Walton's Lives,

AND

LOVE AND TRUTH.
THE

Lives

of

DR. JOHN DONNE;—SIR HENRY WOTTON;
MR. RICHARD HOOKER;—MR. GEORGE HERBERT;
AND
DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

To which is now first added,

LOVE AND TRUTH.

By ISAAC WALTON.

WITH

NOTES, AND THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

By THOMAS ZOUCH, D. D. F. L. S.

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM.

THESE WERE HONOURABLE MEN IN THEIR GENERATIONS. ECCLES. XLI. 7.

THE THIRD EDITION.

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MR GEORGE HERBERT
THE LIFE
OF
Mr. GEORGE HERBERT.
TO HIS VERY WORTHY AND MUCH HONOURED FRIEND

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

UPON HIS EXCELLENT

LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I.

HEAV’NS youngest son, its Benjamin,
Divinity’s next brother, sacred Poesie,
No longer shall a virgin reckoned be
(What ere with others ’tis) by me,
   A female muse, as were the nine;
But (full of vigour masculine)
An essence male, with angels his companions shine.
With angels first the heavenly youth was bred,
And, when a child, instructed them to sing
The praises of th’ Immortal King
   Who Lucifer in triumph led:
For, as in chains the monster sank to hell,
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell,
By him first taught, “How art thou fallen thou morning star?" they said,
Too fondly then, we have fancy’d him a maid:
We, the vain brethren of the rhyming trade;
A female angel less would Urbin’s * skill upbraid.

* Raphael Urbin, the famous painter.
II.

Thus 'twas in heaven: this, Poesy's sex and age;
And, when he thence t'our lower world came down,
He chose a form more like his own,
And Jesse's youngest son inspir'd with holy rage,
The sprightly shepherd felt unusual fire,
And up he took his tuneful lyre;
He took it up, and struk't, and his own soft touches did admire.

Thou, Poesy, on him didst bestow
Thy choicest gift, a honour shew'd before to none;
And, to prepare his way to th' Hebrew throne,
Gav'st him thy empire and dominion;
The happy land of verse, where flow Rivers of milk, and woods of laurel grow;
Wherewith thou didst adorn his brow,
And mad'st his first, more flourishing, and triumphant crown.

Assist me thy great prophet's praise to sing,
David, the poet's, and bless'd Israel's King;
And with the dancing echo, let the mountains ring!
Then on the wings of some auspicious wind,
Let his great name from earth be rais'd on high,
And in the starry volume of the sky,
A lasting record find:
Be with his mighty psaltery join'd;
Which, taken long since up into the air,
And call'd the harp, makes a bright constellation there.

III.

Worthy it was to be translated hence,
And there, in view of all, exalted hang:
To which so oft the princely prophet sang,
And mystic oracles did dispense.
Though had it still remain’d below,
More wonders of it we had seen,
How great the mighty Herbert’s skill had been;
Herbert, who could so much without it do;
Herbert, who did its chords distinctly know;
More perfectly than any child of verse below.
O! had we known him half so well!
But then, my friend, there had been left for you
Nothing so fair, and worthy praise to do;
Who, so exactly all his story tell,
That though he did not want his bays,
Nor all the monuments virtue can raise,
Your hand he did, to eternize his praise.
Herbert and Donne again are join’d,
Now here below, as they’re above;
These friends are in their old embraces twin’d;
And since by you the interview’s design’d,
Too weak to part them death does prove;
For in this book they meet again, as in one heav’n they love.

SAM. WOODFORDE, D. D.

Benstead, ?
April 3.
VERSES TO

IN VITAM

GEORGI HERTERTI,

AB

ISAACO WALTONO SCRIPTAM.

O Quàm erubesco cùm tuam vitam lego,
Herberte Sancte, quàmque me pudet meæ!
Ego talpa cæcus hîc humi fodiens miser,
Aquila volatu tu petens nubes tuo,
Ego Choïcum vas terreas fæces olen,
Tu (sola namque Urania tibi ex musis placet)
Nil tale spiras; sed sapis cœlum et Deum,
Omnique vitæ, librî et omni, lineâ;
Templûmque tecum ubique circumfers tuum:
Domi-porta cœli, cui domus propria, optima:
Ubi Rex, ibi Roma, Imperii sedes; ubi
Tu sancte vates, templum ibi, et cœlum, et Deus.
Tu quale nobis intuendum clericis
Speculum Sacerdotale, tu qualem piis
Pastoris ideam et libro et vitâ tua
Tu quale Sanctitatis elementis bonæ,
Morumque nobis tradis exemplum ac typum!
Typum*, Magistro nempe proximum Tuo,
Exemplar illud grande qui solus fuit.
Canonizet ergō quos velit Dominus Papa;

* Sic Christum solens vocavit quoties ejus mentionem fœcit.
Sibique sanctos, quos facit, servit suos
Colatque; sancte Herberte, tu Sanctus meus;
Oraque pro me, dicerem, si fas, tibi.
Sed hos honores par nec est sanctis dari;
Velis nec ipse; recolo te, sed non colo.
Talis legenda est vita Sancti, concio
Ad promovendum quam potens et efficax!
Per talia exempla est breve ad caelos iter.
Waltone, nacte, perge vitas scribere,
Et penicillo, quo vales, insigni adhuc
Sanctorum imagines coloribus suis
Plures representare; quod tu dum facis
Vitamque et illis et tibi das posthumam,
Lectoris aeternaque vitae consulis.
Urge ergo pensum; et interim scias velim,
Plutarchus alter sis licet Biographus,
Herberto, Amice, vix Parallelum dabis.
Liceat Libro addere hanc coronidem tuo;
Vir, an Poeta, Orator an melior fuit,
Meliorme amicus, sponsus, an Pastor Gregis,
Herbertus, incertum; et quis hoc facile sciat,
Meliorm ubi ille, qui fuit ubique optimus.

JACOB DUPORT, S. T. P.
Decanus Petr.
THE INTRODUCTION.

In a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbered my self, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in sacred story, and more particularly of what had past betwixt our blessed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possest with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes, and dishevelled hair, were designed and managed to charm and insnare amorous beholders: But, I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had expressed a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wip’t, and she most passionately kist the feet of hers, and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider, that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that, beside that blessed blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she
also had from him a testimony, that her alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his gospel should be read; intending thereby, that as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to myself) that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, and preserve the memory of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives: And though Mr. George Herbert (whose Life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him; yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in

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If some very learned and able commentators have entertained an opinion, that Mary Magdalen was the afflicted and penitent sinner mentioned in the seventh chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, it is not surprising that Mr. Walton should fall into the same error.
their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths, without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him and my reader.
George Herbert was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county; that castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herbert's, who had long possessed it; and, with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family, that hath been blessed with

b The castle of Montgomery derived its name from Roger de Montgomery, a noble Norman, Earl of Shrewsbury, who, winning much land from the Welsh, first built this castle to secure his conquest. It standeth not far from the banks of the river Severn, upon the rising of a rock, from whence it hath a very free prospect into a pleasant plain that lieth beneath it.—The family of the Herberths is very much diffused, and of great authority in this part of Wales. (Heylin's Help to English History.)—An order was made by the Parliament, June 11, 1649, for demolishing Montgomery Castle, which Anthony Wood calls "a pleasant and romancy place," and for an allowance to the Lord Herbert for his damage thereby.
men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent: But alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert c, the son of Edward Herbert, Knight, the son of Richard Herbert, Knight, the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert d of Colebrook, in the county

Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury describes Richard Herbert his father to have been "black haired and bearded, as all "his ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or "somewhat stern look, but withall very handsome and well com-"pact in his limbs, and of a great courage. As for his integrity "in his places of Deputy Lieutenant of the county, Justice of "the Peace, and Custos Rotulorum, which he, as his father be-"fore him, held, it is so memorable to this day that it was said "his enemies appealed to him for justice, which they always "found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as "understanding well the Latin tongue, and being well versed "in history."

(The Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself. Strawberry-Hill, 1764. p. 34.)

d This gentleman was ancestor to the Lords Herbert of Cher-"bury, and to the present Earl of Powis. In the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, this Sir Richard Herbert signalized himself by his bravery on many occasions. He and his brother William, the first Earl of Pembroke, were taken prisoners after the battle of Danes-more, near Edgecote in Northamptonshire, on July 26, 1469, and were beheaded the next
of Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward IV.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, Knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his

next day after the battle. Hall, in his Chronicle, relates, "that much lamentation, and no less intreaty, was made to save the life of Sir Richard Herbert, both for his goodly personage, which excelled all men there, and also for the noble chivalry he had shewed in the field in the day of battle, insomuch that his brother the Earl, when he laid down his head on the block to suffer, said to Sir John Conyers, Let me die, for I am old, but save my brother, who is young, lusty, and hardy, mete and apt to serve the greatest prince of Christendom." See "Collins's Peerage," Vol. V. p. 181.—The title of Banneret was a very ancient title of military honour, never conferred but upon the achievement of some great and noble action in the field. Knights Bannerets are termed by Matthew Paris, "Milites vexilliferi," and were distinguished by having a square shield, and bearing their arms in a banner of the same form.

"My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Burnley, one of the Privy Councell, and executor to King Henry VIII. who, surviving her husband, gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God, and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily, both private and public, prayers, and so careful to provide for her posterity, that though it were in her power to give her estate, which was very great, to whom she would, yet she continued still
Majesty's Household. A family that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, wisdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons, and three daughters, which she would often say, was Job's number, and Job's distribution; and, as often bless God, that they were neither defective in their shapes or in their reason; and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the

"still unmarried, after she lived most virtuously and lovingly "with her husband. She after his death erected a fair monu-
"ment for him in Montgomery Church, brought up her "children carefully, and put them in good courses for making "their fortunes; and briefly was that woman Dr. Donne hath "described her, in his funeral sermon of her printed."

(Life of Lord Herbert, p. 10, 11.)

f Charles I. in 1642, advanced Sir Richard Newport to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Newport, of High Ercall in Shropshire. On this occasion that loyal gentle-
man presented his Majesty with the sum of six thousand pounds. (Echard's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 348.)—Dying Feb. 8, 1650, at Moulins in France, he was succeeded by Francis his son, who after the Restoration was made Comptroller, and then Treasurer of the King's Household, Viscount Newport 27 Cha. II. and Earl of Bradford, in 1694. The last title became extinct in 1762.
reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being installed Knight of the Garter; and after many years' useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James sent Ambassador resident to the then French King.

No character is more heterogeneous than that of this nobleman, not less renowned for his prowess and martial gallantry, than for his literary acquirements. Ben Jonson styles him

"All-virtuous Herbert, in whose every part
"Truth might spend all her voice, Fame all her art."

He is classed among the most eminent of the Deistical writers, having attempted to reduce Deism into a regular system; and, by asserting the sufficiency, universality, and absolute perfection of natural religion, to discard all revealed religion as useless. It is unnecessary to add that his opinions have been discussed with great ability, moderation, and candour, by Dr. Leland, in his "Review of the Deistical Writers."

He has given the following account of himself in the earlier period of his life: "It was so long before I began to speak, that "many thought I should be ever dumb: The very farthest thing I "remember is, that, when I understood what was said by others, "I did yet forbear to speak, lest I should utter something that "was imperfect or impertinent. When I came to talk, one of "the farthest inquiries was, how I came into this world." (Life of Lord Herbert, p. 16.)—"At twelve years old, my "parents thought fit to send me to Oxford, to University College, "where I remember to have disputed, at my first coming, in "logick." (Ib. p. 25.)—His father died; he left Oxford, married, and afterward returned to the University.—"Not "long after my marriage, I went again to Oxford, together with
Lewis XIII. There he continued about two years; but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at court: so that, upon a complaint to our King, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the Duke, and all the Court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I. who made him first Baron of Castle-Island; and not long after of Cherbury, in the county of Salop: He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book "De Veritate;" and by his "History of the Reign of King Henry VIII." and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard

“My wife and mother, who took a house, and lived for some certain time there.” (Life of Lord Herbert, p. 26.)—And now he followed his book more close than ever; in which course he continued till he had attained about the age of eighteen, when his mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle he passed his time till he came to the age of one and twenty. At the request of his mother, he undertook the burden of providing for his brothers and sisters, giving to his brothers thirty pounds a piece yearly, and to his three sisters 1000l. a piece; which portions married them.

My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many
and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died Fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a

"many years with much reputation both in the wars, and for fighting single duels, which were many, insomuch that between both he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four and twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lieth buried in "Bergenopzoom." (Life of Lord Herbert, p. 12.)

1 "My brother William, being likewise brought up in learning, went afterward to the wars in Denmark, where fighting a single combat, and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself with that piece which remained, but closing with his adversary threw him down, and so held him until company came in; and then went to the wars in the Low Countries, but lived not long after."

(Life of Lord Herbert, p. 12.)

2 "My brother Charles was Fellow of New College in Oxford, where he died young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way." (Life of Lord Herbert, p. 12.)—Mr. Charles Herbert was the fellow Collegian and friend of Dr. Richard Zouch, to whose poem entitled "The Dove," he has prefixed Latin verses. We also observe his name subscribed to some lines addressed to his virtuous kinsman, Thomas Herbert, Esq. on the publication of that gentleman's "Travels into divers Parts of Asia and Afrique."

1 "Henry, after he had been brought up in learning, as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection, after which time he came to Court, and was made Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and Master of the C 2 Reveals;
menial servant to the Crown, in the days of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom,

"Revels; by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes for himself and posterity to enjoy: He also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels and otherwise, being no less dextrous in the ways of the Court, as having got much by it." (Life of Lord Herbert, p. 15.)

Mr. Richard Baxter, who was educated at High Ercall, was in his early youth recommended to the care of Sir Henry Herbert, and by him kindly received. But that celebrated Nonconformist did not relish a Court life, and very soon returned to his privacy and studies. "I went up," says he, "stayed at Whitehall with Sir H. H. about a month, but I had quickly enough of the Court, when I saw a stage-play, instead of a sermon, on the Lord's days in the afternoon, and saw what course was there in fashion, and heard little preaching but what was as to one part against the Puritans: I was glad to be gone." (Reliq. Baxter, p. 11.)

It was within the department of the Master of the Revels to license the press, and accordingly we find many books printed at this time, with an imprimatur "granted by Henry Herbert."

The following story is related of him: "A few days before the murder of the King, meeting in Hyde Park with Thomas Herbert, Esq. his kinsman, who then waited on his Majesty as one of the grooms of his bed-chamber, and inquiring how his Majesty did, he desired he would let him know, that if he pleased to read the second chapter of Ecclesiasticus, he would there find comfort. Accordingly Mr. Herbert acquainted the King, who thanked Sir Henry, and commended his excellent parts; being a good scholar, soldier, and an accomplished courtier, and for his many years' faithful service much valued by the King, who presently turned to the chapter, and read it with much satisfaction." (Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 198.)
with which God hath blessed him. The seventh son was Thomas, who being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell was sent against Algiers, did there shew a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters I need not say more, than that they were

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, having related many glorious and gallant exploits of his brother Thomas, thus concludes his account of him: "After all these proofs given of himself, he expected some great command, but finding himself, as he thought, undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him, in which sullen humour having lived many years he died, and was buried in London, in St. Martin's, near Charing Cross."

(Life of Lord Herbert, p. 15.)

At the instance of Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, Sir Robert Mansell, Vice-Admiral of England, was sent in 1620, with a fleet for the Mediterranean, with a view to humble the Algerine pirates, who infested the Spanish coasts. Captain Thomas Herbert had then the command of the Marmaduke, a merchant ship, of fifty men and twelve guns. (Lediart's Naval History, Vol. II. p. 45.)—Sir Robert in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, dated from aboard the Lyon, in Alegant road, informs his Grace of the event of this expedition against the Algerines, and names Captain Giles and Captain Herbert as very active in assisting him. See Cabala, p. 323.

"Elizabeth, my eldest sister, was married to Sir Henry Jones, who by her had one son and two daughters: The latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times, while for the space of about fourteen year she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London." (Life of Lord Herbert, p. 15.)

"Margaret"
all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

"Margaret was married to John Vaughan, son and heir to Owen Vaughan, of Lluydart, by which match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeased and reconciled." (*Ib. p. 15.*)

"Finances, my youngest sister, was married to Sir John Brown, Knight, in Lincolnshire, who had by her divers children, the eldest of whom, though young, fought divers duels; in one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancashire." (*Ib. p. 16.*)

To Elizabeth, his eldest sister, was written the following affectionate letter by Mr. George Herbert:

"For my dear sick sister.

"Most dear sister,

"Think not my silence forgetfulness, or that my love is as dumb as my papers; though business may stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you: and, which is more, with our good and gracious God, incessantly begging some ease of your pains, with that earnestness that becomes your griefs and my love. God, who knows and sees this writing, knows also that my soliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you; judge me then by those waters, and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value

"Your most truly,

"Most heartily,

"Affectionate brother and servant,

"Decem. 6, 1620, Trin. Col. " GEORGE HERBERT."

"My brother George was so excellent a scholar, that he was made the public orator of the University of Cambridge, some
George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family (for she was then a widow), where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of West-

"some of whose English works are extant; which, though they "be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those per- "fections he had in the Greek and Latin Tongue, and all divine "and human literature: His life was most holy and exemplary, "insomuch that about Salisbury where he lived beneficed for "many years, he was little less than sainted. He was not ex- "empt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all "our race is subject, but, that excepted, without reproach in his "actions." (Life of Lord Herbert, p. 12, 13.)

9 It has been said of Dr. Richard Neale, that no one was more thoroughly acquainted with the distresses as well as the conveniences of the clergy, having served the Church as School- master, Curate, Vicar, Rector, Master of the Savoy, Dean of Westminster, Clerk of the Closet to James I. and Charles I. Bishop of Rochester, Lichfield, Durham, Winchester, and Archbishop of York. To the Church and churchmen he was very serviceable by opposing the sectaries in their pursuits for ecclesiastical preferment, which they indefatigably hunted after, and thereby he drew on himself their general hatred. Prynne and Burton honoured him with the appellation of "a Popish "Arminian Prelate," and omitted no opportunity of showing their inveteracy against him. "He died," says Echard, "full "of years as he was full of honours; a faithful subject to his "prince, an indulgent father to his clergy, a bountiful patron to "his chaplains, and a true friend to all that relied upon him."

C 4
minster, and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a King's Scholar) he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother, well knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then Dean of Canter-

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1. He was made Master of Westminster School in 1599, and continued so to 1610. Hacket, afterward Bishop of Lichfield, was elected from Westminster School at the same time with Mr. George Herbert into Trinity College. When they left school, Mr. Ireland told them, "That he expected to have "credit by them two at the University, or would never hope for "it afterwards while he lived."

(Dr. Plume's Account of the Life and Death of Bishop Hacket.)

