, and preach to the soldiers. The offer was so well suited to his necessities, that he accepted it till he could find it safe to return to his charge. In this situation he preached once a-week to the soldiers, and once to the citizens, without taking any remuneration for either, save his diet. He had a very judicious auditory. Many pious and worthy gentlemen were his constant hearers. There were at this time also about thirty worthy ministers, who, like himself, had retired here for safety. He was thankful for the quietness, safety, and sober, wise, and religious company he enjoyed in this place; where he pursued his studies, for a whole

year, as quietly as in the time of peace. By this time, the war, in place of drawing towards an end, had spread into the remotest corners of the land. But some Shropshire gentlemen having resolved to settle a garrison at Wem, about eight miles from Shrewsbury, in their own county, and Mr M<sup>c</sup>Worth, Mr Hunt, and others, pressing him to go with them, he went; and having remained with them about two months, and redeemed his father from prison, he returned to Coventry, and settled in his former place and employment, following his studies for another year.

But the earl of Newcastle had overpowered lord Fairfax in the north; and the queen having brought over from the continent a considerable reinforcement of popish soldiers, which, with other concurring circumstances, rendered the king's party formidable, the parliament were glad to request the aid of the Scotch nation; and an alliance being formed by the solemn league and covenant, the Scotch raised an army, and marching into England, cleared the north; but afterwards lay still, and did no service, but became burdensome. This was occasioned by the policy of Cromwell and his party, who were jealous of the power of the presbyterians, and purposely kept them without pay, and without marching orders. After the great battle of Naseby, which was not far from Coventry, Mr Baxter went to the army to visit some of his acquaintances. He staid a night with them, and got such intelligence respecting the state of the parties, as utterly astonished him. He found plotting heads at work to subvert both church and state. Independency and anabaptistry greatly prevailed, antinomianism and arminianism were also prevalent; while the followers of Thomas More had made a shift to unite these opposite extremes. Many of the officers and soldiers were honest and orthodox men. But a few self-conceited, proud, and hot-headed sectaries, had got into the highest places, and were Cromwell's great favourites; and by their ardour and activity, bore down the rest, or carried them along with them, determined not only to put down the bishops, but also whoever stood in their way. Cromwell and his council, however, were for a universal toleration. Mr Baxter, on discovering the situation of the army with respect to sentiments of religion, could not help regretting, that the ministers, who at first attended the different regiments, had mostly left them after the battle of Edgehill, and betaken themselves to an easier and quieter mode of life. He even reflected upon himself for refusing an invitation from Cromwell to be chaplain to his troop, which was to be a gathered church. He regretted that he had not then gone with them, while the fire was confined, as it were, into one spark; but captain Evanson assured

him it was not yet too late to do essential service in the army: That the regiment to which he was attached was one of the most religious, valiant, and successful in the army, and that they were in as much danger of being carried away with the present tide of sectarianism as any; and therefore he pressed him to come among them. Although Mr Baxter was loath to leave his studies and quiet situation, to go into an army so circumstanced; yet considering that the public good required him, he gave the captain some encouragement; which he told to colonel Whalley, an orthodox man, who invited Mr Baxter to be chaplain to his regiment. This invitation, after consulting with some friendly divines, he accepted.

He marched with the army to the west, against lord Goring, and was at the taking of Bridge-water, and the siege of Bristol and Sherbon castle. He was also three weeks at the siege of Exeter; but colonel Whalley being ordered, with a party of horse, to keep in the garrison of Oxford till the army could come to besiege it, he accompanied him thither. He was with him also six weeks before Banbury castle, and eleven at the siege of Worcester. Here the sectarians at head quarters, becoming jealous of colonel Whalley, he lost the government of this city, which he had so bravely reduced, and all on account of his chaplain. When Worcester siege was over, he went to Kidderminster to visit his flock; who thinking now that the country was cleared of the royal army, he should remain with them; but being advised by the ministers, who still remained at Coventry, he returned to the army; but was soon after obliged to leave it, owing to a bleeding at the nose, whereby he lost about a gallon of blood. He now retired to Sir Thomas Rouse's, where he languished long, expecting that a dropsy, with which he was threatened, would soon end his days. By this providence, God unavoidably prevented him from making a last and more determined endeavour to reclaim the army to moderate principles, and, if possible, prevent the anarchy, which every thinking person, at all acquainted with what was going forward in the army, might have clearly anticipated—But the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand.

Mr Baxter, who having the best opportunities of being well informed with respect to the sectaries of this period, says, in general, concerning them, "That they were fond of division, separation, and party-making; though many of them were raw and illiterate, yet were they apt to be puffed up with their own little degrees of knowledge and dexterity of management, inasmuch that they refused all terms of concord and unity, and carried it so loftily, that they became the pity of understanding men. These sectaries, especially anabaptists, seekers, and

quakers, used to select the most able, laborious, and pious ministers for the marks of their obloquy and reproach, and that because they were the most powerful opposers of their designs, and counteracted their warmest endeavours to propagate their opinions amongst the people. The shafts of their calumny were directed against the same men, at whom the libertines of the royal army had all along pointed their malicious irony and unmerited ridicule, with this difference only, that they did it more profanely, and more hypocritically, than these, in that they said, let the Lord be glorified, let the gospel be propagated, and sinners converted to God. They pretended to be regulated in their opinions solely by the word of God, and the internal light of the Spirit; yet seldom stuck at any thing that promised to promote their cause, and most implicitly agreed with, and advocated whatever their faction in the army had resolved on. If they pulled down the parliament, imprisoned its faithful members, killed the king, cast out the rump, set up Cromwell, set up his son, and again pulled him down; in all these things the anabaptists, and many of the independents, followed them, and even their pastors were for the most part ready to lead them on to concur.