6 Thomas Nevil, D. D. eminent for the splendour of his birth, his extraordinary piety and learning, was educated at Pembroke Hall in the University of Cambridge. In 1582 he was
bury, and Master of that College, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did most gladly undertake; for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother, and I will endeavour to make it short.

was admitted Master of Magdalen College in the same University, and in 1593 he succeeded Dr. John Still in the Mastership of Trinity College, being then Dean of the Cathedral Church of Peterborough, over which he presided commendably eight years. "Of the College of the Holy and undivided Trinity, now not "only famous in that University, but in all Europe, which was "decayed and near falling, and through age incoherent and "irregular, he was the moderator, the enlarger, and most happy "restorer; by his advice, favour, and liberal gift of money, the "ill-disposed buildings were taken down and rebuilt in a more "elegant form, the ways and ancient areas made regular and en-
"larged by new and excellent embellishments and ornaments, "and brought to the remarkable beauty it now bears." (From a MS. extant in Trinity College, and called NEVIL.)—Upon the demise of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Nevil, who had been promoted to the Deanery of Canterbury in 1597, was sent by Archbishop Whitgift to King James in Scotland, in the names of the Bishops and Clergy of England, to tender their bounden duties, and to understand his Highness's pleasure for the ordering and guiding of the Clergy. The Dean brought a most gracious answer of his Highness's purpose, which was to uphold and maintain the government of the late Queen, as she left it settled. Of Dr. Nevil see "Todd's Deans of Canterbury," p. 66, 83.
I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them; I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years: I am next to tell that she continued twelve years a widow; that she then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning and other education as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did at his being of a fit age remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care; yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily: but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child, but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and

1 Sir John Danvers.
careful mother; which was to her great content: for she would often say, "That as our bodies take "a nourishment suitable to the meat on which "we feed; so our souls do as insensibly take in "vice by the example or conversation with wicked "company:" and would therefore as often say, "That ignorance of vice was the best preservation "of virtue; and that the very knowledge of "wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle "sin, and to keep it burning." For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in or near that University; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's, London; and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verse, a character of the beauties of her body and mind:

Of the first he says,

No spring nor summer beauty has such grace
As I have seen in an autumnal face.

Of the latter he says,

In all her words to every hearer fit,
You may at revels, or at council sit ".

m "Here dwells he [Love], though he sojourns every where
"In progress, yet his standing house is here;" Here,
The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of "The Autumnal Beauty." For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls; but an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias; whom, in his letters, he calls his Saint, or an amity, indeed more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whose affection to her was such that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph; wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity. And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was some years before he entered into Sacred Orders); a time

"Here, where still evening is, not noon nor night,
"Where no voluptuousness, yet all delight,
"In all her words unto all hearers fit,
"You may at revels, you at councils sit."

(Donne's Poems. The Autumnal, v. 26.)

* Of the character of Olympias, an accomplished woman, and much esteemed by St. Chrysostom, who delighted in her conversation, and wrote no less than seventeen letters to her in the time of his banishment, see "Cave's Lives of the Fathers," Vol. II. p. 503.

7 St. Jerom thus begins a long epistle, which he addresses to Eustochium, the daughter of Paula, on whose life and death he expatiates
when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family: And in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter and sonnet.

"MADAM,

"Your favours to me are every where; I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; and yet find them at Micham. Such riddles as these become things inexpressible; and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and indeed of my coming this morning: But my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detained expatiates largely: "Si cuncta corporis mei verba verterentur in linguas et omnes artus humanæ voce resonarent, nihil dignum sanctæ ac venerabilis Paulæ virtutibus dicerem. Nobilis genere, sed multò nobilior sanctitate, potens quondam divitiis, sed nunc Christi paupertate insignior, Gracchorum stirps, soboles Scipionum, Pauli hæres." Much encomium will scarce be thought due to the epithet on Paula (for which see Hieronymi Opera," Tom. I. p. 69. and also "Sandys's Travels," p. 139, 140.); and it may be a matter of doubt whether the conduct of that lady dividing her effects among her children, abandoning her family, and, under the pretence of devotion, wandering from place to place, can entitle her to any great share of praise.
THE LIFE OF

"me; and my coming this day is by the example

" of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early

" upon Sunday, to seek that which she loved

" most; and so did I. And, from her and myself,

" I return such thanks as are due to one to whom

" we owe all the good opinion, that they whom

" we need most have of us. By this messenger,

" and on this good day, I commit the inclosed

" holy hymns and sonnets (which for the matter,

" not the workmanship, have yet escaped the fire),

" to your judgment, and to your protection too, if

" you think them worthy of it; and I have ap-

" pointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to

" your happy hand.

" Your unworthiest servant,

" Unless your accepting him to be so

" Have mended him,

" MICHAM, July 11, 1607. "JO. DONNE."

" TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT; OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

" Her of your name, whose fair inheritance

" Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo;

" An active faith so highly did advance,

" That she once knew more than the Church did know,

" The resurrection; so much good there is

" Deliver'd of her, that some fathers be

" Loth to believe one woman could do this;

" But think these Magdalens were two or three.

" Increase their number, Lady, and their fame;

" To their devotion, add your innocence;

" Take so much of th' example as of the name;

" The latter half; and in some recompence

" That they did harbour Christ himself a guest,

" Harbour these hymns, to his dear name addrest. J. D.
These hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such, as they two now sing in heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship, and the many sacred endearments between these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hand) and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety; but my design was not to write her's, but the life of her Son; and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral sermon, in the parish-church of Chelsey, near London; where she now rests in her quiet grave; and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude, he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

—"But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say, "the muses use to take up their habitations. "However I need not their help, to reprove the "vanity of those many love-poems that are daily
"writ and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail
"that so few are writ, that look towards God and
"heaven. For my own part, my meaning (dear
"mother) is in these sonnets, to declare my resolu-
"tion to be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall
"be all and ever consecrated to God's glory; and
"I beg you to receive this as one testimony."

"My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
"Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,
"Besides their other flames? Doth poetry
"Wear Venus livery? only serve her turn?
"Why are not sonnets made of thee? and layes
"Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love
"Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
"As well as any she? Cannot thy dove
"Out-strip their Cupid easily in flight?
"Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same,
"Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name!
"Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
"Each breast does feel, no braver fewel choose
"Than that, which one day worms may chance refuse.
"Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
"Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did
"Cover the earth, so doth thy Majesty:
"Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid
"Poets to turn it to another use.
"Roses and lilies speak thee; and to make
"A pair of cheeks of them is thy abuse.
"Why should I women's eyes for crystal take?
"Such poor invention burns in their low mind
"Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
"To praise, and on thee, Lord, some ink bestow.
"Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
"In the best face but filth; when, Lord, in thee
"The beauty lies, in the discovery."
This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother; about which time, he was in the seventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man; insomuch, that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seem'd to be mark'd out for virtue, and to become the care of heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the College, March 15, 1615: And that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time, all,

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2 It appears from the Bursar's books of Trinity College, that Mr. Herbert was elected a scholar of the house, May 5, 1609: Minor Fellow, Oct. 3, 1614: and Major Fellow, March 15, 1615. And we learn from the Grace Book of the University of Cambridge, that he was matriculated, Dec. 18, 1609, by the name of Georgius Harbert, the first among the Pensioners of Trinity College; became B. A. in 1612; M. A. in 1616: and on the 21st of October, 1619, was substituted to the office of Orator in the absence of Sir Francis Nethersole, Knight, then abroad on the King's business.
or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which he would say, "That it did "relieve his drooping spirits, compose his dis-"tracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so "far above the earth, that it gave him an earnest "of the joys of heaven before he possesst them." And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the College, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company, by which he confirmed his native gentleness; and, if during this time he expressed any error, it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage a.

This may be some account of his disposition and of the employment of his time, till he was

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a This is a true picture of a young academician, whom vanity incites to affix too great a value on the splendour of birth, and the frivolous distinctions of hereditary rank. At this time Mr. Herbert's pecuniary resources were not very plentiful. In a letter dated March 18, 1617, he writes; "I protest and vow I "even study thrift, and yet I am scarce able, with much ado, to "make one half year's allowance shake the hands with the other."

He seems to have been prodigiously fond of fine clothes; for his biographer tells us afterward, that "he enjoyed his gentile "humour for fine clothes and court-like company." And it ap-
GEORGE HERBERT.

Master of Arts, which was anno 1615; and in the year 1619 he was chosen Orator for the University. His two precedent Orators, were Sir Robert Nanton and Sir Francis Nether- 

"canonical coat," till four years after he was Prebendary of Lincoln. If his taste in this respect had been doubted, he might have answered as Autolicus did to the simple shepherd......

"Shep. Are you a Courtier, an like you, Sir?

"Aul. Whether it like me, or no, I am a courtier. Seest thou

"not the air of a court in these enfoldings? hath not my gaite

"in it the measure of the Court?" Shakespeare's Winter's Tale, Act IV. Scene XI.

b Of the Office of Orator, which still continues the most honourable academical employment, Mr. Herbert has given the best description in a letter to a friend. "The Orator's place, "that you may understand what it is, is the finest place in the "University, though not the gainfullest, yet that will be about "30l. per annum: But the commodiousness is beyond the re-

venue, for the Orator writes all the University letters, makes "all the orations, be it to the King, Prince, or whatever comes to "the University. To requite these pains, he takes place next the "Doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above "the Proctors; is Regent or Non-regent at his pleasure, and "such like gaynnesses which will please a young man well."

c "Robertus Naunton, Discipulus, Maii 2, 1582. Soc. Minor, "Oct. 2, 1585. Soc. Major, Mar. 15, 1586." (Bursar's Books at Trin. Coll.) Sir Robert Naunton, a native of Suffolk, was descended from a very ancient family in that county. He was transplanted from Trinity College to Trinity Hall, where he was chosen Fellow. He was the author of "Fragmenta Regalia, or "Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and "Favourites," a tract usually printed along with "Arcana "Aulica; or Walsingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims
sole: The first was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis not very long after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator, our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or since his time. For “he had acquired great learning, and was blest with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with

“for the Statesman and Courtier;” the one being a compendium of politics for the ordering of a court life, the other a judicious collection of great examples that have acted in conformity to those precepts, and made themselves famous to posterity in their respective stations. He improved the opportunity of recommending himself to James I. at Hinching-brook, where the University met his Majesty on his first arrival from Scotland. The king was so well pleased with his eloquence and learning, that he first appointed him Secretary of State, and then Master of the Wards. Mr. Howell, in one of his letters, relates of him, that while he attended on the Earl of Rutland, as Ambassador to Denmark, he was appointed to deliver a Latin oration before the King. At the beginning of his speech, when he had pronounced Serenissime Rex, he was dashed out of countenance, and so gravelled, that he could go no farther.

Franciscus Nethersole, Discipulus, Ap. 12, 1605. Soc. Minor, Sep. 18, 1608. Soc. Major, Mar. 23, 1609. (Bursar's Books of Trinity College.) This gentleman, born at Nethersole, in the county of Kent, was preferred to be Ambassador to the Princes of the Union, and Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. It is hard to say, whether he was more remarkable for his doings or sufferings on her behalf. He married Lucy, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Goodyear, of Polesworth in Warwickshire,
"a natural elegance, both in his behaviour, "his tongue, and his pen." Of all which, there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for this employment of Orator was manifested in a letter to King James upon the occasion of his sending that University his book, called Warwickshire, by whose encouragement, being free of himself to any good design, he founded and endowed a very fair school at Polesworth aforesaid.

(Sir William Dugdale's Hist. of Warwickshire.)

James I. paid a visit to the University of Cambridge, in March 1614-15. When "Hee passed into Trinity College, where all the house ranked on each side the entrance, he was presented with a short oration by the Orator of the University, "Mr. Francis Nethersole, Fellow of the said College, kneeling all the while on his knees, the which his Majesty graciously accepted." (From a MS. in the possession of Mr. Todd, author of "The Lives of the Deans of Canterbury.") He was blamed at the time of the royal visit, "for calling the Prince Jacobissime Carole; and some will add that he called him Jacobale too, "which neither pleased the King, nor any body else." To this circumstance is an allusion in a song written at that time.

"Most Jacob Charles," did Cambridge cry, "you welcome are to us."


Yet, notwithstanding this censure, the classical reader will be much pleased with the perusal of a funeral oration, spoken by Sir Francis Nethersole before the Vice Chancellor and the University, to the memory of Henry Prince of Wales. It is inserted in Bates's "Vitae selectorum aliquot Virorum."
"Basilicon Doron"; and their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescension, at the close of which letter he writ,

"Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes!
Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber."

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the King, that he inquired the orator's name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was,

Or "His Majesty's Instructions to his dearest son, Henry "the Prince," 1599. It has been considered as the best of the King's works, and in the opinion of Lord Bacon is excellently written. (Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 223, 118.) "In this "book," says Mr. Camden, "is most elegantly poured and "set forth the pattern of a most excellent, every way accom- "plished, king. Incredible it is how many men's hearts and "affections he won unto him by his correcting of it, and what an "expectation of himself he raised amongst all men even to ad- "miration." And Archbishop Spotswood observes, that it is said to have contributed more to facilitate the King's accession to the throne of England, than all the discourses published by other writers in his favour.

The famous Andrew Melvin, or rather Melville, having obtained a copy of the "Doron Basilicon" in manuscript, thought some passages so very exceptionable, that he directed several copies to be circulated in different parts of Scotland. In consequence of this, a libel was drawn up against the work and laid before the Synod of St. Andrew's, by a minister of the kirk. To vindicate himself, James caused it to be published in 1599.

It may not be improper here to mention an instance of courtly address noticed by Bishop Hacket in his "Life of Archbishop "Williams,"

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"That he knew him very well, and that he was "his kinsman; but he loved him more for his "learning and virtue, than for that he was of his "name and family." At which answer the King smiled, and asked the Earl leave, "That he might "love him too; for he took him to be the jewel "of that University."

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities was with them, to shew also his great affection to that church in which he received his baptism, and of which he professed himself a member; and the occasion was this: There was

"Williams," p. 175. Having remarked that the King, on opening the Parliament in 1623, feasted the two houses with a speech, than which nothing could be apter for the subject, or more eloquent for the matter; he adds, "All the helps of that faculty "were extremely perfect in him, abounding in wit by nature, in "art by education, in wisdom by experience. Mr. Geo. Herbert, "being Praelector in the Rhetorique School in Cambridge, "anno 1618, passed by those fluent orators that domineered in "the pulpits of Athens and Rome, and insisted to read upon an "oration of King James, which he analysed, shewed the con-
"cinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and "power of it to move the affections, the style utterly unknown to "the ancients, who could not conceive what kingly eloquence "was; in respect of which those noted demagogi were but hire-
"lings, and triobulary rhetoricians."

Let it not be forgotten that Mr. Herbert was then a very young man, flushed with hopes of obtaining promotion in a court where all the blandishments of adulation were practised.—Time, experience, and serious contemplation, effectuated a change in his mind, and totally alienated him from every ambitious pursuit.
one Andrew Melvin, a minister of the Scotch Church, and rector of St. Andrews, who, by a long and constant converse, with a discontented part of that clergy which opposed Episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to King James, when he was but King of that nation, who, the second year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the Bishops and other learned Divines of his church to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: Of which Scotch party, Andrew Melvin was one; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church government; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflections on him and his kirk, as might un-

"Andrew Melville was not present at the celebrated conference held at Hampton-Court, in the first year of King James I. upon the complaint of the Puritans against the ceremonies and the liturgy of the Church of England. He was summoned to appear before the King and Council in 1604. In the first edition of "Mr. Walton's Life of Mr. George Herbert," Melville is described to be "Master of a great wit; a wit full of knots and "clenches; a wit sharp and satirical; exceeded, I think, by none "of that nation, but their Buchanan."
beguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.

But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court Conference, he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the King, and others at this Conference, lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrews, and his liberty too: For his former verses, and his present reproaches there used against the church and state, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella, an innocent prisoner there; and he pleased himself much in sending the next day after his commitment, these two verses to the good Lady; which I will under-

This unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Earl of Lenox, the younger brother of Henry Darnley, the King's father, died in prison, Sept. 27th, 1615, and was interred at Westminster, without any funeral pomp, in the night, in the same vault wherein Mary Queen of Scots and Prince Henry were buried. The following epitaph was written upon her by Bishop Corbet. She is supposed to be the speaker.

"How do I thank thee, Death, and bless thy power,
"That I have pass'd the guard and scap'd the Tower!
"And now my pardon is my epitaph,
"And a small coffin my poor carcase hath.
"For at thy charge both soul and body were
"Enlarg'd at last, secure from hope and fear.
"That among saints, this among kings is laid,
"And what my birth did claim my death has paid."

Owen
write, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these—

"Causa tibi mecum est communis, carceris, Ara-
"Bella, tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi."

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so

Owen the epigrammatist dedicates a Book of Epigrams to this lady, whom he styles "excellentissimam et doctissimam heroinam."

"Regia progenies, genere illustrissima virgo,
"Nec minus ingenio nobilitante genus.
"Ingenii fructus tibi fert effertque secundos
"Primitias Dominae qui dedit ante suae,
"Seque tibi tanquam bellá virtutis in Ará
"Consecrat, ingenium sacrificatque suum."


The lines quoted by Mr. Isaac Walton were inscribed by Andrew Melville, not to Lady Arabella Stuart, but to Sir William Seymour, afterwards Marquis of Hertford, who was then imprisoned in the Tower, for marrying her without the King's consent. Fuller has transcribed them differently:

"Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, ara
"Regia bella tibi, regia sacra mihi."

Edward Philips, a nephew of Milton, published his "Lives of the Poets" in 1615. He thus quotes this distich:

"Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, Ara
"Bella tibi causa est carceris, Ara mihi."

This seems to be the better reading. Melville did not hold the altar to be sacred.
GEORGE HERBERT.

worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook.

And, in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was

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* James Duport, the learned son of a learned father, John Duport, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, was Greek Professor in that University. No one ever filled the chair with more credit to himself. He imbibed the very language, the very spirit of Homer. His admirable Greek versions of the Book of Job, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the Psalms, will perpetuate and endear his name to the admirers of classic elegance. On the promotion of Dr. Edward Rainbow to the See of Carlisle, he was appointed Dean of Peterborough, and in 1668 was elected Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge. He published a collection of Latin poems of different kinds in 1662, under the title of "Ecclesiastes Solomonis, Auctore Joan. Viviano, Canticum "Solomonis, necnon Epigrammata sacra, per Ja. Duportum. "Accedunt Georgii Herberi Musae responsoriae ad Andreae "Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam."—" The Musae re-"sponsoriae" consist of fifty epigrams, as Mr. Herbert himself calls them, intended as an answer to a poem written by Andrew Melville, in Sapphic measure, against the discipline of the Church of England, containing fifty stanzas, and addressed to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Three of Mr. Her-"bert's epigrams are inscribed to King James, one to the Prince of Wales, one to the Bishop of Winchester, one to the people of Scotland, exhorting them to peace, one to those whom he sup-"posed to be led astray by Melville and other writers of his per-

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almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations and the applauses of an orator, which he always performed so well, that he still grew more into the King’s favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, his Majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, "That he found the Orator’s learning and wisdom much above his age or wit." The year following, the King appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great Secretary of nature and all learn-


1 "Ignotamus," a Latin Comedy, and "Albumazar," an English Comedy, from which Ben Jonson is accused by Mr. Dryden of having taken his "Alchymist," were often acted at Cambridge before King James.
ing, Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam), and by the ever memorable and learned Doctor Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our Orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned Bishop, it is observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate be-

k Such is the celebrity of the name of Bacon, that to mention it is to suggest an idea of every thing great and super-eminent in knowledge. He is justly styled by Sir Henry Wotton "Scientiarum lumen, facundiae lex," in the inscription on his monument, in the Church of St. Alban's. This wonderful man, ignorant of geometry, would have been excluded from the school of Plato. But he gained admittance into another school, that of Nature, "who never before had so noble "nor so true an interpreter, or never so inward a secretary of "her cabinet."

1 "TO HIS VERY GOOD FRIEND, MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

"The pains that it pleased you to take about some of my "writings I cannot forget, which did put me in mind to dedi- "cate to you this poor exercise of my sickness. Besides, it being "my manner for dedications to choose those that I hold most fit "for the argument, I thought that in respect of divinity and "poesy met, whereof the one is the matter, the other the style "of
twixt them two about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the Orator did, not long after, send the Bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it, the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often show it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these, I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne, but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death, he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor (the emblem of hope), and of which Dr. Donne would often say, “Crux mihi anchora.” These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value: and, at Mr. Herbert's

"of this little writing, I could not make better choice: so with "signification of my love and acknowledgment, I ever rest, "Your affectionate friend, "FR. ST. ALBANS."

Mr. Herbert translated into Latin part of "The Advancement "of Learning."

death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the Doctor given to him:

"When my dear friend could write no more,
"He gave this seal and so gave o'er.

"When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,
"This anchor keeps my faith, that me secure."

At this time of being Orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in the King's favour; and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the Court nobility: This, and the love of a Court-conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the King, wheresoever the Court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into his Majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph. — It was the same, that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite Sir Philip Sidney; and valued to be worth a hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his College, and of his Orator-ship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but

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a Dr. Richard Parry, who died Sept. 26, 1623.
then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his Orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now Prebendary of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the University, and decline all study, which, he thought, did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were

Mr. Herbert Thorndike was then Fellow of Trinity College. He was ejected from his Fellowship by the usurped powers, and admitted to the Rectory of Barley in Hertfordshire, July 2, 1642. On the death of Dr. Samuel Ward, he was elected to the Mastership of Sidney College, but was kept out of it by the oppression of the times. For his sufferings and great learning he was installed Prebendary of Westminster, Sept. 5, 1660. In the year following he resigned his living of Barley, and died in 1672. He assisted Dr. Walton in the edition of the Polyglot Bible. Besides his celebrated work of "Just Weights and Measures; that is, the present State of Religion weighed in the Balance, and measured by the Standard of the Sanctuary." 4to. 1662.—He composed other tracts relative to the differences which at that time disturbed the peace of the Church. Some of his works, particularly those which were published in the latter part of his life, gave great offence. He is accused of leaning to the Church of Rome, declaring that Church to be a true Church, the Pope not Antichrist, the Papists not idolaters, whilst his aversion to the Presbyterians and other sectaries exceeded all bounds. Mr. Baxter has described him as speaking once at the Savoy Conference "a few impertinent passionate words, confuting the opinion that had been received of him from his first writings, and confirming that which his second "and last writings had given of him."—See "Kennet's Register," p. 508, 618.
increased by his studies; for he would often say, "He had too thoughtful a wit: a wit, like a pen-
knife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his
body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the University, or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; it is one of those that bear the title of "Affliction;" and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says:

"Whereas my birth and spirit rather took
"The way that takes the town:
"Thou didst betray me to a ling'ring book,
"And wrap me in a gown:
"I was entangled in a world of strife,
"Before I had the power to change my life.

"Yet, for I threatened oft the siege to raise,
"Not simp'ring all mine age;
"Thou often didst with academic praise
"Melt and dissolve my rage:
"I took the sweeten'd pill, till I came where
"I could not go away, nor persevere.

"Yet lest perchance, I should too happy be
"In my unhappiness,
"Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me
"Into more sicknesses.
"Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making
"Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.
"Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
"None of my books will show:
"I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,
"For then sure I should grow
"To fruit or shade, at least, some bird would trust
"Her household with me, and I would be just.

"Yet though thou troublest me, I must be meek,
"In weakness must be stout:
"Well, I will change my service and go seek
"Some other master out:
"Ah! my dear God, though I am clean forgot,
"Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

"G. H."

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to Court, God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did, in a short time, put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquis of Hamilton; and

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*p This nobleman, who was also Duke of Lenox in Scotland, and Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, died Feb. 25, 1625, the day on which a new Parliament was to meet. The King, who was his relation, was so much affected at the news of his sudden death, that "he would not adorn himself that day to ride in his glories to the Parliament, but put it off to the nineteenth of February following, dedicating some part of that time to the memory of his dead servant."

(Wilson's Life and Reign of King James I.)

A A distinguished favourite of James I. The death of these two noblemen affected the King exceedingly; and when it was told
not long after him, King James died also, and with them, all Mr. Herbert’s Court hopes: so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a Court-life, or betake himself to a study of Divinity, and enter into Sacred Orders? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him)—These were such conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside; but, at last, God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did at his return to London, acquaint a Court-friend with his resolution to enter into Sacred Orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his
told him the Marquis was dead, he said, “If the branches be thus “cut down, the stock cannot continue long;” which saying proved too true, for shortly after he fell into a fever, of which he died at Theobald’s, March 27, 1625.

r It appears from a letter written by Mr. George Herbert to one of his friends, and dated March 18, 1617, Trin. Coll. that he had devoted himself to the study of divinity. “I want books “extremely: you know, Sir, how I am now setting foot into “divinity, to lay the platform of my future life.”

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birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly adjudged that the domestic servants of the King of heaven, should be of the noblest families on earth: and though the iniquity of the late times have made Clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of Priest contemptible; yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing that I can never do too much for him that hath done so much for me, as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution, and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made Deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time made Deacon is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebendary of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626; and that this Prebend

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8 In "Ecton's List of the prebendal Dignities belonging to the Church of Lincoln," it is called "Leighton Bromeswold, Ecclesia P. in Co. Huntingd." In "Bacon's Liber Regis," it is termed "Leighton Bosard, alias Leighton Beaudesert, P. Ecclesia Lincoln."
was given him by John, then Lord Bishop of that See. And now he had a fit occasion to show that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to

1 Dr. John Williams, afterward Archbishop of York, was then Bishop of Lincoln, the last ecclesiastic who was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Of him it was said, that "He never "saw the book of worth he read not; he never forgot what he "read; he never lost the use of what he remembered; every "thing he heard or saw was his own, and what was his own he "knew how to use to the utmost." Whatever discrepancy of opinion there may be, in justly appreciating the character of this Prelate, it must be owned that he was a munificent patron of learning and learned men. Twelve persons from one Society, that of Trinity College in Cambridge, were distinguished by him, and advanced to preferment. Among these we observe Dr. Creighton, Mr. George Herbert, Dr. Anthony Scattergood, Mr. James Duport, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, names dear to literature. When the See of Exeter was vacant, he seized the opportunity of gratifying two worthy Divines, his old friends, "who had been both bred in the house of wisdom with Lord "Chancellor Egerton," Dr. Carew, who had been his Chaplain, and Dr. Dunn, who had been his Secretary, "a laureat wit, "neither was it possible that a vulgar soul should dwell in such "promising features." These two prevailed by the Lord Keeper's commendation against all pretenders; the Bishopric of Exeter was conferred upon Dr. Carew, and Dr. Dunn succeeded him in the Deanery of St. Paul's. (Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams.)—Mr. Herbert did not long continue Orator after his promotion to this Prebend, Mr. Robert Creighton his successor being appointed in 1627.
Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish-church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost 20 years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he by his own and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands: being for the workmanship a costly Mosaic; for the form an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured, it is the most remarkable parish-church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height: for he would

\[x\] Spalden, or Spalding, is a town in Lincolnshire. Mr. Walton has mistaken the name for Spaldwick, or Spaldick, in Huntingdonshire.

\[x\] It appears from a recent survey of this church, that the reading-desk is on the right-hand in the nave, just as you enter the chancel, and that its height is seven feet four inches; and that the pulpit is on the left-hand, and exactly of the same height. They are both pentagonal. The church is at present chiefly
often say, "They should neither have a prece-
dency or priority of the other; but that prayer
and preaching, being equally useful, might agree
like brethren, and have an equal honour and
estimation ".

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made Prebendary,

chiefly paved with bricks: the roofs both of the church and
chancel are tyled, and not under-drawn or ceiled. There are no
communion-rails; but, as you advance to the communion-table, you ascend three steps. The windows are large and handsome, with some small remnants of painted glass. The seats and pews both in the nave, the cross-aisle, and the chancel, somewhat re-
semble the stalls in cathedrals, but are very simple, with little or
no ornament, nearly alike, and formed of oak. It was evidently
the intention of Mr. Herbert that in his church there should be
no distinction between the seats of the rich and those of the poor. During Divine Service the men have from time immemorial
been accustomed to sit on the south-side of the nave, and the women on the north-side. In the cross-aisle, the male-servants sit on the south-side, and the female-servants on the north-side.

The strongest and best part of the church is the tower, which is of most durable and excellent stone, dug out of the quarries of
Barnock in Northamptonshire. It is considered as a fine
specimen of good architecture.

Mr. Walton seems to have been misinformed when he writes,
that the workmanship of the church was a costly Mosaic, and
that Mr. Herbert lived to see it wainscotted. No traces of either
are discoverable. The church is now, in 1795, dilapidated in several parts.

An ill custom prevailed at Court after the accession of
James I.; whenever the King came to the Chapel, Divine
Service was suddenly broke off, and an anthem sung to make
immediate way for the sermon. This custom, as implying a
and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was likely to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends, before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea (where she then dwelt), and at his coming said, "George, I sent for you, to persuade you to commit Simony, "by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given you; namely, that you give him back his "Prebend: For, George, it is not for your weak "body and empty purse to undertake to build "churches." Of which he desired he might have a day to consider, and then make her an answer: And at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, "That she would at the "age of thirty-three years allow him to become an "undutiful son; for he had made a vow to God,

contempt of the liturgy, or at least a preference of preaching to prayer, was set aside by Dr. Laud, while he was Dean of the Chapel.

"Resort to sermons, but to prayers most:

"Praying's the end of preaching."

(Mr. George Herbert's Church Porch.)

"In the church of Little Gidding the pulpit was fixed on the "north, the reading-desk over against it on the south-side of "the church, and both on the same level; it being thought im- "proper that a higher place should be appointed for preaching "than that which was allotted for prayer."

(Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, p. 178.)
that if he were able, he would rebuild that “church.” And then showed her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors; and undertook to solicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lenox 2, and his brother Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as also the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer 3, and Mr. Arthur Woodnot; the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten: For the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I shall hereafter

2 He was the son of Esme Stuart, Duke of Richmond, and brother to Lodowick the last Duke, who was the particular friend of Mr. Herbert. This great and excellent man, as Echard calls him, who had never once deviated from his honour and loyalty, and had seen three of his brothers die in the royal cause, died in the beginning of 1675, having never had his health nor yet his spirits, since the deplorable murder of his beloved Master; for the saving of whose life he had the honour to offer his own. See “Echard’s Hist. of England,” Vol. II. p. 782.

3 Or rather Ferrar, from the Latin word ferrarius. The arms of this family have three horse shoes on a bend, as appears from a brass-plate in the chapel of Little Gidding, affixed to the tomb-stone of John Ferrar, Esq. “late Lord of this manour, “who departed this life the 28th of September, 1657.”
give an account in a more seasonable place; but before I proceed farther I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot:

He was a man that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them; and considered that there be many discontents that riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself as to desire of wealth: and having attained so much as to be able to show some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God; and to be useful for his friends: and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was an useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him, till he closed his eyes on his death-bed; I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness, which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

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b According to an old observation,

"Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri."
GEORGE HERBERT.

A LETTER OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO HIS MOTHER,
IN HER SICKNESS.

"MADAM,

"At my last parting from you, I was the better content because I was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family; but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and, would quickly make good my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our commencement: wherein my absence by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation. In the mean time, I beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin. What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter?—Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys: therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts.—Your last letter gave me earthly preferment, and, I hope, kept
"heavenly for yourself. But would you divide
"and choose too? Our College customs allow not
"that; and I should account myself most happy
"if I might change with you: for I have always
"observed the thread of life to be like other
"threads or skenes of silk, full of snarles and in-
cumbrances: Happy is he, whose bottom is
"wound up and laid ready for work in the new
"Jerusalem. For myself, dear mother, I always
"feared sickness more than death; because sick-
ness hath made me unable to perform those
"offices for which I came into the world, and must
"yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that
"fear, who have already abundantly discharged
"that part, having both ordered your family, and
"so brought up your children that they have
"attained to the years of discretion, and competent
"maintenance. So that now if they do not well,
"the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example
"and care of them will justify you both to the
"world and your own conscience: insomuch, that
"whether you turn your thoughts on the life past,
"or on the joys that are to come, you have strong
"preservatives against all disquiet. And for tem-
"poral afflictions, I beseech you consider, all that
"can happen to you are either afflictions of estate,
"or body, or mind. For those of estate, of what
"poor regard ought they to be, since if we had
"riches we are commanded to give them away?
"so that the best use of them is, having, not to
"have them. But, perhaps, being above the
common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion: But, O God! how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in the holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find 'Blessed be the rich,' or 'Blessed be the noble;' but *Blessed be the meek,* and *Blessed be the poor,* and *Blessed be the mourners,* for *they shall be comforted.* And yet, O God! most carry themselves so, as if they not only not desired, but even feared to be blessed. And for afflictions of the body, dear Madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures, as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had an end: and yours (which praised be God, are less) are not like to continue long. I beseech you let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know that if any of yours should prove a Goliah-like trouble, yet you may say with David, *That God, who delivered me out of the paws of the lion and bear,* *will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.* Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul: consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be his competitor. And, above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable
words of the Psalmist: Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee, Psal. lv. To which join that of St. Peter, Casting all your care on the Lord, for he careth for you, 1 Pet. v. 7. What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burden, and entertains our care for us that we may the more quietly intend his service. To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you (Philip. iv. 4.); St. Paul saith there, Rejoice in the Lord always: And again I say, rejoice. He doubles it to take away the scruple of those that might say, what, shall we rejoice in afflictions? yes, I say again, rejoice; so that it is not left to us to rejoice or not rejoice; but whatsoever befals us we must always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verse: Let your moderation appear unto all men: The Lord is at hand: Be careful for nothing.—What can be said more comfortably? trouble not yourselves, God is at hand to deliver us from all, or in all. Dear Madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

Your most obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

TRIN. COL. MAY 25, 1622.

About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian
ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheumes and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord abate my great affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb," "Lord, before thee, because thou dost it.”

The following lines are taken from a poem of Mr. Herbert’s, entitled “Affliction.”

"At first thou gav’st me milk and sweetmesses;
 "I had my wish and way:
 "My days were strew’d with flow’rs and happiness;
 "There was no mouth but May.
 "But with my years sorrow did twist and grow,
 "And made a party unawares for woe:
 "My flesh began unto my soul in pain,
 "Sickness clave my bones,
 "Consuming agues dwell in every vein,
 "And tune my breath to groans.
 "Sorrow was all my soul; I scarce believed,
 "Till grief did tell me roundly—that I lived."
which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he showed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end: And his remove was to Dauntsey in Wiltshire, a noble house which stands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers* Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allowed him such an apartment in it as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a

*H r n y D a n v e r s, created Baron of Dauntsey by King James, and Earl of Danby by Charles I. He was Knight of the Bath, and died unmarried, Jan. 20, 1673.

ON LORD DANVERS.

"Sacred marble, safely keep
"His dust, who under thee must sleep,
"Until the years again restore
"Their dead, and time shall be no more.
"Mean while, if he (which all things wears)
"Does ruin thee, or if thy tears
"Are shed for him; dissolve thy frame,
"Thou art requited: for his fame,
"His virtue, and his worth shall be
"Another monument to thee. ............... G. H E R B E R T."
good degree of strength and cheerfulness: And then he declared his resolution both to marry, and to enter into the Sacred Orders of Priesthood. These had long been the desires of his mother and his other relations; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton Church, yet in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it; and the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy Bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an

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"Robert Cretone, of Creetton, was elected scholar of "Trinity College in Cambridge, May 6, 1614; Minor Fellow, "Oct. 1, 1619; Major Fellow, March 16, 1620." (From the Bursar's Books of Trinity College.)

He was a native of Scotland, educated at Westminster School, and from thence elected to Trinity College. He was afterward Greek Professor, and Orator of the University. In 1632 he was made Treasurer of Wells, and in 1637 Dean of St. Burien in Cornwall. In the beginning of the Rebellion, as well as in its progress, he suffered severely for the royal cause, and was an exile with Charles II. who, on his Restoration, gave him the Deanery of Wells. During his absence from England he was the Editor of "The History of the Council of Florence," written originally in Greek, and translated by him into Latin, from an authentic MS. copy. "Vera Historia unionis non veræ inter "Graecos et Latinos: sive Concilii Florentini exactissima narratio "Graecè scripta," &c. Haga Comitis, 1660, fol. paginis, 351.

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account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.

He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very straight; and so far from being cumbered with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all so meek and obliging, that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman, of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, Esq.; this Mr. Danvers having known him long, and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many); but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter: And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing;

Being Chaplain to the King, he reproved the vices of the times with boldness, whenever he preached at Court; "which," says Wood, "was well taken by some, though sneered at by others." However, in 1670 he was advanced to the see of Bath and Wells, and dying in 1672 was buried in that Cathedral. See "Wood's "Fasti," Vol. I. p. 243. And "Walker's Sufferings of the "Clergy."
and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a Platonic, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but alas, her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dauntsey; yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a surprised city, and love having got such possession, governed and made there such laws and resolutions as neither party was able to resist; insomuch that she changed her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This haste might in others be thought a love-phrenzy, or worse; but it was not, for they had wooed so like Princes, as to have select proxies; such as were true friends to both parties; such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estates, so well before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence; and the more, because it proved so happy to both parties: For the eternal lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections and compliance; indeed so happy, that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot, and continued in them, such a mutual love, and joy, and
content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by such daily obligingness to each other, as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls, as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle⁵, who was then Rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and not long after translated to Winchester, and

⁵ Walter Curle, D. D. was born at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, a seat of the Earls of Salisbury. His father was a servant to William Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and as his agent in the affair of the Queen of Scots, and steward of his estates, so faithful and helpful, that the Earl not only preferred him to be Auditor of the Court of Wards, but advanced this his son to be Fellow of Peter House in Cambridge, and presented him to a good living, in which he discharged the duties of a pastor so well, in preventing law-suits, and composing differences among his parishioners, suppressing houses of debauchery, and regulating many other disorders, gaining many Dissenters to the Church by his wise and meek discourses, and leaving others who were obstinate in error, inexcusable by his holy conversation and charitable hospitality, that the Earl recommended him to King James I. as a fit person for his Chaplain; in which station he soon became the object of his Majesty’s favour, which he found by being made Dean of Lichfield in 1621. King Charles I. in 1628 appointed him Bishop of Rochester, where he continued not much longer than a year before he was removed to Bath and Wells, and then to Winchester, in which he sat, when the late grand Rebellion began, wherein he was a great sufferer. He left no other demonstration of his learning, than a Sermon preached at Whitehall, on Heb. xii. 14, April 28, 1622.