It is no doubt true, that similar accusations have often been laid against many that have been guilty of no such things; and therefore, says Mr Baxter, "some will be offended at me, and charge me with the faults I reprehend. But shall none be reprov'd because some are slandered? Shall hypocrites be freed from conviction and censure because wicked men call the godly hypocrites and bigots? The scriptures have not spared the greatest and best of God's children—witness Noah, Lot, David, Hezekiah, Josiah, and Peter—but has marked out their sin and shame to all generations. And yet we find (such is the human heart) that it will rise into indignation against him who has honesty enough to tell them, or their party, of their errors and misdoings, or call them to repentance and moderation. And, alas! many, who there is good reason to believe are children of God by faith in Christ Jesus, cannot be exempted from this animadversion. The poor church of Christ, the sober, sound, and religious part in particular, are, like their persecuted Master, crucified between two thieves, the profane and formal persecutors on one hand, and the fanatic division-courting sectaries on the other, have, in all ages, been grinding the seed of the church as corn between two millstones."

Many new sects also sprung up in these times. Sir Henry Vane had a sect of new disciples, which originated under him in New England while governor in that province. Their notions were then raw and undigested. His coming over to Eng-

land proved a great calamity to his native country. Being chosen a member of parliament, he was at first very active in bringing delinquents to punishment, and became the principal man who drove on the parliament against the king. Being of ready parts, great subtlety, and unwearied industry, he laboured, with considerable success, to win others, in parliament, city, and country, to his opinions. To most of the changes that took place, he was that in parliament which Cromwell was in the army. His great zeal to enflame the country, and encourage the sectaries, especially in the army, rendered him highly popular amongst their parties. But his unhappiness lay in his want either of ability or inclination clearly to express his sentiments. Few therefore understood them; and the lord Brook, who was methodising his notions, was slain before he had brought them into order and maturity. Mr Sterry was thought to be of his mind; but he also was so famous for mystical obscurity in his sermons, that he was considered too high for this world, and too low for the world to come. Sir Henry spoke sufficiently plain on almost every other subject. The two works in which he was most successful, were his Earnest Plea for Universal Liberty of Conscience, and his treatise against the magistrates having any power or authority to intermeddle with the concerns of the church. He went hand in hand with Cromwell while the protector continued a republican; but changing his opinion towards monarchy, when he supposed the ferment of the nation was wearing off, and there were some hopes that he might be acceptable to the people as their royal master, there was no remedy but Sir Henry and he must part, as their way lay no longer in the same direction.

After Cromwell's death he got Sir Arthur Hazlerigg to be his close adherent in politics, and re-established the rump, set up a council of state, and had the power, in a great measure, in his own hands. When thus in the height of his power, he formed the scheme of a popular government, and, with some of his adherents, drew up a model of his new commonwealth.

It grieved Mr Baxter to the heart to see a kingdom thus tossed about, and the ministers of religion, and the attained reformation, which had been the labour of so many years, trodden under foot, and parliaments and piety made a scorn; while few had any doubt but he was the moving cause of all these changes. Mr Baxter, therefore, in writing against the papists, took occasion to vindicate the protestant religion and the reformation, by showing, that the protestants, and particularly the presbyterians, abhorred the transaction that terminated the life of the king, and charged it upon Cromwell's army and the sectaries, among whom he named the Vanites, as having their

full share of guilt and responsibility. Mr Baxter's writing against him had the effect of lessening his reputation, and convincing many, that Cromwell, who knew Vane best, spoke the truth when he called him a juggler. On the restoration, he was called to account for the part he had acted under Cromwell, when he spoke so boldly in justification of the parliament, and the part he himself had acted, that the king, who had no intention against his life, was so provoked, that he changed his mind—had him tried and beheaded on Tower Hill. When brought to the scaffold, he began to address the people so heroically, that the drums were beat to prevent them from hearing. No man ever died with more apparent fortitude and fearless resolution, though he had always been considered a timorous man; so that his death procured him more applause than all the actions of his life.

Mr Baxter had not been long returned to Kidderminster, when he was drawn into a dispute with Mr Tombs, anabaptist minister at Bewdley, where they disputed the right of infants to baptism, from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, before a crowded congregation. This dispute had the effect of reducing Mr Tombs' congregation to twenty members, and of satisfying the people of Kidderminster, and the adjacent country, many of whom were in doubt which side to choose. When the army was about to march against the Scotch, Mr Baxter wrote letters to several of the soldiers, pointing out the sin and absurdity of imbruing their hands in the blood of those people, of whose piety they had no reason to doubt, especially after they had so frequently boasted of their own christian benevolence and love to the saints. When Cromwell had got the ascendant, sober people were much divided in their opinions in what manner they ought to conduct themselves; some were for opposing his usurped power, others for acquiescing with, and submitting to, that authority, which, at the time, alone could save the country from anarchy; others took a middle course, and quietly submitted to the power they could not control. This was Mr Baxter's method, who seasonably and moderately condemned the usurpation, and the deceit and hypocrisy by which it was brought about; but did not think it his duty to rave against the usurper, the rather because he seemed to approve of a holy life, and, on the whole, offered to do good, and promote the gospel, and the interest of godliness, more than any had done before him. In the instrument, whereby Oliver was announced protector, it was declared, that all should have liberty for the exercise of their religion, who professed their faith in God by Jesus Christ. These words appeared, to some of the members of parliament, to import the fundamentals of the christian faith; it was therefore agreed, that all should have a due share of religious liberty

who professed the fundamentals. A committee was accordingly appointed to state what they considered essential articles, and Mr Baxter was appointed a member, who laboured to confine their scheme into as narrow a compass as could comprehend what was indispensably necessary for a test in the toleration thus to be granted. His opinion was, that no more was necessary than what is contained in the baptismal covenant, "I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and give up myself in covenant to him, and renounce the devil, the world, and the flesh." This committee, after long debating, condescended upon, and printed twenty propositions to lay before the parliament; but before this could be effected, the House of Commons was dissolved, so that all they had done came to nothing.