(Magna Britannia, Vol. IV. p. 857.)
by that means the presentation of a Clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted patron of it) but to the King, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement:

But Philip, then Earl of Pembroke (for William was lately dead), requested the King to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the King said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance." And the Earl as willingly

William, third Earl of Pembroke, died April 10, 1630. He was the son of Henry second Earl of Pembroke, by his third wife Mary, the accomplished sister of Sir Philip Sidney, in whom the Muses and the Graces seemed to meet, and to whose memory the well-known beautiful lines were written:

"Underneath this marble hearse
Lies the subject of all verse,
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother:
Death, erst thou hast slain another,
Wise and fair and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee."

Sir Philip Sydney dedicated to her his celebrated Romance called, from this circumstance, "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia."

The character of this William Earl of Pembroke is not only one of the most amiable in Lord Clarendon's history, but is one of the best drawn. (Cat. of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. p. 192.) He was," says Wood, "not only a great favourer of learned and ingenious men, but was himself learned and endowed to admiration with a poetical geny." His poems were published with this title, "Poems written by William Earl of Pembroke, &c. many of which are answered by way of Repartee, by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, with other Poems written by them occasionally and apart." London, 1660.
and suddenly sent it him without seeking: But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the Clergy; yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account, that he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month; in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the Priesthood and that living. And in this time of considering, "He endured," as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts as none can think, but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend Mr. Arthur Woodnot took a journey to salute him at Bainton (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations) and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days, they took a journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl, and the whole Court were there,
or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the Earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why; but that night the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, that the refusal of it was a sin, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes against next day; which the tailor did: And Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his

1675, she was buried at Appleby in Westmoreland, where her funeral sermon was preached by Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, April 14, 1676, with some remarks on the life of that eminent lady, from Prov. xiv. 1. He observes of her, that she had early gained a knowledge as of the best things; so an ability to discourse in all commendable arts and sciences, as well as in those things which belong to persons of her birth and sex to know: For she could discourse with virtuosos, travellers, scholars, merchants, divines, statesmen, and with good housewives in any kind, insomuch that a prime and elegant wit, Dr. Donne, well seen in all human learning, and afterward devoted to the study of divinity, is reported to have said of this Lady in her younger years to this effect, "That she knew well how to discourse of all things, from predestination to slea-silk."

It appears from this passage that a distinction of dress was not strictly observed by those who were admitted only into Deacon's Orders. Though Mr. Herbert was ordained Deacon about the year 1626, he still continued to wear his sword and silk clothes.
presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made Deacon some years before); and he was also the same day (which was April 26, 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleasant than healthful, Parsonage of Bemerton; which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the Parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues,

k Dr. John Davenant, elected in 1609 Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and in 1614, President of Queen's College, was promoted to the Bishopric of Salisbury in 1621. A zealous and steady opposer of Arminianism. He was appointed by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort. He is described by Echard as a person of sound learning, deep divinity, and unblemished life. His eagerness to establish peace and a brotherly union between the different reformed churches may be inferred from the animated language with which he has expressed himself on the subject: "I had rather a millstone were hanged about my neck, and I cast into the sea, than that I should hinder a work so acceptable to God, or should not with my whole mind and strength support it." In a prayer uttered a short time before his death, "he thanked God for his fatherly correction, because in all his life-time he never had one heavy affliction; which made him often much suspect with himself, whether he was a true child of God or no, until this his last sickness." 'Then he sweetly,' continues Fuller, 'fell asleep; and so we softly draw the curtain about him.'
that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it! A life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not; and am not pleased with myself that I must; and profess myself amazed when I consider how few of the Clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now: But it becomes not me to censure: My design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton Church, being left there alone to toll the bell (as the law requires him), he staid so much longer than an ordinary time before he returned to those friends that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar: at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he set some rules to himself, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot; “I now look back upon
"my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what then I so ambitiously thirsted for: And I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary, painted pleasures: Pleasures that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed. But in God and his service is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my relations and dependants to a love and reliance on him, who never fails those that trust him. But above all, I will be sure to live well, because the virtuous life of a Clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve him at his altar, that as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions; so he will, by his assisting grace, give me ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect. And I beseech him that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my

1 "Longum iter est per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla." (Seneca.)
master m and governor: and I am so proud of 
"his service, that I will always observe, and obey, 
"and do his will; and always call him Jesus my 
"master, and I will always contemn my birth, or 
"any title, or dignity that can be conferred upon 
"me, when I shall compare them with my title of 
"being a Priest, and serving at the altar of Jesus 
"my master.”

And that he did so may appear in many parts of 
his “Book of Sacred Poems;” especially in that 
which he calls “The Odour n.” In which he seems 
to rejoice in the thoughts of that word, Jesus, 
and say, that the adding these words my master, to 
it, and the often repetition of them seemed to 
perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy 
in his very breath. And for his unforced choice 
to serve at God’s altar, he seems in another place 
of his poems (“The Pearl o,” Matt. xiii.) to rejoice 

m See “Duport’s Verses on the Life of Mr. George Herbert.” 
In these his pious resolutions, Mr. Herbert seems almost to 
adopt the triumphant assertions of St. Paul: “Yea, I count all 
"things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ 
“Jesus,” Phil. iii. 8. May these sentiments engage the serious 
attention of the young Clergy! Nothing surely can be more 
disgraceful than for a Minister of the Gospel to assume the ap-
pearance of disclaiming his function, by imitating the habit and 
deportment of secular persons, when he affects the gentleman so 
much that he forgets the Clergyman.

(See Scougal’s Works, p. 246.)

n Mr. George Herbert’s “Temple,” p. 169. Edit. of 1709.

o Ibid. p. 81.
and say,—"He knew the ways of learning; knew what nature does willingly; and what, when it is forced by fire: Knew the ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions: Knew the court: Knew the ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his master Jesus;" and then concludes, saying,

"That through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit: But thy silk-twist let down from heav'n to me Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it To climb to thee."

The third day after he was made Rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat; he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—"You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a Priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility; and I am sure places so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife as to assure him it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a
cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places as inseparably, as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed, by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house, namely, at Minal, sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind; but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, "Speak, good mother, be not afraid to speak to me; for I am a man that will hear you with patience; and will relieve your necessities too, if I be able; and this I will do willingly; and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire."—After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made
her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her, "he would be acquainted with her, and take her into his care:" and having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience), he, like a Christian Clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God and praying for him. Thus worthy and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman; with which she was so affected that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman; and with them a message, "that she would see and be acquainted with her when her house was built at Bemerton."

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related; but I shall first tell that he hasted to get the parish-church repaired; then to beautify the chapel (which stands near his house), and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild the greatest part of the parsonage-house, which he did also very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caused these
verses to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantle of the chimney in his hall:

"TO MY SUCCESSOR.

"If thou chance for to find
"A new house to thy mind,
"And built without thy cost:
"Be good to the poor,
"As God gives thee store,
"And then my labour's not lost."

We will now, by the reader's favour, suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned, at his own great charge (which is a real truth); and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into Holy Orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a Deacon, and therefore longed

\[p\] Admission to a cure of souls did not then require the person admitted to be in Priest's Orders. In the times preceding the Reformation, even those who were under age, and in the lowest degree of Orders, obtained presentations to benefices. Thus Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, was instituted to a Rectory, when he was
for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained Priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Henchman, now Lord Bishop of London (who does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning), tells me, "He laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and alas! within less than three years, lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a Priest as he intended to be ought to observe; and that time was only nineteen years of age, and an Acolyte. But by 13 Eliz. c. 12, no person shall hereafter be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he then be of the age of three and twenty years at the least, and a Deacon. And by 13, 14 Car. II. c. 4. no person whatsoever shall henceforth be capable to be admitted to any Parsonage, &c. unless he have formerly been made Priest, by Episcopal ordination.

Dr. Humphrey Henchman was at that time Prebendary of the church of Salisbury. Being much esteemed by Charles II. whose escape, after the battle of Worcester, he was very instrumental in promoting, he was preferred to the See of Salisbury in 1660, and in 1663 was removed to London, and made Lord Almoner. When the declaration for liberty of conscience was published in 1671-2, this Prelate firmly adhered to his duty, and was not afraid to incur the King's displeasure, by strictly enjoining his Clergy to preach against Popery.

When the good Dr. Hammond was buried without ostentation or pomp, several of the Gentry and Clergy of the country, and affectionate multitudes of less quality, attending on his obsequies, the Clergy with ambition offering themselves to bear him
might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might show him his variations from this year's resolutions; he, therefore, did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book called "The Country Parson;" in which some of his rules are:

The Parson's knowledge. The Parson arguing.
The Parson on Sundays. The Parson condescending.
The Parson praying. The Parson in his journey.
The Parson preaching. The Parson in his mirth.
The Parson's charity. The Parson with his churchwardens.
The Parson comforting the sick. The Parson blessing the People.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these and the

him on their shoulders, which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred burden in the burial-place of the generous family which with such friendship had entertained him when alive. (Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond, p. 276.)—See "The Life of Mr. Joseph "Mede," prefixed to his Works, p. xxxiii.—In the earlier ages of the church, this custom, derived from the Jews, was religiously observed.—Persons designed for the office of bearing the dead upon their shoulders were called κοπηταί. But sometimes the friends of the deceased parties would carry the body themselves. Thus St. Basil was carried by the hands of holy men—χερσιν ἅγιου ὄσιμοις. And St. Jerom tells us, that Paula was borne to the grave by Bishops—cervice færetro subjicientibus.

5 The late Dr. John Burton, Fellow of Eton College, whilst he gives a just character of Mr. Herbert, seems to have considered this work as a poetical composition. "Georgius Herbert, "Domini Baronis de Cherbury frater, aliquando in Acad. VOL. II. "Cantab.
other holy rules set down in that useful book.
A book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules,
that that country parson, that can spare 12d. and
yet wants it, is scarce excusable: because it will
both direct him what he ought to do, and convince
him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into
the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he
commended it into the trusty hands of Mr.
Barnabas Oley*, who published it with a most
conscientious and excellent preface; from which I

" Cantab. Orator publicus, deinde Rector de Bemerton in agro
Wilts. pietate insignis et ingenio poëma scripsit, cui titulus
'Sacerdos paraecialis rusticus,' ipse tituli quem libello præ-
scripsit fidem moribus suis adimplens, et officia sacerdotalia,
que descripts, exemplo suo illustrans."

* From his observance of these rules, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar,
who knew him, had great reason to pronounce him "A peer to
the primitive saints, and more than a pattern to his own age."

Barnabas Oley, a private clergyman of singular piety,
learning, and charity, was born at Warmfield, a village in the
West-Riding of Yorkshire, where his father was Vicar. Having
received his education in the free grammar-school of Wakefield,
under Mr. Jeremy Gibson, he was admitted of Clare Hall in the
University of Cambridge. He was elected Probationary Fellow
of the old foundation of Lady Clare, Nov. 28, 1623; and in
1627 he became a Senior Fellow, that is, a Fellow of Lady
Clare's foundation. Having for some time discharged the office
of Tutor in his College with great credit, he succeeded to the
Vicarage of Great Grandsden in Huntingdonshire. In 1635, he
was one of the Proctors of the University. In 1644 he was
ejected from his Fellowship by Edward Earl of Manchester,
have had some of those truths, that are related in this Life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience both to God and man. And delivered his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence. But, at the close of this sermon, told them, "That should not be his constant way of major-general of the Parliament's forces, for not residing at Cambridge, nor repairing thither upon being summoned. But these were not the true causes of this severity. Mr. Oley, at the imminent hazard of his life, led the party which conveyed the plate and money, collected in that University for the support of the royal cause, to his Majesty King Charles, at Nottingham.—

"Barivicus autem aliique selecti academici, quorum arcano studio tantae difficiltatis opus mandabatur, consilii Crom-welli ani compotes facti, subsidium regium per loca devia exiguâ equitum manu stipatum ablegant, cæ ipsâ nocte quà Cromwellus cum suo pedite viam solitam obstruebat, certo certius luce proximâ ab hoste corripiendum. Hujus itineris ducem consultissimum virum BARNABAM O.L.EUM locorum quibus deviandum erat peritum constituunt. Is erat Aulæ Claresn Præses, pietatis certe Cantabrigniensis in optimum regem et charissimam patriam aptissimus nuncius et interpres.

"Hoc enim viro nescio an Academia Cantabrigniensis unquam quicquam habuit aut modestius aut sanctius. Ille autem sub divinis auspiciis hoc qualecumque academiac fidei pignus et testimonium ad regios pedes Nottinghanie submisit." (Vita Johannis Berwick, S. T. P. p. 16, 17.)—He was at this time plundered of all his property, and so much harassed and menaced by the rebels as to be under the necessity of leaving his Vicarage.
"preaching; for since Almighty God does not "intend to lead men to heaven by hard questions, "he would not therefore fill their heads with "unnecessary notions; but that for their sakes, "his language and his expressions should be "more plain and practical in his future ser-

To avoid discovery he frequently changed his habit. For seven years he wandered about, having scarce wherewith to support himself. He fled for safety to the town of Wakefield; and we find him at one time in Pontefract castle with some other loyal and worthy Clergymen, preaching to the soldiers of the garrison, and encouraging them to defend the place against the King's enemies.

In 1659 he returned to Grandsden, when he had not, to use his own words, where to lay his head. In 1660 he was restored to his Fellowship. A Prebend in the church of Worcester, and the Archdeaconry of Ely were conferred upon him. The latter he resigned, the former he kept with his Vicarage to the time of his death, Feb. 20, 1685-6.

He was the editor of the learned Dr. Thomas Jackson's Works, and of Mr. Geo. Herbert's "Priest to the Temple." "His prefases to both those publications are truly excellent, and "will always be read with equal pleasure and edification. His "letters, some of which were in the possession of the Rev. Mr. "Bigg, the late Vicar of Great Grandsden, breathe the spirit of "primitive piety and apostolical simplicity. I cannot dismiss "this article without observing that Mr. Oley was a generous "benefactor to his College, which becoming ruinous was taken "down and re-edified. Fuller says, 'that he may be truly "termed Master of the Fabric, so industrious and judicious was "he in overseeing the same. Nor was he like the foolish builder "that could not, but the unhappy, that might not finish his "work, being outed the College on the account of the Covenant.'”

(History of the University of Cambridge, p. 38.)
mons," And he then made it his humble request, "that they would be constant to the afternoon's service and catechising;" and showed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which God knows were not many) were constantly taken out of the gospel for the day; and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does

* The famous painter, Albrecht Durer, used to say, he took no delight in those pictures which were painted with many colours, but in those that were made most plain: "Even so," said Luther, "I take delight in those sermons that enter fine "and simply, so that they may well be understood and "comprehended of the common man."

(Luther's Table Talk, p. 510.)

7 Mr. Herbert's chief delight was in the holy Scripture; one leaf whereof he professed he would not part with, though he might have the whole world in exchange. That was his wisdom, his comfort, his joy: Out of that he took his motto: "Lesse "than the least of all God's mercies." In that he found the substance, Christ; and, in Christ, remission of sins; yea, in his blood, he placed the goodness of his good works. "It is a good "work," (said he, of building a Church), "if it be sprinkled "with the blood of Christ."

(Mr. Barnabas Oley's Life of Mr. George Herbert.)

2 The excellency of some of the collects in our liturgy is truly admirable; such, indeed, as no other Church can boast. But it
refer to the gospel or to the epistle then read to them; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with confession "of our-"selves to be vile miserable sinners;" and that we begin so, because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need and pray for: but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed; and hoping that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, "to open our lips, that "our mouths may show forth his praise:" for, till then, we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say,
"Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our church-service; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past; and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated often and publicly, for "with such sacrifices God is honoured and well-pleased." This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the Priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, that their "souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoice in God their Saviour." And that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, that their "eyes have" also "seen their salvation;" for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: And he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it; but they
lived to see it daily in the history of it, and, therefore, ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God for that particular mercy. A service which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possessed of heaven; and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, "Holy, "holy, holy Lord God, glory be to God on high, "and on earth peace." And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable service to God; because the prophet David says, in his Psalms, "He that praiseth the Lord honoureth him."

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath "(in our days) visited and redeemed his people; "and (he hath in our days) remembered and "showed that mercy which, by the mouth of the "prophets, he promised to our forefathers; and "this he hath done according to his holy covenant
"made with them." And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it in his birth, in his life, his passion, his resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his, and our Father; and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited and thus redeemed his people."—These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them also, when the Priest did pray only for the congregation and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, "The Lord be with you;" and when they pray for him, saying, "And with thy spirit;" and then they join together in the following collects, and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels\(^1\) look down from heaven, and are ready

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\(^1\) How comfortable is the doctrine, that the good angels condescend to notice the prayers of good men upon earth! to report,
to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full service of the Church; namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service; and prayed then, not only because it was composed and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also that as by the second commandment we are required not to bow down or worship an idol or false god; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the Church required the congregation to commemorate, to present them before God in heaven! It is a part of the angelical ministry to offer our prayers unto God daily. To offer them—how? not as mediators and intercessors, adding virtue to our prayers from their merits, for this belongs to our Saviour Christ alone, the only meritorious mediator between God and man; but as messengers relating and reporting our prayers before God; "bringing the remembrance of them before the "Holy One." The practical application of this doctrine to the purposes of devotion is too obvious to be here insisted on. See "Bull's Sermons," Vol. II. p. 517, 520. "Joseph Mede's Works," p. 343, 347.
to stand up at the repetition of the creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter creed or doxology so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be, that "the God that they trusted in was one God and three persons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom they and the Priest gave glory." And because there had been hereticks that had denied some of those three persons to be God; therefore the congregation stood up and honoured him, by confessing and saying, "It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world without end." And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, Amen.

He instructed them also what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of holydays, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and (as Reverend Mr. Hooker says) "to be the land-marks to distinguish times;" for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us, and that we ought not to let the years pass

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b It is well known that the nobility and gentry of Poland were accustomed, when they repeated the creed, to stand up, holding their drawn swords in their hands, intimating thereby their readiness to defend it with their lives.
without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; and therefore they were to note, that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March, a day in which we commemorate the Angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that "she should conceive and bear a son, that should "be the Redeemer of mankind." And she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas; a day in which we commemorate his birth with joy and praise: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his circumcision; namely, in that which we call New-year's day. And that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: And that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was forty days after his birth presented by his blessed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call "The Purification of the blessed Virgin "St. Mary." And he instructed them, that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity. And that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his Crucifixion; and at Easter,
commemorate his glorious Resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples to be "That Christ that was "crucified, dead and buried;" and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his Resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into heaven in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples at or before his ascension; namely, "That though he left them, yet he would "send them the Holy Ghost to be their Com-
forter;" and that he did so on that day which the Church calls Whitsunday. Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive by those holy commemorations c.