Truth and peace were the great objects of Mr Baxter's constant pursuit. He spared no pains if happily he might contribute to either, watching for the fittest opportunities for dealing with the different parties, into which the nation was so unhappily divided. He drew up overtures of peace and reconciliation, hoping he might thereby help to pave the way for a more charitable spirit, when the happy juncture arrived, although his labours for the present should prove abortive. Besides his labours amongst the protestants, he wrote three disputations against the papists; after which, the Winding-sheet of Popery, and then the Key to the Catholic to open up the Jugglings of the Jesuits. He also managed several particular debates with different romanists, such as, W. Johnson, alias Terret, and others, which, added to his laborious diligence in the pastoral office, and his numerous practical writings, it will be difficult for any person to conceive, how a man, of such bodily weakness, constantly subjected to divers infirmities, should be capable of doing so much service; but a heart, overflowing with love to God, and burning with zeal for his glory, and the best interests of his fellow creatures, carried him through, and made him the wonder of the age he lived in.

On the restoration of Charles the II, the expectations of men were various. The moderate episcopalians thought of a reconciliation with the presbyterians; the more politic part were pretty certain, that their ancient power, honour, and emoluments, would be restored to them. But many of the presbyterians were in great hopes of favour, and their hopes seemed to be well founded. They had an assurance from Charles himself, in his declaration from Breda, addressed to all his loving subjects, April 4th, 1660; in which were these words—"We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question for differences of opinion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." To

cherish these hopes amongst the people, it was found convenient at first to appoint ten or twelve of the presbyterian divines as chaplains in ordinary to his majesty, though none of them ever preached before him but Mr Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, Mr Baxter, Dr. Spurstow, and Mr Woodbridge, one sermon each. The king at first offered his best endeavour to reconcile the contending parties, advising each side to narrow their pretensions; but after much shuffling on the part of the episcopalians, the thing came to no termination; and in place of *liberty to tender consciences*, the year following upwards of two thousand of the nonconforming divines in the kingdom of England were in one day expelled from their flocks, their livings, and their labours, and their places filled, in a great many instances, with men unqualified for the service of religion; some by insufficiency, others by scandalous lives, and not a few by their heretical opinions. In the meantime, Mr Baxter would have willingly preached at Kidderminster in the low capacity of a curate; but this was refused him, though the lord Clarendon had promised to have him settled there as he desired. He had also been offered the bishoprick of Hereford by his lordship; but this he could not conscientiously accept, and finding himself disappointed, he preached occasionally about the city, having procured a license from bishop Shelden, on his subscribing a promise not to preach against the doctrines or the ceremonies of the church. He was appointed one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and chosen by his brethren to draw up the reformed liturgy, then the subject of discussion. At this meeting he was also appointed, by the nonconformist divines, to answer the objections of the bishops; but all was to no purpose, the thing ended in smoke. Mr Baxter preached his farewell sermon on the 15th May 1662, being three months before Bartholomew's day, when the nonconformists were all silenced. His reason for this was, partly because the lawyers interpreted one clause of the act as putting an end to the lectures at that time, and partly also, that he wished all his brethren in the nation to understand, that he, for one, had no mind to conform to the church under such a severe test as had been imposed upon them.

These ejected ministers continued almost ten years in a state of silence and obscurity, and Mr Baxter retired to Acton in Middlesex, where he prosecuted his studies. Every Lord's day he attended the parish church, and spent the rest of the day in his family, with a few poor neighbours who attended him. During the time that the plague was raging in the country, he retired to Richard Hampden's, Esq. in Buckinghamshire; and after it had ceased, he returned to Acton, where he found the

church-yard like a ploughed field with new opened graves; but his own house uninfected, and part of his family that he had left, all well.

September 2d, 1666, began that dreadful fire, that, in the space of three days, laid one of the fairest cities of the world in ashes. Mr Baxter lived quietly at Acton so long as the act against conventicles was in force; after which his auditors increased till he had not room to accommodate them; but his popularity offended the present incumbent, who stirred up the king against him, by representing him as a preacher of treason; in consequence of which he was imprisoned for six months.

In 1671 Mr Baxter lost the greater part of his fortune, by the king shutting up the exchequer, in which he had deposited one thousand pounds. After the indulgence in 1672, he returned to London, and was one of the Tuesday lecturers at Pinner's Hall, and had a Friday's lecture at Fetter-lane. For some time he preached only occasionally on the Lord's day; but afterwards more regularly at St. James' Market-house. He was apprehended when preaching in Mr Turner's; but afterwards released, owing to a deficiency of the warrant. On the times becoming apparently less severe, he built a meeting-house in Oxendon Street; where he had only preached one sermon, till a scheme was laid to apprehend him by surprise, and confine him in the county jail on the Oxford act; but being apprised of their intention, he made his escape. The person, however, who preached for him on that day, was committed to the Gatehouse prison, where he had to remain for three months. It was twelve months after this before he durst preach in his own meeting-house. In the interim he hired another in Swallow Street; but here again he was disappointed, by a guard being placed around the premises, for many Sabbaths, to prevent him from entering. But on the death of Mr Wadsworth, he found an opportunity to exercise his talent, by preaching to his congregation for a number of months. In the year 1682 he suffered more for his nonconformity than he had hitherto done. He was surprised in his own house by a number of constables and officers, with a warrant to seize his person for coming within five miles of a corporation, with five additional warrants to distrain for £ 195, the penalty for five sermons he had preached, or was charged with preaching. At this juncture he was in a bad state of health; notwithstanding which, he was going along with them with the greatest resignation, leaving all he had at their pleasure. But happily Dr. Cox saw them passing, and forced him back to his bed; while he went before five justices, and made oath, that if Mr Baxter was committed to prison, it would be at the hazard of his life. The justices

thereupon agreed not to commit him till the king's pleasure was further known. The king consented not to imprison him; but to let him die in his own house. The officers, however, executed their warrants on his property, consisting of books and goods, though he made it appear that they were none of his. They even sold the bed from under him, were he lay sick, apparently unto death. But Mr Baxter had friends who did not desert him in the day of his distress; but came forward, and generously paid down the money at which the goods had been appraised; which he afterwards repaid them. Such was, at this time, the administration of justice, that all this was done without his having the least knowledge of any accusation against him, without being summoned, or having appeared before any justice to answer for himself, or being confronted with his accusers, or knowing who they were.