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c Those that pretend to so much spirituality as to cast out all observation of days, I wish it may not be a system of infidelity in them, and of a secret quarrel they have to the truth of Christianity itself. For those that are most perfect in divine accomplishments, cannot enjoy the actual enrivishments that may arise from this perfection, without vacancy from secular employments, for which these holydays are most fit; and those that are less perfect, by their vacation from worldly drudgery, have the opportunity of searching more closely into the state and condition of their souls, and of more serious meditations and resolutions of composing their life to the most perfect patterns of truth and sanctity. (Dr. Henry More's Theological Works, p. 381.)
He made them know also why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels were to be read at the Altar or Communion Table; why the Priest was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray some Collects standing; and he gave them many other observations fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention, for I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it: But I have done when I have told the reader that he was constant in catechising every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of Divine Service; and of those Ministers that huddled up the church-prayers without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's Prayer or Collect in a breath: But for himself, his custom was to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God before he engaged them into new petitions.
And by this account of his diligence to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice, which was to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place where the honour of his Master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua, brought not only "His own household thus to serve the Lord," but brought most of his parishioners and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day: And some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's Saint's-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier when they carried Mr.
Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example, to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol: And though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, "That his time spent in "prayer, and cathedral music", elevated his soul,

\[d\] Mr. Herbert spoke with the same divine feeling as Milton did afterward:

"There let the pealing organ blow
"To the full-voic'd choir below;
"In service high and anthem clear,
"As may with sweetness through mine ear
"Dissolve me into ecstasies,
"And bring all heaven before mine eyes."
"and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he

CHURCH-MUSIC.

"Sweetest of sweets, I thank you: when displeasure
"Did through my body wound my mind,
"You took me thence, and in your house of pleasure
"A dainty lodging me assign'd.
"Now I in you without a body move,
"Rising and falling with your wings;
"We both together sweetly live and love,
"Yet say sometimes, God help poor kings.
"Comfort, I'll die; for if you post from me,
"Sure I shall do so, and much more:
"But if I travel in your companie,
"You know the way to heaven's door."

(Herbert's Divine Poem.)


It must not, however, be inferred that those, who hear the strains of church-music without that ecstacy and rapture which others experience, are therefore strangers to the genuine pleasures of devotion: Nor are we to conclude, that those are always truly devout, who are delighted with this sublime species of musical composition. It is related of a good and pious Prelate, who had determined, with Nazianzen, "to give wings to his soul, to "rescue it wholly from the world, and dedicate it to God," that he did not love the pomp of a choir, which, he thought, filled the ear with too much pleasure, and carried away the mind from the serious attention to the matter; which is indeed the singing with grace in the heart, and the inward melody, with which God is chiefly pleased.
would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."

And as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others, of which I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city, and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused if he asked him some account of his faith; and said, "I do this, the rather because though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tithe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh." After which expression Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton, and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister, and after some friendly dis-
course betwixt them, and some condenlement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the Clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, "One cure for these distempers would be for the Clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious Clergy."

"And another cure would be for themselves to restore the great and neglected duty of catechising, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but principally that the Clergy themselves would be sure to live unblamably; and that the dignified Clergy especially, which preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives: For this would force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence

* In that enumeration of the several virtues, which the elegant Philosopher of Rome has introduced in his much-admired "Treatise on the Duties of Life," no mention is made of humility. It is indeed of too heavenly a nature to have a place in a system of Pagan superstition. But our divine Lawgiver has professedly made it the foundation of his religion, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart." In the schools of this world, elaborate lectures are delivered on natural philosophy, on law, on medicine; but, in the school of Christ, the great lesson which is inculcated is the lesson of humility. Where this quality is wanting, where pride possesses the heart, a man may be deemed learned, ingenious, eloquent; but he has no title to the denomination of a Christian.
"from all that knew them to be such." (And for proof of this, we need no other testimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells). "This," said Mr. Herbert, "would be a cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity; for it is not learning, but this, this only, that must do it; and till then the fault must lie at our doors."

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load; they were both in distress, and needed present help, which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after, to load his horse: The poor man

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Dr. Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, died in 1626. He obtained his preferment, "not so much," says Fuller, "by the power of his brother, Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary to King James, as by his own desert, as one whose piety may be justly exemplary to all of his order. In all the places of honour and employment which he enjoyed, he carried himself the same in mind and person, showing by his constancy, that his virtues were virtues indeed; in all kinds of which, whether national, moral, theological, personal, or paternal, he was eminent, and indeed one of the examples of his time. He always lived as a single man, exemplary in his life and conversation, and very hospitable. He was also well read in the fathers and schoolmen, and had a command of the Scripture, which made him one of the best preachers, that few went beyond him in his time." (Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p. 501.)
blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, "that if he loved himself, he should " be merciful to his beast." Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, who used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed; but he told them the occasion: And when one of the company told him "he had disparaged himself by " so dirty an employment;" his answer was, "that " the thought of what he had done, would prove " music to him at midnight; and that the omission " of it would have upbraided and made discord in " his conscience, whenssoever he should pass by " that place: For if I be bound to pray for all that " be in distress, I am sure that I am bound, so far " as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. " And though I do not wish for the like occasion " every day, yet let me tell you, I would not " willingly pass one day of my life, without com-" fort ing a sad soul, or shewing mercy; and I " praise God for this occasion. And now let us " tune our instruments."

Thus as our blessed Saviour, after his resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas and that other disciple which he met with, and accompanied, in their journey to Emmaus; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct
the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty; for she rejoiced in the employment: And this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity. And for his own, he set no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours: to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully if they were in distress; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "he would not see the danger of want so far off; "but being the Scripture does so commend "charity, as to tell us, that charity is the top of
Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith: and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come; being these and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity! and that being all my tithes and church-dues are a deodate from thee, O my God, make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee! and by thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my master. Sir,” said he to his friend, “my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death, and therefore as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God’s grace, be unalterable.”

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak: in one of which times of his reading his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him; and he confessed it did, but said, his life could not be better spent, than in the service of his Master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him: But,” said he, “I will not be wilful; for though my spirit be willing,
"yet I find my flesh is weak; and therefore " Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers " for me to-morrow, and I will now be only a " hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on im- " mortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's, and then his Curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church-service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Ferrar ² (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make ² " The friendship of good men may be maintained in vigour " and height, without the ceremonies of visits and compliments, " yea, without any trade of secular courtesies, merely in order to " spiritual edification of one another in love. Mr. Ferrar and " Mr. George Herbert loved each other most intimately, and " drove a large stock of Christian charity long before their deaths, " and yet they saw not each other in many years; I think, scarce " ever, but as Members of one University in their whole lives." (Barabas Oley's Life of Mr. George Herbert.)——Mr. George Herbert was very desirous of resigning his Prebend in the Church of Lincoln to this his dear friend, who declined the acceptance of it, and diverted or directed the charity of Mr. Herbert to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corpse of the Prebend lay. Of
Of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, a recluse almost to monachism, yet a rational and devout Christian, Bishop Turner says very properly, that some things in his life were rather to be admired than imitated: yet surely he and his society are not deserving of that censure with which they have been treated by the author of "British Topography."

* He was brother to Dr. Eleazer Duncon, Prebendary of Durham, and to Mr. John Duncon, "two very worthy and learned persons, and great sufferers, who died before the "miracle of our happy restauration, and were happy in that they "lived not to see such ostentation of sin and ingratitude, as some "since have made, as if they had been delivered from slaverie "under the tyrant, that they might with more libertie yield "themselves servants to sin under the tyrannie of Satan."

(Barnabas Oley's Preface, &c.)
"I see by your habit that you are a Priest, and I desire you to pray with me," which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him "What prayers?" to which Mr. Herbert's answer was, "O, Sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of England; no other prayers are equal to them! but at this time I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint;" and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Ferrar, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest.—This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me that at his first view of Mr. Herbert he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and says, "his discourse was so pious, and his motion so genteel and meek, that after almost forty years yet they remain still fresh in his memory."

The next morning, Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days, and he did so; but before I shall say any thing of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will will pay my promised account of Mr. Ferrar.

Mr. Nicholas Ferrar (who got the reputation of being called "St. Nicholas" at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge; where he continued to be eminent for his piety,
temperance, and learning. About the 26th year of his age he betook himself to travel; in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that Church which calls itself Catholic; but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Ferrar's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Ferrar had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a-year, the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the parish-church or chapel belonging and adjoin-

1 Rather in the 21st year of his age. Mr. Ferrar was born Nov. 22, 1592, and went abroad in the retinue of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613. He was usually called "The Protestant Saint Nicholas, and the pious Mr. Herbert's brother." By the advice of Dr. Butler, an eminent Physician at Cambridge, his fellow collegian, he travelled for his health; his constitution, naturally delicate, having been much impaired by his incessant application to study.
ing near to it; for Mr. Ferrar having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, "a nothing between two dishes," did so contemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death: And his life was spent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting and using all those mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used: and he and they did the like constantly on Fridays, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be fasted before the Saints'-days; and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was but a part of his charity, none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and humble and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner:—

He, being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the common-prayers (for
he was a Deacon) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish-church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village, before Mr. Ferrar bought the manor; and he did also constantly read the matins every morning at the hour of six, either in the Church, or in an Oratory, which was within his own house; and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns or anthems, sometimes in the Church, and often to an organ in the Oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms; and, in case the Psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Ferrar, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the Church or Oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day; and when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight, and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying or singing lauds to God or reading the Psalms: and when after some hours they also grew weary and faint, then they
rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter or whole Book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Ferrar and his happy family serve God day and night:—Thus did they always behave themselves, as in his presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God.—And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the Clergy that were more inclined to practical piety, and devotion, than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Ferrar, and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in the watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the Church or Oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire
in it, and the parlour was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Ferrar maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

In this parlour was a tablet of brass, placed by the advice of Mr. Herbert, with this inscription approved by him:

I. H. S.

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Mr. Ferrar died Dec. 2, 1637. He was buried in the Chapel-Yard. The tombstone, which is placed over his remains, is without any inscription. That happy society, of which he is
Mr. Ferrar's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Ferrar's commending "The Considerations of John Val-

was the founder, is thus noticed in a well-known ludicrous poem:

"To th' new-founded College came I
"Commended to the care of many;
"Bounteous are they, kind and loving,
"Doing whatsoever's behoving.
"These hold and walk together wholly,
"And state their lands on uses holy.
"Whether pure these are or are not,
"As I know not, so I care not:
"But if they be dissembling brothers,
"Their life surpasseth many others:
"See but their cell, school, and their temple,
"You'll say, the stars were their example."

Of this congregation of saints, see "Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams," p. 50—53. During the civil commotions, their religion and loyalty exposed them to danger. The whole family "fled away and dispersed, and took joyfully the spoiling of their goods." Heb. x. 34.—All that they had restored to the Church, all that they had bestowed upon sacred comeliness, all that they had gathered for their own livelihood and for alms, were seized upon as lawful prey, taken from superstitious persons.
"desso m" (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and returned back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it: and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Ferrar.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and

m The version of this celebrated work of John Valdesso is printed in octavo, and contains 311 pages. It is entitled, "The Hundred and Ten Considerations of Signior John Valdesso, treating of those things which are most profitable, most necessary, and most perfect in our Christian Profession. Written in Spanish, brought out of Italy by Vergerius, and first set forth in Italian at Basil, by Cælius Secundus Curio, Anno 1550: afterward translated into French, and printed at Lyons, 1563, and again at Paris, 1565, and now translated out of the Italian Copy into English, with Notes: Whereunto is added an Epistle of the Author's, or a Preface to his divine Commentary upon the Romans. 1 Cor. ii. 'Howbeit we speak Wisdom amongst them that are perfect, yet not the Wisdom of this World.' Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University. Ann. Dom. 1638."

Of the nature of this work we may form an idea from the Address of the Editor, the learned Dr. Jackson, to the Reader:

"These truly divine meditations or considerations of Signior John Valdesso, a nobleman of Spain (who died almost an hundred years agoe), having been so acceptable to pious Vigerius, to learned Cælius Secundus Curio, and to many others both French and Italian protestants, that they have been translated out of the original Spanish copy, and printed three

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I"
loved by the great Emperor Charles V. whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of

"or four times in those languages; it seemeth to me a reasonable
"and charitable design to print them now in English, without
"any alteration at all from the Italian copy, the Spanish being
"either not at all extant, or not easy to be found. It is certain
"that the book containeth many worthy discourses of experi-
"mental and practical divinity, well expressed, and elegantly
"illustrated, especially concerning the doctrines of justification
"and mortification: and yet, notwithstanding, there be some
"few expressions and similitudes in it, at which not only the
"weak reader may stumble, and the envious quarrel; but also
"the wise and charitable reader may justly blame. To have
"removed these few stumbling-blocks, or offensive passages by
"leaving them out, or by altering them, had not been the work
"of a translator, but of an author; besides the ill example of
"altering ancient authors, which is one of the greatest causes of
"the corruption of truth and learning. Therefore, it hath been
"thought fit to print the book according to the author's own
"copy, but withall to give particular notice of some suspicious
"places, and of some manifest errors which follow, particularly
"expressed in the ensuing pages; referring the rest, if any there
"be, to the judgment of the reader. He lived where the scrip-
"tures were in no reputation; and, therefore, no marvel that he
"should speak so slightly of them; but rather, on the contrary,
"it may seem a marvellous thing in our ages to have a states-
"man in those parts at that time so far illuminated and taught
"of God as he was. May it please the divine Goodness, that
"every reader may reap the like comfort and profit to his soul,
"as the translator and publisher humbly and thankfully ac-
"knowledge that they have done, and they have their main
"scope and aim in publishing it!"

Prefixed to "The Considerations" is also an Address from Cælius Secundus Curio to the Reader, in which we have the fol-
lowing account of Valdesso: "These Considerations, as many
"well know, were first written by the author in the Spanish
"language;
his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old, and grew weary both of war and the

"language; but afterward, by a certain pious and worthy person, translated into Italian. Yet have they not been able altogether to quit those forms of speech which are proper to Spain.

"John Valdesso was by nation a Spaniard, of noble kindred, of an honourable degree, and a resplendent Chevalier of the Emperor, but a much more honourable and resplendent Chevalier of Christ. True it is, he did not much follow the court after that Christ had revealed himself to him; but abode in Italy, spending the greatest part of his life at Naples, where with the sweetnesse of his doctrine, and the sanctity of his life, he gained many disciples unto Christ; and especially among the gentlemen and cavaliers, and some ladies, he was very eminent and praise-worthy in all kinds of praise. It seemed that he was appointed by God for a teacher and pastor of noble and illustrious personages: although he was of such benignity and charity, that he accounted himself debtor of his talents to every rude and mean person, and became all things to all men, that he might gaine all to Christ: and not this alone, but he gave light to some of the most famous preachers in Italy, which I very well know, having conversed with them themselves.

"He never had a wife, but lived most continently; nor did he attend to ought else, as much as he could, than unto mortification, in which death overtaking him, he became perfectly mortified, so as to be perfectly quickened in the resurrection of the just, and to enjoy our Lord Christ. He died in Naples about the year 1540. He hath left behind also certaine other good and pious compositions, which, as I hope, shall by Vergusius his meanes be communicated unto you."

Subjoined to "The Considerations" is an Epistle written by Valdesso "to Lady Dona Julia de Gonzaga," to whom he dedicates "A Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans." It appears that along with this Commentary he sent to her all
world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his resolution was to decline his Majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying. The Emperor had himself for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution: But God and himself did, till then, only know them; and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse; which Valdesso promised to do.

In the mean time, the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again, and after a pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent and devout Friar to preach a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a

St. Paul’s Epistles, translated from the Greek into the ordinary Castilian language. He says, that he had before translated the Psalms of David from the original Hebrew, for her use; and he promises to furnish her with "The History of Christ," in the same language, "at such time and manner as it shall please the Divine Majesty."

Mr. Isaac Walton in his "Complete Angler," p. 26, introduces a remark of Valdesso, whom he calls an ingenious Spaniard, "that rivers, and the inhabitants of the watery element, were " made for wise men to contemplate, and fools to pass by with- "out consideration."
quiet and contemplative life, which the Friar did most affectionately. After which sermon, the Emperor took occasion to declare openly, "That the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastical life." And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the Emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Ferrar: And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdesso wrote his "Hundred and Ten Considerations," and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Ferrar to procure and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Ferrar and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert

"Charles V. was desirous of expiating the many disorders of a life spent in continued wars, by devoting his last years to the service of God. He retired to the monastery of Saint Just, situated near Placentia, on the frontiers of Castile and Portugal. Is it not to be regretted that after his retirement he often expressed his sorrow for having observed the safe conduct, that he had formerly given to Luther, lamenting that he did not seize that reformer, to whom he had solemnly promised security? That bigotry must have been great indeed, which impelled a Christian Prince to lament in his last moments, that he had not violated the most sacred engagement.
and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him: and, therefore, their discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray give my brother Ferrar an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me: And let him know, that I have considered, that God only is what he would be; and that I am, by his grace, become now so like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him; and tell him, that I do not repine, but am pleased with my want of health; and tell him my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience."—Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and, with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him, "Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Ferrar, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master; in whose service I have now found perfect freedom; desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of
"God's mercies."—Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of "The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations;" of which Mr. Ferrar would say, "There was in it the picture of a divine soul in every page; and that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety." And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Ferrar sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses p......

Religion stands a tip-toe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand,
to be printed; and Mr. Ferrar would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them;

o Dr. Donne said of himself, that he was "less than the least of God's mercies."—In "Peckard's Memoirs," &c. is inserted a Prayer drawn up by Mr. Ferrar, on the particular occasion of the dangerous illness of his dear friend, Mr. George Herbert.

p "Religion stands on tiptoe on our land,
"Ready to pass to the American strand,
"When height of malice, and prodigious lusts,
"Impudent sinning, witchcrafts, and distrusts,
"The marks of future bane, shall fill our cup
"Unto the brim, and make our measure up;

I 4 "When
but after some time, and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice-Chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know "that he had many heavenly speculations, and "was a divine poet; but I hope the world will "not take him to be an inspired prophet, and "therefore I license the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Ferrar hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death), his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often visited and prayed for by all

"When Scine shall swallow Tiber; and the Thames, "By letting in them both, pollutes her streams; "When Italy of us shall have her will, "And all her calendars of sins fulfill, "Whereby one may foretell what sins, next year, "Shall both in France and England domineer; "Then shall Religion to America flee: "They have their times of gospel ev'n as we."

(Mr. Herbert's CHURCH MILITANT.)

It is unnecessary to remark the absurdity of supposing, that the predictions of a prophet are contained in these lines of Mr. George Herbert.
the Clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the Bishop and Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family), and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose: "I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, and music, and pleasant conversation, are now all past by me like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become dead to me, or I to them; and I see that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) make my bed also in the dark; and I praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise him, that I am not to learn patience, now I stand in such need of it; and that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the New Jerusalem; dwell there with men made perfect; dwell where these eyes shall see my Master and Saviour Jesus; and with him see my dear mother, and all my relations and friends.—But I must die, or not come to that happy place: And this is my content, that I am going daily towards
"it; and that every day which I have lived hath
" taken a part of my appointed time from me; and
" that I shall live the less time, for having lived
" this and the day past."—These, and the like
expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to
be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoyed it.
The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly
from his bed or couch, called for one of his instru-
ments, took it into his hand, and said,

My God, my God,
My music shall find thee,
And ev'ry string
Shall have his attribute to sing.

And having tuned it, he played and sung:

The Sundays of man's life,
Threaded together on time's string,
Make bracelets to adorn the wife
Of the eternal glorious King:
On Sundays heaven's door stands ope;
Blessings are plentiful and rise,
More plentiful than hope 9.