During 1683 Mr Baxter was obliged to keep himself in great obscurity; yet, in the course of the year, he had a remarkable testimony of sincere esteem, and unbounded confidence, from the Rev. Mr Mayot, a clergyman of the church of England, who, by his will, devoted his estate to charitable purposes, and gave to Mr Baxter £ 600, to be distributed by him to sixty poor ejected ministers—adding, he did it, not because they were nonconformists, but because many such were poor and pious. But the king's attorney hearing of the legacy, sued for it in chancery, and the lord-keeper, North, passed a verdict, forfeiting the amount to the king. It was accordingly paid into chancery, and, as providence ordered, kept in safety till the accession of king William, when the commissioners of the great seal restored it to Mr Baxter, who distributed it according to the intention of the donor. In 1684 he was carried from his house, when he was scarcely able to stand on his legs, and bound in the penalty of £ 400 to keep the peace, and brought up twice afterwards, though he had been confined to his bed the greater part of the time.

In the beginning of 1685, Mr Baxter was confined in the king's bench prison, by a warrant from the lord chief justice Jefferies, for his Paraphrase on the New Testament, and tried on the 18th of May, in the same year, in the court of king's bench; where he was found guilty, and, on the 29th of June following, received a very severe sentence. This trial was by far the most remarkable incident of his life. We shall therefore give the substance of it. On the 6th of May, being the first day of the term, Mr Baxter appeared in Westminster Hall, where an information was ordered to be drawn up against him. On the 14th he pleaded not guilty; and on the 18th of the same month, being much indisposed, he moved, that he might have

longer time allowed him; but it was denied. He moved for it by his counsel; but Jefferies cried out in a passion, "I will not give him another minute to save his life. We have had to do, says he, with another description of persons, but now we have a saint to deal with, and I know how to deal with saints as well as with sinners. Yonder, says he, stands Oates in the pillory, who, says he, suffers for the truth, and so says Baxter; but were Baxter placed on the one side of the pillory, while he stands on the other, I would say that two of the greatest rogues and rascals in the kingdom stood there." On the 30th of May he was brought up to his trial before the lord chief justice Jefferies at Guild Hall. Sir Henry Ashurst, who could not think of abandoning his own and his father's friend in the day of his distress, stood by him all the while. Mr Baxter entered the court with the greatest composure, and waited for the lord chief justice, who soon made his appearance, with indications of rage in his countenance. He was no sooner seated on the bench, than a short cause was called and tried; and the clerk having begun to read the title of another, Jefferies cried out, "You blockhead you! the next cause is between Richard Baxter and the king." Mr Baxter's cause was accordingly brought forward. The passages on which he was libelled were, his Paraphrase on Mat. v. 19. Mark ix. 39. xi. 31. and xii. 38, 39, 40. Luke x. 2. John xi. 57. and Acts xv. 2. These passages had been selected by Sir Roger L'Estrange and some of his companions. The most important charge, or that on which his lordship chiefly animadverted, was, that in these several passages he reflected on the bishops of the church of England, and was therefore chargeable with sedition. The king's counsel opened the information with all its aggravating circumstances. Mr Wallop, Mr Williams, Mr Rotherham, Mr Atwood, and Mr Phipps, had been retained as counsel for Mr Baxter, by his friend Sir Henry Ashurst. Mr Wallop said, "He conceived the matter depending, being a point of doctrine, ought to be referred to his ordinary; and if not, he humbly conceived the doctrine was innocent and justifiable, setting aside the innuendos, for which there was not the least colour, seeing they had no referible antecedent, no bishop or clergyman of the church of England having been named. That the book in question, namely, Mr Baxter's Paraphrase, contained many precious and irrefragable truths: But the libellers, by applying the severe things to the bishops of the church of England, which Mr Baxter intended for bishops who had richly deserved the characters he has given them, as your lordship, if you are a reader of church history, must be well aware of, had endeavoured to turn an indispensable duty into a crime punishable by the laws of the land."