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems
as the angels, and he, and Mr. Ferrar, now sing in
heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and
rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day

9 See the whole hymn entitled "Sunday," in Mr. Herbert's
"Temple."
GEORGE HERBERT.

said to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned; and a few hours will now put a period to the latter; for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen." Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton Church, and his many acts of mercy; to which he made answer, saying, "They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise." After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble; and observed him to fall into a sudden agony, which so surprised her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know how he did? to which his answer was, "that he had passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits of his Master Jesus." After which answer he looked up and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, "if they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him; for nothing but their lamentations could make
"his death uncomfortable." To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray, Sir, open that door, then look into that Cabinet, in which you may easily find my last Will, and give it into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last "Will, in which you will find that I have made "you my sole executor for the good of my wife "and nieces; and I desire you to shew kindness "to them, as they shall need it: I do not desire "you to be just, for I know you will be so for "your own sake: but I charge you by the religion "of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die." After which words he said, "Lord, forsake me not, now my "strength faileth me; but grant me mercy for "the merits of my Jesus. And now Lord—Lord "now receive my soul." And with those words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus died Mr. George Herbert: ......

"He taught us how to live; and ah, too high "A price for knowledge! taught us how to die."
GEORGE HERBERT.

Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation:

...............All must to their cold graves;
But the religious actions of the just
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations. I have but this to say more of him, that if Andrew

8 I am obliged to the ingenious Author of "The Lives of the "Deans of Canterbury," for pointing out the little poem entitled "Death's final Conquest," from which these lines were probably quoted. It was originally intended for a solemn dirge, in a play composed by James Shirley, a dramatic writer, who flourished in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. and who died in 1666. It was a favourite song with Charles II.; and Oliver Cromwell is said, on the recital of it, to have been seized with great terror and agitation of mind. The following is the third and concluding stanza:

"The garlands wither on your brow;
"Then boast no more your mighty deeds:
"Upon Death's purple altar now
"See where the victor victim bleeds.
"All heads must come
"To the cold tomb:
"Only the actions of the just
"Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."
Melvin died before him⁴, then George Herbert died without an enemy⁵. I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

IZ. WA.

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert’s virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself and complaining that she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more that she

⁴ “Mr. George Herbert, Esq. Parson of Fuggleston and “ and Bemerton, was buried 3d day of March, 1632.” (Parish Register of Bemerton.)——It does not appear whether he was buried in the parish church or in the chapel. His letter to Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, the translator of Valdesso, is dated from his Parsonage at Bemerton, near Salisbury, Sept. 29, 1632. It must be remembered, that the beginning of the year, at that time, was computed from the 25th of March. In this year also, he wrote the short address to the Reader, which is prefixed to his “Priest ‘to the Temple,” which was not published till after his death.

⁵ We cannot suppose that Andrew Melville could retain the least personal resentment against Mr. Herbert; whose verses have in them so little of the poignancy of satire, that it is scarce possible to consider them as capable of exciting the anger of him to whom they are addressed.
had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, "O that I had, like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart; but since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also." And she would often say (as the prophet David for his son Absalom) "O that I had died for him!" Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, Knight: And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet she would, even to him, often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, "that name must live in her memory, till she put off mortality."—By Sir Robert, she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own
Church, under the altar, and covered with a gravestone without any inscription.

This Lady Cook had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public, but they and Highnam House were burnt together, by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity.

I. W.
APPENDIX.—No. I.

THE WORKS OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I. "ORATIO quà auspizcatissimnm serenissími Principis CAROLI reditum ex Hispaniis celebrávit GEORGIUS HERBERT, Academíæ Cantabrigiense Orator.—1623."

A short extract from this Oration may not be unaccept-able to the classic reader.

"Scio Belli nomen splendidum esse et gloriosum. Dum "animus grandis suiique impos triumphos et victorias "quasi fræna ferox spumantia mandit; juvat micare "gladio, et mucronem intueri.

"Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum "Stringuntur aures; jam lítui strepunt; "Jam fulgor armorum fugaces "Terret equos, equitumque vultus.

"Cùm tamen splendida plerumque vitrea sint, clarita-
"tem fragilitate corrumpentia; neque de privato agamus "bono, sed publico; certè fatendum est anteferendum "bello pacem, sine quà omnis vita procella, et mundus "solitudo. Pace, filii sepeliunt patres; bello, patres "filios: Pace, ãgri sanantur; bello, etiam sani intereunt: "Pace, securitas in agris est; bello, neque intra muros: "Pace, avium cantus expergefacit; bello, tubæ ac tym-
"pana: Pax novum orbem aperuit, bellum destruit "veterem.

"Εἰς ἂν γεωγραφίαν πετρας τείχες καλως; "Πολεμος ὁ δὲ καὶ πέτυρ κακος οὕς;"

Vol. II.
II. "A TRANSLATION of LEWIS CORNARO'S TREATISE on TEMPERANCE." Printed at Cambridge in 1634, along with Mr. Nicholas Ferrar's translation of "The Hygiasticon, or the right Course of preserving Health, by Leonard Lessius." To Mr. Herbert's Translation is annexed "A Paradox, translated out of Italian, That a more spare diet is better than a splendid or sumptuous."

III. "HERBERT'S REMAINS; or, Sundry Pieces of that sweet Singer of the Temple, Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, sometime Orator of the University of Cambridge, now exposed to public Light." London 1652.

This volume consists of—1. "A Priest to the Temple, or the Country Parson in his Character and Rule of Holy Life; with a Prefatory View of the Life and Virtues of the Author and Excellencies of this Book, by Barnabas Oley." In the second and subsequent impressions of this volume is added, "A Preface to the Christian Reader," consisting of six paragraphs, by Mr. Oley. 2. "Jacula Prudentum; or Outlandish Proverbs, Sentences, &c. selected by Mr. George Herbert."

IV. "THE TEMPLE: SACRED POEMS and PRIVATE EJACULATIONS, by Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, late Orator of the University of Cambridge. In his Temple doth every Man speak of his Honour, Psal. xxix. Cambridge 1633." To Mr. Herbert's "Temple" has been usually annexed, a Collection of Poems, entitled "The Synagogue, or Shadow of the Temple." The author of "The Synagogue" is unknown. That he was a Clergyman of the Church of England, appears from Mr. Isaac Walton's verses to him. Mr. Granger has ascribed it to Crashaw, whom Cowley has praised, and Pope has imitated; but whose compositions are infinitely superior to any thing in this work. He has probably
been led into this error from one part of Crashaw’s volume of Poems, bearing the title of “Steps to the Temple.” That it was not written by Crashaw, is evident from this circumstance: After his conversion to Popery, he led a most miserable life abroad, and going to Italy was at length appointed a Canon or Chaplain of Loretto, where he died in 1650.

“The Synagogue” was not published till after that period: And Walton expressly tells us, that he “loved the author for his sacred poetry before he personally knew him; and that now, since his personal knowledge of him, he loves him more.

“I lov’d you for your Synagogue before
“I knew your person; but now love you more,
“Because I find
“It is so true a picture of your mind.”

That it was actually written by Mr. Christopher Hervey, I have attempted to prove in another place.

It has been already noticed, that his Epigrams on Andrew Melville, entitled “Musæ Responsoriae ad Andreaæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam Ex officina Joh. Field, Cantab. 1662,” 12mo, are inserted in the “Ecclesiastes Solomonis,” &c. published by Dr. James Duport.

The following letters, written by Mr. Herbert, when he was Public Orator, are in the Orator's Book at Cambridge:

1. "To Sir Robert Naunton, with thanks for some acts of kindness procured by him from Government to the University."

2. "To Fulk Greville, on the same account."

3. "To George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, on his being created a Marquis."

4. "To Sir Francis Bacon, with thanks for his Novum Organum."

5. "To Sir Thomas Coventry, Attorney-General."

6. "To Montagu, Lord Treasurer, and"

7. "To Sir Robert Heath, Solicitor-General, congratulating them on their several promotions."

8. "To King James, with thanks for a present of his Doron Basilicon."

9. "To the same, with thanks for the preservation of the river."

10. "To Sir Francis Bacon, on the same subject."


12. "To Sir Francis Bacon, on the same subject."

13. "To Leigh, Chief Justice, on his promotion."

14. "To Cranfield, Lord Treasurer, on the same occasion."
APPENDIX.—No. II.

ANDREW MELVIN, or rather MELVILLE*

BORN on the first day of August, 1545, was the youngest of nine sons of Richard Melville, of Baldowie, in North Britain: These sons were all alive, when their father fell in the vanguard of the battle of Pinkie, on the tenth of September, 1547. Andrew was "a sicklie tender boy, and took pleasure in nothing sa meikle as his book." Having been instructed in the Greek language by Petrus Marsiliers, a Frenchman and teacher of the Greek grammar, and by "that notable instrument in the kirk, John Erskine, of Don, of most honourable and happy memory, he profited sa, that entering thereafter in the course of philosophie within the Universitie of St. Andrew's, all that was teached of Aristotle he learned, and studied it out of the Greek text, whilk his masters understood not." He past his course in the New College, "tenderly beloved be Mr. John Douglas, Provost of that College, and Rector of the Universitie, who would often take him between his legs at the fire in winter, and warm his hands and cheeks, and blessing him, say, 'My sillie fatherless and motherless child, it's ill to wit what God may ' make of thee yet.'" Sa ending his course of philosophie he left the Universitie of St. Andrew's with the commendation of the best philosopher, poet, and Gre-

* Many particulars are inserted in this Memoir, on the authority of Mr. James Melville's Diary in MS. in the Advocate's Library in Edinburgh.
"cian of any young master of the land, and with all "possible diligence made his preparation, and passed "over to France." He resided two years in the University of Paris, hearing the lights of the most shining age, and particularly Peter Ramus, in philosophy and eloquence. He became so expert in Greek, that he declaimed and taught lessons, " uttering never a word but " Greek with sic readiness and plenty, as was marvellous "to the hearers." From Paris he went to Poictiers, where he regented in the College of St. Marcian three years, hearing the best lawyers, yet always making theology his principal study, to which he was dedicated from his earliest youth.

From Poictiers he went to Geneva, carrying nothing with him but a little Hebrew Bible at his belt. He travelled on foot, as he had done before, from Dieppe to Paris, and thence to Poictiers; for he was small and light of body, but full of spirits, vigorous, and courageous. Theodore Beza, to whom he was strongly recommended by letters, soon discovered him to be a scholar, and appointed him Professor of Humanity in the College of Geneva. Mr. Melville continued at this place five years, attending the daily lessons and preachings of Beza. He improved the opportunity of perfecting himself in Hebrew literature. He often disputed with the Greek professor, a native of Greece, on the right pronunciation of the Greek language. The Professor pronounced it after the

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b Sir Thomas Smith and his friend Mr. Cheke, introduced at Cambridge the new mode of pronouncing the Greek language. While the former was once at Paris, he made a visit to a learned Greek, a courteous and affable man. His chief business was to be satisfied from him what sounds the Grecians themselves did use in Greece. And when Smith began to speak of the new way, the Greek grew angry, and called Erasmus Badin, that he, being a Dutchman, had brought into Greece, whence he was sprung, such vast sounds as he expressed himself, and absonous diphthongs. (Strype's Life of Sir John Smith, p. 23.)
common form, observing the accents, "the whilk Mr. Andro controlled be precepts and reason, till the Greek would grow angry, and cry out, 'Vos Scoti, vos barbari ' 

"docebitis nos Græcos proununtiationem linguae nostræ 

"scilicet !"

When he was invited to return home, Beza, in a letter addressed to the general kirk of Scotland, declared, that as the greatest token of affection the Members of the kirk of Geneva could shew to that of Scotland, they had suffered themselves to be spoiled of Mr. Andrew Melville.

In 1574, he was elected the principal master of the University of Glasgow, where he taught the best Greek and Latin authors, natural philosophy, chronology, chirography, besides his ordinary profession, the holy tongue and theology.

In the same year he was directed, at the General Assembly, to deliver his opinion upon the jurisdiction and policy of the kirk, before the next assembly, along with others appointed for that purpose. During a period of five or six years this matter cost him great pains "in mind, body, and gear;" while it exposed him to the resentment of the regent and the episcopal party, which he bore with singular patience, until he fully accomplished his plan for the establishment of Presbyteries.

In 1578, in the assembly held in Magdalen Chapel, Edinburgh, in the month of April, he was chosen Moderator. It was there concluded, that the Bishops should be called by their own names, and that lordly authority should be banished from the kirk "whilk has but an "Lord, Christ Jesus."

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c In this art he excelled. He has addressed a Latin epigram to Mrs. Esther Inglis, who was noted for her beautiful hand writing, and who surpassed Assham, Davies, and others eminent for that extraordinary talent.
Being accused of "oversea dreams" and Geneva discipline, and of disturbing the peace of the kirk, by the regent, who said, "There never will be quietness or peace in the country, till half a dozen of you be hanged."

"Tush! Sir," says Mr. Andrew, "purpuratis tuis ista minitare: mihi idem est humine, an sublimi putrescam. "Domini est terra: patria est ubicunque est bona. I have been ready to give my life, where it was not half sa well wared, at the pleasure of my God. I lived out o' your country ten years, as well as in it: let God be glorified; it will not lie in your power to hang or exile his truth."

In 1580, he was accompanied by several of his friends to Lundey, and with the Laird thereof to St. Andrew's, where he was entered Principal of the College, and was kindly welcomed by his friend Mr. Patrick Adamson, the Bishop, for whom he often officiated in the kirk. His zeal for introducing a new mode of academical education met with much opposition, all which he vanquished; so that the regents in philosophy came over to his opinions, and acknowledged their wonderful transportation from darkness to light. He sustained every attack upon him with undaunted fortitude; and the punishments, with which he was menaced, not unfrequently fell upon his adversaries.

In 1581, he attended the General Assembly at Glasgow, where the book of policy, after a labour of many years, was ratified, and ordered to be recorded.

1583, he appeared before the King, at Edinburgh, to answer an accusation of uttering treasonable and seditious speeches from the pulpit. He was accompanied on this occasion, with some of his scholars and friends. As no criminal charge was brought against him, he declined the judicature of the King and Council. He plainly told them, that they had no power to control the ambassadors.
and messengers of a King and Council greater than they were. "And that," says he, "you may see your weakness, oversight, and rashness, in taking upon you that which ye neither ought nor can do," (loosing a little Hebrew Bible from his belt, and throwing it down on the board) "there is my instructions and warrant: let's see whilk of you can judge thereon, or controle me therein, that I have past my injunctions." The Chancellor, opening the book, finds it to be Hebrew, and puts it into the King's right hand, saying, "Sir, he scorns your Majesty and Council." "Nay," says Mr. Andrew, "I scorn not, but with all earnestness, zeal, and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ, and the kirk." He was at length ordered to be put in ward in the Castle of Edinburgh during the King's will. And when it was known that the place of his confinement was changed to Blackness, he followed the advice of his friends, and fled to Berwick, and afterwards took refuge in England.

Upon this occasion "the pulpits of Scotland," as Dr. Robertson informs us, "resounded with complaints, that the King had extinguished the light of learning in the kingdom, and deprived the Church of the ablest and most faithful guardian of its liberties and discipline."

In 1587, we find him resident in the University of St. Andrew's; for in that year the celebrated Sieur du Bartas came into Scotland to attend his lectures.

In 1591, Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Travers, the great defenders of Puritanism in England, were invited to be Divinity Professors in his University. It must be owned, that in the elegant letter addressed to them, on this occasion, which was probably penned by Mr. Melville himself, there is an acrimony of language perfectly inexcu-
sable. His inveterate opposition to the discipline of the Church of England has betrayed the writer into the use of the most opprobrious terms.

In 1599, the King published the "Doron Basilicon," addressed to his son, Prince Henry. Sir James Semple, one of his Majesty's servants, having transcribed that treatise, shewed it to Andrew Melville, his intimate friend, who reading it, was offended with some passages that regarded the ministry and discipline of the kirk. Melville took copies of the Book, and dispersed them among the Ministers, some of whom preferred a libel to the Synod of St. Andrew's, wherein the exceptionable passages being set down, it was asked, "What censure should be inflicted on him, that had given such instructions to the Prince, and if he could be thought well affected to religion, that had delivered such precepts of government?"

To vindicate himself, on this occasion, the King determined to publish the work, "which being come abroad, and carried to England, it cannot be said how well the same was accepted, and what an admiration it raised in all men's hearts of him, and of his piety and wisdom."

I omit several circumstances of his life, which are mentioned in "Calderwood's History of Scotland." Mr. Melville was present at a Conference at Hampton Court, in 1606. As he was esteemed one of the most learned men of his time, the King principally dreaded his influence, in resisting his favourite plan for the establishment of Episcopacy. He had been confined some years before, by a royal warrant, within his own house, at St. Andrew's; and in 1606 was invited to the English Court, along with some other Ministers, under the pretence of

d This letter is inserted in "Fuller's Ch. History," B, ix. Sect. vii. p. 52.
holding an amicable conference. It has been conjectured, that the only motive for this invitation was to relieve the Scotch Bishops from the opposition, which they had reason to expect from Melville's personal zeal and splendid abilities.

The behaviour of Mr. Melville during the conference afforded no pretext for detaining him in England. Another expedient succeeded. Melville and his companions were invited to attend the Royal Chapel on the Lord's Day, when the King and Queen received the sacrament, according to the usage of the Church of England. It was natural to suppose that a view of those rites and ceremonies, against which Andrew Melville had always warmly contended, would have produced a considerable effect upon his temper. But he allowed nothing to escape him in public which could give the least offence. On his return to his lodgings, he amused him-

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*James appointed four Divines of the Church of England to attend during this conference; and to preach, by turns, on the subjects proposed to them. Dr. William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, endeavoured, from Acts xx. 28, to prove out of the Scripture and Fathers the supremacy of Bishops above Presbyteries, and to show the inconveniences of parity in the Church. Dr. Buckridge, then President of St. John's College, Oxford, and afterward Bishop of Rochester, took for his text the precept of the Apostle, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," Rom. xiii. 11.; "where," says Spotswood, "falling to speak of the King's supremacy, in causes ecclesiastical, he did handle that point both soundly and learnedly, to the satisfaction of all the hearers: only it grieved the Scots ministers to hear the Pope and Presbyterie so often equalled in their opposition to Sovereign Princes." Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, followed, who, from the first verses of Numbers x. confirmed the power of Kings in convocating Synods and Councils. The fourth was Dr. King, then Dean of Christ-Church, and afterward Bishop of London, who, discoursing on the 11th verse of the eighth chapter of Canticles, did prove lay-elders to have no place, nor office in the Church. See "Spotswood's History," &c. B. VII.*
self with writing some Latin verses on the decorations of the altar. They were shewn to James Melville, his uncle, and perhaps to some other Ministers. The King obtained a copy, and Mr. Andrew Melville was brought before the King's Council, along with Mr. James Melville, and Mr. Wallace, another of the Ministers, to answer for the verses, which the Council affirmed to be "a Pasquill, tending to the dishonour of God, and "scandal of the Church of England." He acknowledged himself to be the author; though as they had never been given out of his hand, he could not discover how they came into the possession of the Council. His two companions were dismissed, while he was taken into custody, and delivered over to the Dean of St. Paul's, in whose house he remained as a prisoner, till the 9th of March 1607, when he was ordered to be sent to the Bishop of Winchester's. This order however was not executed, and he was permitted to live in his own lodgings. On the 6th of April following he appeared again before the Council,

 Fuller in his "Church History of Britain," B. X. Sect. iv. 41, has preserved a copy of these verses, which Archbishop Spotswood calls "scornful and "bitter:"......

"Quòd duo stent libri clausi Anglis regiâ in ara
"Lumina caecà duo, pollubra sicca duo:
"An clausum cæcumque Dei tenet Anglia cultum
"Lumine caeca suo, sorde sepulta suâ?
"Romano et ritu, dum regalem instruct ARAM,
"Purpuraem pingit luxuriosa lupam?"

 Whereas, one Andrew Melville, a Minister of Scotland, hath by his "Majesty's commandment been called before us, at the Council-Board, where "he hath confessed himself to be the author of some certain verses, or rather a "Pasquill, tending to the dishonour of God, and scandal of the Church of "England,
and after a long examination was sent by water to the Tower, where he was confined upwards of four years. When the other Ministers were allowed to return to their own country, no persuasion whatever could prevail upon the King to release Andrew Melville. His office of Principal, or Provost of the New College of St. Andrew's, was declared vacant by Gladstones, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who convened the University, and told them that it was his Majesty's pleasure, "that Mr. Robert "Lourie should be placed Provost in that College, "Mr. Andrew Melville being, *for treasonable words,* put "in the Tower of London." The University in vain pro-
tested against this proceeding.

He had been two years in the Tower, when Bishop Coupar and Archbishop Spotswood were sent to persuade him to make an acknowledgement to the King, which they gave him reason to hope would procure his liberty. He delivered to them a written apology in Latin, in which he affirmed, that the verses were taken from him without

"England, for which his great offence he has been censured to be restrained of "his liberty, until such further proceeding shall be taken with him, as shall "seem good unto us, in such a case as this is, and by impunity may prove to "be.—You shall hereby understand, that his Majesty hath made choice of "you for the present to receive him into your custody. Wherefore in his "Majesty's name and authority, we require you forthwith to receive him ac-
"cordingly to remain at your house at St. Paul's, not suffering any to have "access to him, until his Majesty's further pleasure herein to you be sig-
"nified.—It is also thought convenient, that yourself do at all convenient "times confer with him on such points as you shall find him differing from "the Church established, for his better satisfaction and conformity, wherein "by your good endeavours you may deserve well of his Majesty, and us,"

&c. &c.

The above warrant, dated Nov. 30, 1606, is addressed to the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. John Overhall, afterward Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.
his knowledge, and that they were afterward mutilated. He asked pardon for any expressions that might have escaped him during his examination, which could be thought disrespectful to his Majesty, to the Council, or to the state of England, and in general made as ample an acknowledgement as could be made without renouncing the principles which he held. The two prelates appeared to be satisfied therewith, while the King remained inexorable. He continued two years more in the Tower, and employed himself in writing several tracts, chiefly on the controversies of the times, and many Latin Poems, which have been since printed in the "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum." Amst. 2 vol. 12mo. 1637.

In short, after much persecution, when it was well known that he could never obtain leave to return into Scotland, the Duke of Bouillon, who was at the head of the Protestants in France, and who still possessed the principality of Sedan, obtained the King's permission for him to go to Sedan, and to settle there, as Professor of Divinity. He left England at the end of the year 1611, or at the beginning of 1612. He taught Divinity at Sedan, for nine years, with very singular reputation; and acquired much respect and celebrity among the foreign Divines. He died there in 1621.

It is not within my province to arraign the conduct of James for his great severity thus exercised against Andrew Melville. It must, however, be observed, that the usage of the Kirk of Scotland to their King was so cruel and tyrannical, that it was not very easy for him, when once emancipated from their power, to forget that usage.

The learning and abilities of Mr. Melville were equalled only by the purity of his manners, and sanctity of his life. His temper was warm and violent; his carriage and
zeal perfectly suited to the times in which he lived. The discipline of the Church of Scotland was in a great measure framed by him; and to him the Scots are very considerably indebted for their present ecclesiastical constitution. Archbishop Spotswood is unfriendly to his memory. Bishop Burnet observes, that though Spotswood relates with truth the opposition, and even the rude treatment which the King received from assemblies, and from particular persons, he generally suppresses the provocations which were given, and the circumstances which would have explained, and, perhaps, in some degree, have extenuated their conduct. "He was," says Dr. Robertson (Hist. of Scotland, B. VI.), "a man distinguished by his uncommon erudition, by the severity of his manners, and the intrepidity of his mind. But, bred up in the retirement of a College, he was unacquainted with the arts of life, and being more attentive to the ends which he pursued, than to the means which he employed for promoting them, he often defeated laudable designs by the impetuosity and imprudence with which he carried them on." He seems to have been treated by his adversaries with much asperity.—Others beside Mr. George Herbert exercised their talents against him. Anthony Wood names Mr. Thomas Atkinson, B. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, as having written "Andreae Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria," and "Melvinus delirans in Iambis." Indeed, our English writers seldom speak of him favourably. The following lines, allusive to his name, are said to have been written by Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln:

Cor tibi felle nigrum est, et aceto lingua redundat:

Ex MELLE et VINO quam male nomen habes!
And the learned James Duport has not disdained to make the same allusion:

In Andream Melvinum, Scotum,
De suà Anti-Tami-Cami-Categorìā, Sapphico versu conscriptà.

Quam Smectymnuo es affinis, vox sesquipedalis,
O Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria.
Ut rae sic tibi, Scote, Anglorum Academia sordet?
Nec Canūs purā aut Tamūs abundat aquā?
Ut rae schismatis hostis atrox, et malleus ingens,
Cui tu patronum te clypeumque geris.
Quā nec sub sole est ecclesia clarior ualla,
Castor in terris Sponsa nec uilla Deī,
Hanc tu, Scote diecax, satyrā proscriindis amarā,
Acribus et sannis, scommatibusque petis?
At pius Herbertus tua plumbea tela retorsit.
Nil addo: tantūm hac nostra coronis erit.
Liræ sunt apinaeque, lyrā quas fundis, inanes:
Lascivum et prodit Sapphica musa caput.
Qui non Mel sed Fel, non Vinum das, sed Acetum,
Quam malē tam belli nominis omen habes!

Let it not, however, be inferred from these verses, that Andrew Melville always sought to dip his pen in gall; that he was principally delighted with the severity of satire and invective. He occasionally diverted his muse to the subject of just panegyric. In many of his epigrams he has celebrated the literary attainments of his contemporaries. He has endeared his name to posterity by his encomium on the profound learning of the two Scaligers, and the classic elegance of Buchanan, his preceptor, and the parent of the Muses. His Latin

h George Buchanan is celebrated by Julius Caesar Scaliger, by Joseph Scaliger, by Turnebus, by Beza, and other foreigners, as a prodigy of learning:—"Buchananum omnibus antepono—Haddonum nemini postpono," were the expressions
paraphrase of the Song of Moses is truly excellent. It is inscribed to James VI. whom he styles a boy:

Sancte Puer, cape sacra mæ primordia Musæ,
Non secus ac grati prima elementa animi:
Parva quidem tanto futeor munuscula regi;
Parva, sed immensi munere magna Dei.

Of the exordium, and, indeed, of the whole poem, it may be pronounced, that they perfectly correspond to the character which Isaac Walton gives of his poetic genius:

Vos aeterni ignes, et conscia lumina mundi,
Palantesque polo flammæ i, vosque humida regna,
Aërique super tractus, campique jacentes,
Et cœlum et terras (ego vos nunc alloquar), aures
Arrigite, et celsas diecenti advertite mentes.

expressions of Queen Elizabeth. His works are fraught with all the beauty and elegance of classic antiquity. He finished the greatest part of his incomparable version of the Psalms when in a state of confinement, at a monastery in Portugal, under the care of certain monks, who were directed to instruct him in the principles of religion, and whom he characterises as men of great humanity, and goodness; but totally ignorant of divinity—Omnis religionis ignari. Prefixed to his Poems is a short "History of his Life," written by himself. The following anecdote is extracted from the Diary of Mr. James Melville:

"Sept. 1582.—During the vacancy my uncle, Mr. Andrew, Principal of the "New College, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Provost of Kilkaldie, and I, hearing "that Maister George Buchanan was weakly, and his History in the press, "passed over to Edenburgh anes eirand to visit him, and to see the wark. "When we cam to his chalmer we found him sitting in his chaire, teaching "his young man, that served him in his chalmer, to spell AB, EB, IB, &c.— "After salutation, Mr. Andrew says, 'I see, Sir, you are not idle.' Better "this (quoth hee) than stealing sheipe, or sitting idle, whilk is als ill.'"

i "And ye fve other wand ring fires that move
"In mystic dance, not without song"......

MILT. PAR. LOST, B. V. 177.
The following lines are exquisitely beautiful:—See Deut. xxxii. 10, 11.......

.........................ceu pupula, cornu
Quam vitreo murus cingit chryssallinus; et quam,
Non secus ac vallo, teneri munimen ocelli
Sepsit utrinoque pilis, celsâque crepidine surgunt
Hinc atque hinc geminae, duò propugnacula, moles,
Ut bene tuta cavos condantur lumina in orbes k.

Ac veluti alituum princeps, fulvusque Tonantis
Armiger implumes et adhuc sine robore nidos
Sollicitâ refovet curâ, pingoisque ferinæ
Indulget pastus: max ut cum viribus alæ
Vesticipes crevère, vocat si blandior aura,
Expansa invitat plumâ, dorsoque morantes
Excipit attollitque humeris, plausuque secundo
Fertur in arva, timens oneri natat impete presso,
Remigium lentans alarum, incorvâque pinnis
Vela legens, humiles tranat sub nubibus oras.
Hinc sensim supera alta petit; jam jamque sub astra
Erigitur cursusque leves citus urget in auras.
Omnia pervolitans latè loca et agmine foetus
Fertque refertque suos vario, moremque volandi
Addocet: illi autem, longâ assuetudine docti,
Paulatim incipiant pennis se credere cælo
Impavidi: tantum à teneris valet addere curam.

k This description of the eye seems to be taken from “Cicero de Natura Deorum.” L. II. 57.

“Munitæ sunt palpebræ tanquam vallo pilorum.”
Dr Robert Sanderson
THE LIFE

OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.
TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND HONOURABLE

G E O R G E,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,
PRELATE OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIS
MAJESTY’S PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

If I should undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordship, I should enter upon an employment that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend, Dr. Sanderson: But though I will not venture to do that, yet I do remember with pleasure, and remonstrate with gratitude, that your Lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth, and

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a Mr. Isaac Walton was honoured with the friendship of Mr. Chillingworth, the glory of his age and nation. This memorable man, who, with Lord Falkland, was proverbially celebrated at Oxford for his clear and acute reasoning, found himself so bewildered in the mazes of controversy, that he became a convert to Popery. From the errors of "An Infallible Church," the sound
Dr. Hammond; men whose merits ought never to be forgotten.

My friendship with the first was begun almost forty years past, when I was as far from a thought, as a desire to out-live him; and farther from an intention to write his Life: But the wise Disposer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the first, and now permitted the last; which is here dedicated to your Lordship (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a desire that it may remain as a public testimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,

Your most affectionate old friend,

And most humble servant,

IZAAK WALTON.

sound argumentation of Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, happily restored him. Of the effect which the perusal of his immortal work, "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to " Salvation," wrought upon the mind of Dr. Tillotson, see Birch's Life of that Prelate, p. 5.—Of the death of Mr. Chillingworth, see " Kennet's Hist. of England," Vol. III. p. 144.
I dare neither think, nor assure the Reader, that I have committed no mistakes in this relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderson; but am sure, there is none that are either wilful or very material. I confess, it was worthy the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been so grateful to him and posterity as to undertake it: For as it may be noted that our Saviour had a care, that for Mary Magdalen's kindness to him, her name should never be forgotten: So I conceive the great satisfaction many scholars have already had, and the unborn world is like to have, by his exact, clear, and useful learning; and might have by a true narrative of his matchless meekness, his calm fortitude, and the innocence of his whole life, doth justly challenge the like from this present age, that posterity may not be ignorant of them: And it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others (I am far from
that) but excuse myself, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it.

This being premised, I desire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been so bold, as to paraphrase and say, what I think he (whom I had the happiness to know well) would have said upon the same occasion; and if I have been too bold in doing so, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me, yet I do of my reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And though my age might have procured me a writ of ease, and that secured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with such persuasions to undertake it, and so many willing informers since, and from them and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myself faint, and weary of the burden with which I had laden myself, and sometimes ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and here presented to the reader, and with it, this desire, that he will take notice that Dr. Sanderson did in his will or last sickness advertise, that after his death nothing of his might be printed; because that might be said to be his, which indeed was not; and also, for that he might have changed his opinion since he first wrote it, as it is thought he has since he wrote his "Pax Ecclesiæ." And though these reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in his "Case of Con-
"science concerning rash Vows," that there may
appear very good second reasons why we may forbear to perform them. However, for his said reasons, they ought to be read as we do apocryphal scripture; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more; that as in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderson's Life, I met with these little tracts annexed; so in my former queries for my information to write the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker, I met with a sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here presented as his to the reader. It is affirmed (and I have met with reason to believe it) that there be some artists, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy, and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn: And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs, is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occasions upon which they were writ, that all readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by

\[b\] In the first edition of Mr. Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderson, printed in octavo, 1678, were added the following tracts. 1. "Bishop Sanderson's Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers." 2. "Pax Ecclesiae." 3. "Bishop Sanderson's Judgment in one view for the Settlement of the Church." 4. "Reasons of the present Judgment of the University of Oxford, concerning the Solemn League and Covenants," &c. And also a Sermon of Richard Hooker, upon Prayer, from Matt. vii. 7. found in the study of Bishop Andrews.
none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson.

And lastly, the trouble being now past, I look back and am glad that I have collected these memoirs of this humble man, which lay scattered, and contracted them into a narrow compass; and if I have, by the pleasant toil of so doing, either pleased or profited any man, I have attained what I have designed when I first undertook it: But I seriously wish, both for the reader's and Dr. Sanderson's sake, that posterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen; by such a pen, as could have made his life as immortal as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.
THE LIFE OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

Dr. Robert Sanderson, the late learned Bishop of Lincoln, whose Life I intend to write with all truth, and equal plainness, was born the 19th day of September, in the year of our redemption 1587: The place of his birth was Rotherham in the county of York, a town of good note, and the more, that for Thomas Rotherham, sometime Archbishop of that See, was born

\[c\] It appeared from the Register of the Parish of Sheffield in Yorkshire, that he was baptized in the church of Sheffield, Sept. 20, 1587. (Dr. Brown Willis.)—See also "Thoresby's "Ducatus Leodensis," p. 78.

\[d\] Thomas Scot, Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, was afterward Master of Pembroke Hall, and in 1483 and 1484, Chancellor of the University. He obtained great ecclesiastical preferment, being successively Provost of Beverley, Bishop of Rochester and of Lincoln, and lastly Archbishop of York. Nor was he less adorned with civil honours, having been appointed, first, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and then Lord Chancellor of England.

During
in it: A man whose great wisdom, and bounty, and sanctity of life gave a denomination to it, or hath made it the more memorable, as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderson. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great sanctity, his useful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

During the reign of Edward IV. were founded the Collegiate Churches of Middleham and Rotherham, in the County of York. The latter originally consisted of one Master, three Fellows, and six Scholars, and was founded and most liberally endowed by Thomas Archbishop of York, from 1480 to 1501. He has assigned the reason that induced him to adopt that number, "ut ubi offendi Deum in decem praeceptis suis, isti decem orarent pro me." To this College were annexed three schools for instructing boys in writing, grammar, and music. "These schools," says Mr. Camden, "are now suppressed by the wicked avarice of the age." This Prelate changed his family name of Scot for that of Rotherham, the supposed place of his birth. It was usual for the Clergy to add the names of the places of their nativity to their Christian names, and such an addition affords the best evidence of the places where they were born. And it is remarked, that this Thomas Scot is the last Clergyman who is known to have observed this custom. He afterward augmented the College of Rotherham with five Priests. His munificence is amply displayed both at Oxford and Cambridge. In the latter University he built the library, and a considerable part of the schools: and while he was Bishop of Lincoln, he completed the buildings of Lincoln College in Oxford, and furnished the Society with a body of statutes, subscribed with his own hand, Feb. 11, 1479. He died of the plague, at his palace of Cawood, in 1501.
He was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson, of Gilthwaite-hall, in the said parish and county, Esq. by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butterthwaite-hall, in the parish of Ecclesfield, in the said county of York, gentleman.

This Robert Sanderson the father was descended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable family of his own name: for the search of which truth I refer my reader that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoriton's "History of the Antiquities of Nottinghamshire," and other records; not thinking it necessary here to engage him into a search for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality: for titles not acquired, but derived only, do but show us who of our ancestors have, and how they have achieved that honour which their descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if those titles descend to persons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they destroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built; and all the rubbish of their degenerousness ought to fall heavy on such dis-

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c Gill Thwait, or Gill-fort, near Rotherham, is named in "Short's History of Mineral Waters," P. I. p. 269, as having a spring famous for restoring the use of their limbs to such as have lost it by working in metals.

d In this History, p. 474, a pedigree of the family of Sanderson is inserted.
honourable heads; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blast their memories with reproach and shame.

But this Robert Sanderson lived worthy of his name and family; of which one testimony may be, that Gilbert, called the great and glorious Earl of Shrewsbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a godfather to Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; to whose merits and memory posterity (the Clergy especially) ought to pay a reverence.

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the son, who (like Josia that good King) began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life; seeming even then to dedicate himself and all his studies to piety and virtue.

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodness, with which the wise Disposer of all hearts had endowed his: so this calm, this quiet, and happy temper of mind (his being mild and averse to oppositions) made the whole course of

*Dr. Sheldon, Archbishop of York, was born July 19, 1598. His father, Roger Sheldon, though of no obscure parentage, was a menial servant to Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury, who died May 18, 1616, and was buried at Sheffield, July 17, in the same year. That nobleman was seized of many valuable possessions at or near Sheffield; and among others of the Manor and Rectory of Rotherham. See in "Collins’s Peerage," p. 19, 20, an enumeration of the titles which he assumed when he went Ambassador to France, in the 39th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.*
his life easy and grateful both to himself and others; and this blessed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent father's good example, as also by his frequent conversing with him, and scattering short and virtuous apophthegms with little pleasant stories, and making useful applications of them, by which his son was in his infancy taught to abhor Vanity and Vice as monsters, and to discern the loveliness of Wisdom and Virtue: and by these means, and God's con-

b We may almost imagine, that Mr. Robert Sanderson had proposed to himself the example, which is recorded with so much filial tenderness in the following lines:

"Consuevit pater optimus hoc me,
Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando,
Cümr me hortaretur parcé, frugaliter, atque
Viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset :
Nonne vides Albi ut malè vivat filius, utque
Barus inops ?"


"Purus et insons
(Ut me collaudem) si vivo, et carus amicis,
Causa fuit pater his."

Ib. vi. 69.

In the same manner Demea instructs his son in Terence......