“Mr Wallop (said Jefferies), I observe you are always in these dirty causes; and if it were not for you gentlemen of the long robe, who ought to have more wit and honesty than support and hold up these factious knaves by the chin, we should not be at the pass we are.” “My lord (said Mr Wallop), I humbly conceive the passages accused are natural deductions from the text.” “You humbly conceive, and I humbly conceive. *Swear him, swear him.*” “My lord (says he), under favour, I stand here counsel for the defendant; and if I understand either Latin or English, the information now brought against Mr Baxter, on so slender ground, is a much greater reflection on the bishops and church of England than all that the book contains, for which my client is accused.” “Some times (says Jefferies) you very humbly conceive, at other times you are very positive. You talk of your skill in church history, and of your knowledge in Latin and English—I think I should know something of them as well as you; but, in short, if you do not understand your duty better, I shall take the liberty to instruct you.” Mr Wallop sat down. Mr Rotherham rose, and urged, “That as Mr Baxter, in the book libelled upon, had spoken well of the prelates of the church of England, and made some sharp reflections on the bishops of Rome by name, it was to be presumed the passages accused were only applicable to the bishops of the Romish, and not of the English church.” Mr Baxter said, “My lord, I have been so very moderate with respect to the church of England, that I have incurred the displeasure of not a few of the dissenters on that very account.” Mr Rotherham added, “That Mr Baxter frequently attended divine service in the church, went to the sacrament, and persuaded others to do so; and that even in the book so charged, he had spoken very moderately and honourably of the bishops of the church of England.” “Baxter for bishops! (exclaimed Jefferies) that’s a merry conceit, truly. Turn up, turn up the passage.” Rotherham turned up a place, where it is said, “That great respect is due to those truly called to be bishops among us.” “Aye (says Jefferies), this is your presbyterian cant. *Truly* called to be bishops, that is himself, and such rascals, called to be bishops of Kidderminster and other places—bishops set apart by such factious snivelling presbyterians as himself. ’Tis a Kidderminster bishop he means.” Mr Baxter again attempting to speak—“Richard, Richard, (said Jefferies), dost thou think I will hear thee poison the court. Richard, thou art an old fellow, and an old knave—thou hast written books sufficient to load a cart, every one of them as full of sedition (I might say treason) as an egg’s full of meat. Hadst thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had

been happy for England. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the gospel of peace, and thou hast one foot in the grave, it is time to begin to think what account thou intendest to give; but leave thee to thyself, and I see thou'lt go on as thou hast begun; but, by the grace of God, I shall look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I can see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, and no less than a doctor of the party (looking at Dr. Bates) at thine elbow, to see what will become of their mighty don; but, by the grace of Almighty God, I will crush you all." Mr Rotherham sitting down, Mr Atwood began to show, that none of the passages, mentioned in the information, ought to be strained to the sense put upon them by the innuendos, nor could any one of them be applied to the bishops of the church of England without an obviously forced construction. In proof of which, he attempted to read from the text and context, when Jefferies cried out, "You sha'n't draw me into a conventicle with your annotations, nor your snivelling parson neither." "My lord (said Atwood), I conceive this to be within Rosswell's case, lately tried before your lordship." "You conceive (said Jefferies), but you conceive amiss—It is not." "Then (said Atwood), that I may use the very best authority, permit me to quote your lordship's own words on that case." "No (says Jefferies), you shall not—Sit down!" Mr Williams and Mr Phipps said nothing, finding it to no purpose to attempt speaking. At last Mr Baxter said, "My lord, I think I can clearly answer all that has been brought against me, and I shall do it briefly. The sum is contained in these papers; to which, with your permission, I shall add a little by way of testimony." Jefferies would not hear a word; but summed up the matter in a long and fulsome harangue. The jury, without leaving the box, laid their heads together, and found him guilty. On July the 29th he had judgment given against him; which was, to be fined in five hundred marks, and lie in prison till it was paid, besides giving security of good behaviour for seven years. He was pardoned, however, by the king, and had the fine remitted when the toleration came forth; which the king afterwards granted on purpose to unfetter his Roman catholic partizans. In consequence of which, he was liberated in November the 24th, 1686.

After this Mr Baxter contented himself with the situation of an assistant to Mr Silvester; in which capacity he laboured for four years and a-half, when he became so weak, that he was chiefly confined to his room; nor even then did he cease from his usefulness, so far as it was in his power to do good in his own house. He opened his doors morning and evening to all who chose to come and join with him in family worship, to

whom he expounded the scriptures with great seriousness and freedom. But his distemper increasing, he was first confined to his chamber, and soon after to his bed, where he felt the approaches of death, which generally reveals the secrets of the heart. But Mr Baxter was the same in his life and his death. His last hours were employed in preparing others, as well as himself, for appearing before their Judge.

To his friends, who visited him, he said, "You are come, I see, to learn to die; but, be assured, I am not the only person that must travel this road; and let me tell you, that whatever may be the length of your lives, you will find them short enough to complete your preparations for this important journey. Guard yourselves against the snares and bewitching temptations of this vain, this deceitful, and transitory world. Make choice of God for your portion, his glory for your chief end, his word for the rule of your lives and conversation, and heaven for your everlasting home; and fear not but we shall meet again in joy unspeakable and full of glory." Being asked how it was with his inward man, he said, "I bless God I have a well-grounded assurance of eternal happiness, and I have great peace and comfort within; but flesh, said he, must perish, and we must feel the anguish of its dissolution; and though my judgment submits to the will of our heavenly Father, still sense compels me to groan." He gave excellent counsel to some young ministers who visited him, and prayed to God to bless their labours, and make them successful in converting many souls to Christ. He often prayed that God would be merciful to this miserable and distracted world, and preserve his church from the power and malice of her enemies. And having thus spent a long and laborious life in the service of his adorable Master, and followed him through good and bad report, he rested from his labours on the 8th of December 1691, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His mortal remains were interred in Christ Church, whither they were attended by a most numerous company of all ranks and qualities, particularly ministers, some of whom were conformists, who thought it necessary to pay him that last office of respect. There were two discourses delivered on occasion of his funeral, one by Dr. Bates, and the other by Mr Silvester, which were afterwards published.

Few men have had a larger share of bodily weakness and infirmities than this good man; which circumstance, as hinted before, cherished the peculiar seriousness of his spirit, and seemed for ever to whisper in his ear, "Whatsoever thine hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." It induced him to set about every part of his work as one just on the point of

entering into another world. Being at one time visited with an unusual bodily distemper, which threatened to end his days, and ruminating on the promises of the gospel for comfort under his affliction, his faith was powerfully assailed with doubts respecting the truth of the scriptures, and the immortality of the soul. Some such thoughts had often, before this, run across his mind, which he had always repelled as unworthy of consideration. On this occasion, however, they stuck so close, that he found it impossible to get rid of them without examining the matter to the very foundation; and that he might satisfy himself with regard to the grounds on which christianity was erected, and that his faith might be indeed his own, he gave a candid hearing to all that could be said against it.

In this important inquiry he began with the foundation of all religion, the existence of a God. The stupendous works of nature convinced him of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the all-powerful Worker; so that he looked upon the man as destitute of reason, who questioned whether there was a God, or dreamed that the worlds were formed by a conflux of inert atoms, or that reason could spring from that which was utterly destitute of reason, or that man, or any inferior creature, was, or could be, independent; or yet that all the wisdom, goodness, and power observable, wherever we turn our eyes, could have found their way thither without a cause transcendently superexcelling all that it had caused in the world. Being firmly fixed in this leading point, he could easily perceive, that this God, being our Creator, must necessarily be related to us as our owner, governor, and benefactor, and that we therefore stand in the relation of his subjects and beneficiaries. Hence the duties arising out of these relations become as discernible to the reason of man, as the relations on which they are founded; so that godliness is a duty so undeniably required in the law of nature, and so discernible by reason itself, that nothing but unreasonableness can contradict it. With this view of the matter, Mr Baxter could not conceive it possible, that this God would suffer his children to be losers by their love, gratitude, and dutiful regard towards him, or that persons should be the more miserable by how much the more faithful they were. Observing the prosperity of wicked men, and the afflictions, disgrace, and persecutions attending on many, whose lives are patterns of virtue and benevolence, he perceived the possibility, nay, the strong probability, of a life to come, wherein virtue should find its reward, and evil its demerit. He saw, moreover, that a strange and universal enmity existed between the earthly and the heavenly mind, fulfilling the prediction of the holy scriptures, Gen. iii. 15.; and observing that no other reli-

gion in the world could stand in competition with christianity. That heathenism and mahometanism, kept up by tyranny and brutal ignorance, blush to stand at the bar of reason; while judaism is but christianity in embryo; and pure deism, its more plausible competitor, has been so discarded in almost every nation, that nature seems to have made her own confession, that without a mediator there is no access to God, and that without the shedding of blood there is no remission. Neither could he conceive that God would make use of a deceiver for such a visible reformation of the nature of man. He observed an admirable suitableness, in the office of Christ, to the purposes of God, and the felicity of men, and how appropriately supernatural revelations take their place in subserviency to natural religion. Satisfied, at last, that the holy scriptures are the wisdom and power of God to every one that believeth, he remarked, that nothing can be so firmly believed as that concerning which men have been some time in doubt; and that it is a belief of the truth of revelation, and the life to come, that sets all the graces in motion; and with, or without which, they flourish or fade, are accelerated or stand still.

Mr Baxter found, that the temper of his mind altered something similar to the alterations which age gradually made on that of his body. When he was young, he felt himself more fervent, vigorous, and affectionate, in preaching, conversation, prayer, and other religious exercises, than he could often attain to in his advanced age; but then he found his judgment more solid and unwavering. In youth he was much quicker in comprehending, and could, with greater facility, manage things suddenly presented; but age and experience enabled him better to discriminate between truth and error, and to discover a multitude of common mistakes which had passed unnoticed in the early part of his life. In his youth he was fond of controversy, and ready to conclude, that conciliators were but ignorant men, who, wishing to please all, pretended to reconcile the world upon principles which they did not understand. By long experience, however, he could perceive, that, the amiableness of peace and christian harmony apart, the advocates of reconciliation generally possessed greater light, and more substantial argument, than either of the contending parties.

In his younger years Mr Baxter was as much enamoured with the style of an author as with his arguments, and considered that the former gave no small degree of energy to the latter. But at length he became indifferent to all these rhetorical ornaments in the investigation of truth, convinced that it stands in no need of such meretricious embellishments, but is best discovered in its naked simplicity. His opinion of mankind

also greatly altered with his increasing knowledge of the world. He found few men so good when he came near them, as he had apprehended they were while at a distance, and but few so bad as the malicious and censorious world are apt to represent them; and though, in some individuals, he found human nature transformed into a nearer likeness to devils than he at one period thought possible, yet even in the wicked he found there was generally more for grace to take advantage of, and more to witness for God and godliness, than he once could believe there had been. Finding, by experience, what cruelty, injustice, and other audacious crimes, have often lurked under the cloak of a zealous profession of religion, set off with great powers of utterance, he became careless of these tinsel evidences in estimating the worth of an individual, conscious that great piety, and true devotion, are often concealed under the simple garb of unassuming modesty. As Mr Baxter advanced in years, he became more liberal in his sentiments concerning christian communion. He was not for robbing Christ of any part of his flock, by cutting them off from the communion of the church for matters of indifference; but still the necessity of church discipline appeared to him more and more indispensable; for nothing, he conceived, could be more derogative to the cause of christianity, than a church composed of members, who, for want of proper discipline, must ultimately become as vicious as pagans and mahometans, and differ from their assemblies only in ceremony and name. In a word, his soul was more afflicted with the thoughts of a miserable world, and more desirous of propagating the gospel among the savage nations, though he was not inclined to pass sentence of damnation on all those who had never heard of the Saviour, as he had been in the days of his youth.

Mr Baxter was fond of a quiet and retired life, and yet it was not in his power to conceal his worth from observation and respect. My lord Broghill, afterwards earl of Orrery, lord president of Munster, greatly valued him, and entertained him most respectfully at his house. While he continued there, he became acquainted with the learned and pious archbishop Usher, and their mutual visits were frequent. He had occasion to be often with the lord chancellor Clarendon, who carried it with a great show of respect towards him; and at his earnest and repeated solicitations, did an essential service to New England. The matter is this:

Mr Elliot having learned the American language, and converted many of the barbarous natives to christianity, was anxious to settle regular churches among them. In order to this, it was necessary first to build houses to draw them to-

gether, and provide a maintenance for ministers to preach among them, and school masters to instruct their children. For this purpose Cromwell set on foot a general collection throughout the whole kingdom. The people gave liberally to so good a work, and the money was put into the hands of a corporation, who purchased seven or eight hundred pounds worth of land yearly, which was appropriated to the service of the gospel in those parts. The land was purchased from an officer of the king's army, a papist, who, upon the restoration of the king, seized on the land, and would neither restore it nor the purchase money—pretending that, the corporation having been appointed by Cromwell, the transaction was illegal and void. Mr Baxter urged lord Clarendon on the subject, who, after a year's delay, got the matter happily adjusted; and Mr Baxter soon after received letters of hearty thanks from the governor and court of New England, also from Mr Elliot and Mr Norton, acknowledging the signal service he had done them.

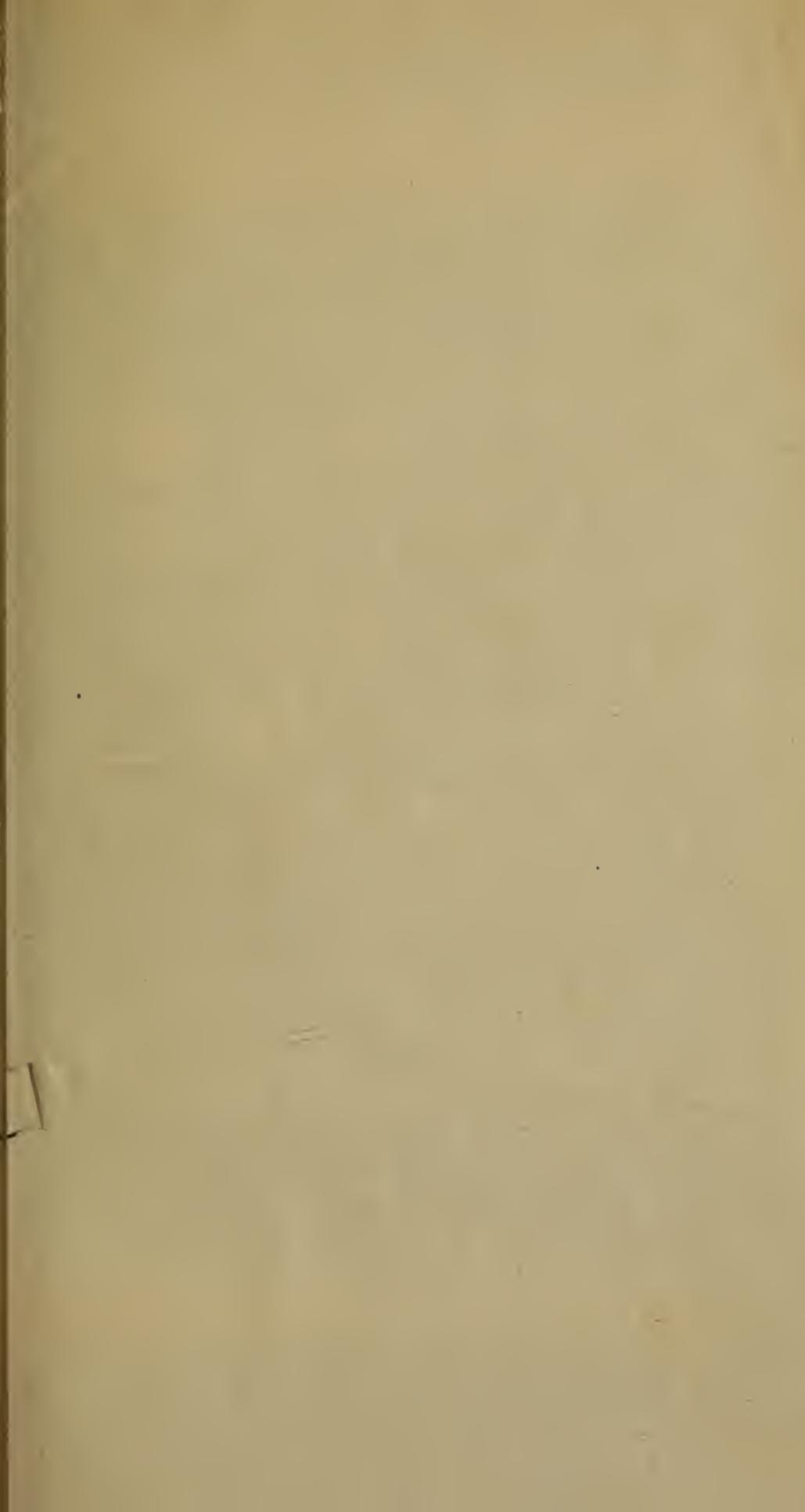
After Mr Baxter was silenced with the rest of his brethren, he had letters from foreign divines full of respect, soliciting his correspondence; which, for fear it might be misinterpreted by government, he was obliged to decline. In even the worst times he had several at court, and about the king, who were very respectful to him. While living at Acton, he had the pleasure of free conversation with that mirror of justice, and ornament of his country, the worthy Sir Matthew Hale, lord chief baron of the exchequer, who lived in his neighbourhood. Their conversation turned chiefly upon the main points of religion, the immortality of the soul, the certainty of a future state, &c. Sir Matthew greatly lamented the extremities of the times, and the violence of some of the clergy, and was very desirous of such abatements as might admit all useful persons. He manifested his respect to Mr Baxter, during the time he was in prison upon the Oxford act, by passing an honourable encomium upon his character, both for piety and learning, before all the judges; and, as a mark of his esteem, left him a small legacy in his will. The earl of Balcarras, who was driven from Scotland by Cromwell, and afterwards attended at court, very highly respected Mr Baxter, after having read his works, which he was induced to do by the recommendation of the earl of Lauderdale. Balcarras was considered the head of the presbyterians at this time; but a misunderstanding having taken place between him and lord Clarendon, he was dismissed the court, and soon after died of a consumption; but lady Balcarras was nothing behind her husband in her respects to this distinguished divine.

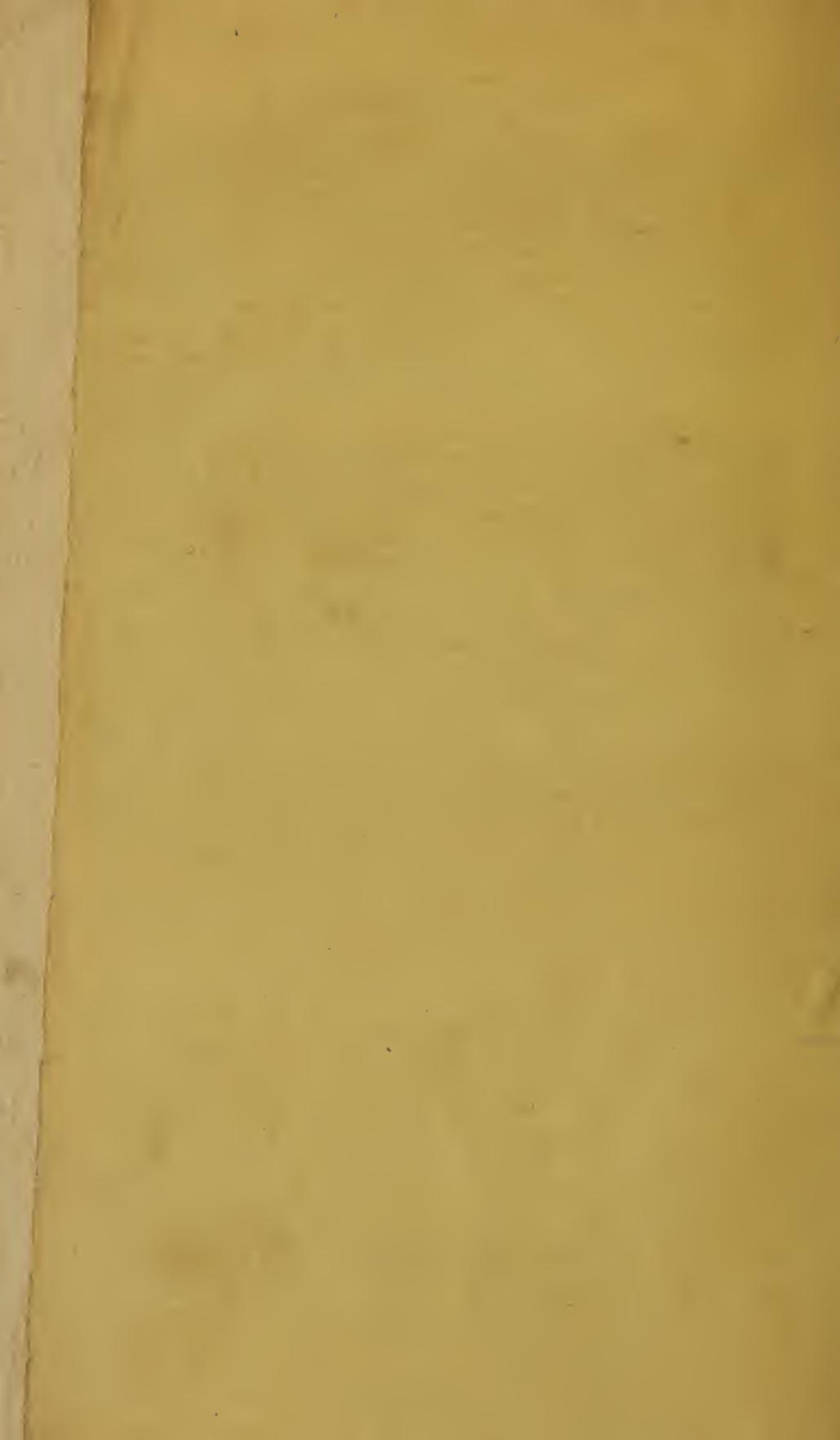
But in the whole course of his life, Mr Baxter had no

friend whom he more valued, or by whom he was more beloved, than Henry Ashurst, commonly called alderman Ashurst, one of the most exemplary persons for eminent sobriety, self-denial, piety, and christian benevolence, that London could at any time boast of. In short, few men have ever had more written against them, by the different denominations, nor more false reports circulated concerning them, than Mr Baxter; for being of no party, and holding some peculiar opinions, living and dying he was respected and admired by men of moderate principles, while he was slighted and reproached by zealots of almost every denomination.

As a writer, few men have written more, or to better purpose. His books, for number and variety of matter, might form a library. They contain a treasure of controversial, casuistical, positive, and practical divinity. Such at least was the opinion of the judicious Dr. Bates; nor was he alone of this sentiment. The excellent bishop Wilkins did not hesitate to assert, "That he had cultivated every subject he had handled;" and the learned and ingenious Dr. Barrow gives this as his judgment concerning them, "That his practical works were never mended, and his controversial ones seldom confuted." Mr Calamy tells us, "That the books he wrote amounted to more than one hundred and twenty;" and an Editor, who published a Life of Mr Baxter, says, "He has seen one hundred and forty-five distinct Treatises, whereof four were folios, seventy-three quartos, forty-nine octavos, and nineteen twelves and twenty-fours, besides single sheets, separate Sermons, and at least twenty-five Prefaces to other men's works."

FINIS.





24

7

---

663