"Nihil prætermitto, consuefacio; denique
Inspicere tanquam in speculum in vitas omnium
Jubeo, atque ex alis sumere exemplum sibi,
Hoc facito, et hoc fugito."

Adelph. Act III. Sc. III.

A similar felicity attended the celebrated Grotius, who, like Horace, has commemorated in grateful verse, the faithful attention of a father to his son's improvement in the moral duties of life.
curring grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirmed, that all became so habitual, as it was not easy to determine whether Nature or Education were his teachers.

And here let me tell the reader, that these early beginnings of virtue were by God's assisting grace blessed with what St. Paul seemed to beg for his Philippians, namely, "That he that had begun a "good work in them, would finish it." And Almighty God did: For his whole life was so regular and innocent, that he might have said at his death, and with truth and comfort, what the same St. Paul said after to the same Philippians, when he advised them "to walk as they had him "for an example."

And this goodness of which I have spoken, seemed to increase as his years did; and with his goodness his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar-school of Rotherham—(that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endowed by the said great and good Bishop of that name.)—And in this time of his being a scholar there, he was observed to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age, and with it a more than common modesty; and to be of so calm and

1 ".................... Alterius sic
   "Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amicè."

Hor. A. P. 410.
obligeing behaviour, that the master and whole number of scholars loved him as one man.

And in this love and amity he continued at that school, till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father designed to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotherham to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster; and after a year's stay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a minister of noted learning, and told him his intentions; and he, after many questions with his son, received such answers from him, that he assured his father, his son was so perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon, and therefore advised him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did so.

k "He was educated in a severe and exact grammar-school, where by unwearied diligence, a silent sedentary and astonished way of following his book, a seriousness beyond his years—(oh, how would he steal away from his companions' follies to his severer tasks and privacies!)—he made his way through all things on which he could fix, to an exactness in Greek and Latin, which he retained to his dying day. And he would observe, that an exactness in school-learning was a great advantage to our higher studies, as the miscarriages of school are not easily recovered in the University." (Reason and Judgment, or Special Remarks of the Life of the renowned Dr. Sanderson, p. 5.)
His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie, who was then Rector of Lincoln College; and he, after some time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that College, and not long after to matriculate him in the University, which he did the first of July, 1603; but he was not chosen Fellow till the third of May, 1606, at which time he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts: at the taking of which Degree, his tutor told the Rector, that his "pupil Sanderson had a meta-physical brain, and a matchless memory; and "that he thought he had improved, or made the "last so by an art of his own invention m." And all the future employments of his life proved that his tutor was not mistaken.

I must here stop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made Professor of it in this University; and was also so perfect a Grecian,

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1 Dr. Richard Kilbie is commemorated as a benefactor to his College. He restored the Library which had long been neglected, made eight new repositories for books, and gave divers good books thereunto. Upon the promotion of Dr. John Underhill to the See of Oxford, he was elected Rector of Lincoln College, Dec. 10, 1590; and in 1610 he was appointed the King's Hebrew Professor. He died in 1620.

m While he was in the University, he generally spent eleven hours a day in study: which industry of his dispatched the whole course
that he was by King James appointed to be one of the translators of the Bible; and that this Doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The Doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company; and they resting on a Sunday with the Doctor's friend, and going together to that Parish Church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie) and shewed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the Doctor's friend's house, where after some other conference the Doctor told him, he "might have "preached more useful doctrine, and not have "filled his auditor's ears with needless exceptions

course of philosophy, and picked out in a manner all that was useful in classic authors that are extant; drawing indexes for his private use, either in his own paper-book, or at the beginning and end of each book. This assiduity continued to his dying day. He disposed of himself and time to perpetual industry and diligence, not only avoiding but perfectly hating idleness, and hardly recommending any thing more than this: "'Be "always furnished with somewhat to do, as the best way to inno- "cence and pleasure.' There was not a minute of the day he "left vacant from business of necessity, civility, or study."

(Reason and Judgment, &c. p. 11.)

M 2
against the late translation; and for that word " for which he offered to that poor congregation " three reasons why it ought to have been trans-" lated as he said, he and others had considered " all them, and found thirteen more considerable " reasons why it was translated as now printed ":" and told him, " if his friend" (then attending him) " should prove guilty of such indiscretion, " he should forfeit his favour." To which Mr. Sanderson said, " he hoped he should not." And the preacher was so ingenuous as to say, " he " would not justify himself." And so I return to Oxford.

In the year 1608 (July the 11th) Mr. Sanderson was completed Master of Arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining these dignities, the time was shorter than was then or is now required ; but either his birth or the well performance of some

" From this short narrative we learn with what accuracy the translation of James I. was conducted. Dr. Geddes, in his " Prospectus," has very justly observed, that every sentence, every word, every syllable, every letter and point, seem to have been weighed with the nicest exactitude, and expressed either in the text or margin with the greatest precision. Yet the propriety not so much of a new translation, as of a careful revisal or cor-rection of our present translation, is incontrovertible. The very injudicious division of the text into chapters and verses has been long a matter of complaint. But this subject is fully discussed by the late Primate of Ireland in " An Historical View of the " English Biblical Translations: the Expediency of revising by " Authority our present Translations; and the Means of execu-ting such a Revision." Dublin, 1792.
extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so: and the reader is requested to believe that it was the last; and requested to believe also, that if I be mistaken in the time, the College records have mis-informed me; but I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th) by his College chosen Reader of Logic in the house; which he performed so well, that he was chosen again the 6th of November, 1609. In the year 1613, he was chosen Sub-rector of the College, and the like for the year 1614, and chosen again to the same dignity and trust for the year 1616.  

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole society: there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful; both which were, God knows, so co-natural, as they never left him: and I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had; for they proved so like the radical moisture in man's body, that they preserved the life of virtue in his soul, which, by God's assisting grace, never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of

During his residence in College he undertook the office of Tutor, which he executed with much credit to himself. He was wont to say, "I learn much from my master, more from my equals, and most of all from my disciples."

(Reason and Judgment, p. 10.)
which happy infirmities (if they may be so called) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he stood to be elected one of the Proctors for the University. And it was not to satisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the Rector and whole Society, of which he was a Member, who had not had a Proctor chosen out of their College for the space of sixty years, namely, not from the year 1554 unto his standing: and they persuaded him, that if he would but stand for Proctor, his merits were so generally known, and he so well beloved, that it was but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it against any opposers; and told him, "That he would by that means recover a right or reputation that was seemingly dead to his College."—By these, and other like persuasions, he yielded up

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P Thomas Coveney, of Magdalen College, Pr.
Christopher Hargrave, of Lincoln College, Pr.

In 1537 both the Proctors were of Lincoln College.

(Le Neve.)

At this time the Proctors were chosen out of the whole body of the University, and none usually offered themselves candidates for the office, but persons of great eminence for their learning. Dr. Peter Turner, Fellow of Merton College, Savilian Professor of Geometry, and also Professor of Geometry in Gresham College, formed the Caroline Cycle, so called from Charles the First's approbation of it, beginning in 1629, and ending in 1720. Since the introduction of this cycle, the appointment is limited to particular Colleges in a regular succession, and the office has, of course, been less an object of ambition.
his own reason to theirs, and appeared to stand for Proctor. But that election was carried on by so sudden and secret, and by so powerful a faction, that he missed it. Which when he understood, he professed seriously to his friends, "that if he " were troubled at the disappointment, it was for " theirs, and not for his own sake: For he was far " from any desire of such an employment, as must " be managed with charge and trouble, and was " too usually rewarded with hard censures or " hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earnestly persuaded by Dr. Kilbie and others to renew the Logic Lectures which he had read some years past in his College; and that done, to methodize and print them, for the ease and public good of posterity.

And though he had an averseness to appear publicly in print, yet after many serious solicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year of 1615. And the book proved as his friends seemed to prophesy, that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the art or the author. For logic may be said to be an art of right reasoning: an art that undeceives men who take falsehood for truth; and enables men to pass a true judgment, and detect those fallacies which in some men's understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a master our author was in this art may easily ap-
pear from that clearness of method, argument, and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other writings. And he who attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this his first public undertaking, by hearing that most Tutors in both Universities teach Dr. Sanderson’s Logie to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future studies in philosophy. And for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that since this his Book of Logic was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold: And that it is like to continue both to discover truth, and to clear and confirm the reason of the unborn world.

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a Proctor’s place, and being disappointed, must prove much displeasing to a man of his great wisdom and modesty, and create in him an averseness to run a second hazard of his credit and content; and yet he was assured by Dr. Kilbie and the Fellows of his own College, and most of those that had opposed him in the former election, that his Book of Logic had purchased for him such a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former opposers repented what they had done; and therefore persuaded him to venture to stand a second
time. And, upon these, and other like encouragements, he did again (but not without an inward unwillingness) yield up his own reason to theirs, and promised to stand. And he did so; and was the 10th of April, 1616, chosen Senior Proctor for the year following; Mr. Charles Crooke of Christ-Church being then chosen the Junior.

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents, part of which I will relate; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot, Master of Baliol College, and Regius Professor of Divinity

9 Mr. Charles Crooke, a younger son of Sir John Crooke, of Chilton, in Bucks, one of the Justices of the King's Bench. In 1625, he proceeded D. D. being then Rector of Amersham, and a Fellow of Eton College. He was the author of "A Sad Memorial of Henry Curwen, Esq. only child of Sir Patr. Curwen of Warkington, in Cumberland, Baronet, who died 21st Aug. 1638, aged 14, and was buried in the Church of Amersham in Bucks. Sermon on Job xiv. 2. Oxon. 1638." 4to.—at which time he was Chaplain to Charles I.

(Wood's Ath. Ox.)

7 Brother of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. He obtained his promotion to the See of Salisbury, as a reward for his Lectures in defence of the King's supreme power, against Suarez and Bellarmine. They were printed after his death. In his way to Sarum he made a farewell oration to the University with great applause. His Brethren, the Heads of Houses, and other Oxford friends, parted with him on the edge of his Diocese with tears of grief, and the gentry of Sarum received him with tears of joy. (Life of Robert Abbot, Bishop of Salisbury, Guildford, 1777, p. 152.)—James I. was so much pleased with Dr. Abbot's book "De Antichristo," that he ordered his own
(who being elected or consecrated Bishop of Sarum some months before) was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his Diocese, by the Heads of all Houses, and the other chiefs of all the University. And it may be noted that Dr. Prideaux succeeded him in the Professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642 (being then elected Bishop of Worcester), at which time our now Proctor, Mr. Sanderson, succeeded him in the Regius Professorship.

And in this year, Dr. Arthur Lake (then Warden of New College) was advanced to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I

own "Commentary upon part of the Apocalypse" to be printed with it, when the second edition appeared in 1608. He was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, Dec. 3, 1615; "herein," says his biographer, "equalizing the felicity of Seffridus some time Bishop of Chichester, who, being a Bishop himself, saw his "brother at the same time Archbishop of Canterbury."

Dr. John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, died July 29, 1650, aged 72 years. He filled the high station of the King's Professor in Divinity, with great honour and reputation, for twenty-seven years. While he was Rector of Exeter College, he acquired so much fame in the government of it, that many foreigners, some of whom were afterward persons of the greatest distinction in the republic of letters, placed themselves under his care. It is remarked of him, that his answers in the Divinity chair were quick, while those of Dr. Sanderson, his successor, were slow and certain. Such was the opinion entertained of his abilities, that he was styled "Columna Fidei orthodoxæ, Malleus "Hæresiæ, Patrum Pater, et ingens Scholæ et Academiæ "Oraculum."
take myself bound in justice to say, that he made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, that he sat usually with his Chancellor in his Consistory, and at least advised, if not assisted, in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved Church censures. And it may be noted, that after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence for penance executed; and did then, as usually, preach a sermon of mortification and repentance, and so apply them to the offenders, that then stood

When Mr. Joseph Mede was upon a visit at Oxford, it chanced at dinner one day that the theme of their discourse was displeasing to that good man: for by the liberty which was taken some were criticising upon and speaking, as he thought, but unduly, or, at least, not up to the worth of their learned and worthy professor, Dr. Prideaux. Mr. Mede could not hold, but as some then present made the report, brake out into these, or the like words: "Gentlemen, I beseech you, desist; the man of whom you now speak deserves far better words. It was his infirmity, let it be admitted, in this to be overseen. But he hath virtues and great accomplishments far more than enough to make up this defect. That he is both learned and pious it may not be questioned; and one infirmity, amidst so many perfections is not to be regarded, nor ever made mention of by one Christian towards another. Let me, therefore, take the boldness to crave this at your hands, that you would desist from this discourse, and fall upon some other more profitable argument." A noble example, and most worthy of imitation! See "The Life of Mr. Mede," prefixed to his Works, p. xxi.
before him, as begot in them then a devout con- 
tribution, and at least resolutions to amend their lives: 
and having done that, he would take them, 
though never so poor, to dinner with him, and 
use them friendly, and dismiss them with his 
blessing and persuasions to a virtuous life, and 
beg them for their own sakes to believe him. 
And his humility and charity, and all other 
Christian excellencies were all like this. Of all 
which the reader may inform himself in his 
Life, truly writ and printed before his excellent 
Sermons.

And in this year, also, the very prudent and 
very wise Lord Elsmere, who was so very 
long Lord Chancellor of England, and then 
of Oxford, resigning up the last, the right 
honourable, and as magnificent, William Her-
bert Earl of Pembroke, was chosen to succeed 
him.

And in this year, our late King Charles I. (then 
Prince of Wales) came honourably attended to 
Oxford; and having deliberately visited the Uni-
versity, the Schools, Colleges, and Libraries, he 
and his attendants were entertained with cere-

1 This great and good man was elected Chancellor of the 
University of Oxford, Nov. 3, 1610, and installed the 10th of 
the same month. Upon his resignation, January 24, 1616, 
William Earl of Pembroke, Knight of the Garter, and Lord 
Chamberlain of the Household, was elected Jan. 29, in the 
same year.
monies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits.

And in this year King James sent letters to the University for the regulating their studies; especially of the young Divines: Advising they should not rely on modern sums and systems, but study the Fathers and Councils, and the more primitive learning. And this advice was occa-

u On this occasion Prince Charles was pleased, with his own hand-writing, to matriculate himself of the University, Aug. 28, with this symbol or sentence: "Si vis omnia subhjecere, subjice te rationi." Carolus P.

x At this time Puritanism and Calvinism increased daily at Oxford. Not only the Lecturers in each College, but other preachers in and about the University, positively maintained such points of doctrine as were not maintained or allowed by the Church of England. The King, by the advice of such Bishops and others of the Clergy as were then about him, dispatched upon the 18th of January, 1616, these directions following to the Vice-Chancellor, certain Heads of Houses, the two Professors of Divinity, and the two Proctors of the University, to be carefully and speedily put in execution:

"JAMES REX.

1. "His Majesty signified his pleasure that he would have "all that take any degree in schooles to subscribe to the xxxix "Articles.

2. "That no Preacher be allowed to preach in the town, but "such as are every way conformable, both by subscription and "every other way.

3. "That all students do resort to the sermons at St. Mary's, "and be restrained from going to any other Church in the time "of St. Mary's sermons; and that provision be made that the "sermons
tioned by the indiscreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning predestination, universal redemption, the irresistibility of God's grace, and of some other

"sermons in St. Mary's be diligently made and performed, both "forenoon and afternoon.

4. "That the ordinary divinity act be constantly kept with "three replyers.

5. "That there be a great restraint for scholars haunting of "town-houses, especially in the night.

6. "That all scholars, both at chappel and at the schooles "keep their scholastical habits.

7. "That young students in divinity be directed to study such "books as be most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the "Church of England, excited to bestow their time in the fathers "and counsels, schoolmen, histories and controversies, and not "to insist too long upon compendiums and abbreviators, making "them their grounds of their study in divinity.

8. "That no man, either in pulpit or in schooles, be suffered "to maintain dogmatically any point of doctrine that is not al-"lowed by the Church of England.

9. "That Mr. Vice-Chancellor and the two Professors, or two "of the Heads of Houses, do every Michaelmas term when his "Majesty resorts into those parts, wayte upon his Majesty, and "give his Majesty a just accompt how these his Majesty's in-"structions are observed."

It will not be deemed necessary to notice any other of the degrees proposed by the delegates, than that which regards the seventh direction: "In prælectionibus catechisticis, quæ in sin-"gulis collegiis aulise haberi solite sunt, Christianæ fidei et "religionis articuli xxxix in Synodo Londinensi, anno C16612 "decreti leguntor, explicantorque per sacrarum Scripturarum "axiomata, patrum antiquorum, conciliorum testimonia solidè "conformantor." See "Wood's Annals," &c. B. I. p. 323, 324, 327, 328.
knotty points depending upon these: which many think were not, but by interpreters, forced to be Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falsehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occasion of the King's letter.

It may be observed that the various accidents of this year did afford our Proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and discourse upon: And that though his office seemed, according to statute and custom, to require him to do so at his leaving it; yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short observations, and present the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up discipline and order in the University; which at that time was either by defective statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year also, the magisterial part of the Proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which statutes were then, and not till then, and others suddenly after, put into an useful execution. And though these statutes were not then made so perfectly useful as they were designed, till Archbishop Laud's time (who assisted in the forming and promoting them), yet our present Proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do: Of which one example may seem worthy
the noting, namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular Scholars absent from their College at the University hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him, unsent for, next morning; and when they did, convinced them with such obligingness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions as the man after God's own heart was possessed with, when he said to God, "There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou "shalt be feared." And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was so happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any, have done, even without an enemy.

After his Proctor's speech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy; he looked upon his friend with a more than a common cheerfulness, and spake to him to this purpose:—

"I look back upon my late employment with "some content to myself, and a great thankfulness "to Almighty God, that he hath made me of a "temper not apt to provoke the meanest of man-

"kind, but rather to pass by infirmities, if noted; "and in this employment I have had (God knows) "many occasions to do both. And when I con-

"sider how many of a contrary temper are by "sudden and small occasions transported, and "hurried by anger to commit such errors, as they "in that passion could not foresee, and will in
"their more calm and deliberate thoughts upbraid
"and require repentance. And consider, that
"though repentance secures us from the punish-
"ment of any sin, yet how much more comfortable
"it is to be innocent, than need pardon: And
"consider, that errors against men, though par-
doncd both by God and them, do yet leave such
"anxious and upbraiding impressions in the memo-
"ry as abates of the offender's content. When I
"consider all this, and that God hath of his good-
"ness given me a temper that hath prevented me
"from running into such enormities, I remember
"my temper with joy and thankfulness. And
"though I cannot say with David (I wish I could),
"that therefore ' his praise shall always be in my
"mouth;' yet I hope, that by his grace, and that
"grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never
"be blotted out of my memory; and I now be-
"seech Almighty God that it never may."

And here I must look back, and mention one
passage more in his Proctorship, which is, that
Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of
Canterbury, was this year sent to Trinity College
in that University; and not long after his entrance
there, a letter was sent after him from his godfather
(the father of our Proctor) to let his son know it,
and commend his godson to his acquaintance, and

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He was admitted into Trinity College in the latter end of
1613. He took the degree of B. A. Nov. 27, 1617, and that of
M. A. May 28, 1620. (Wood's Ath. Ox.)

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to a more than common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleasing injunction to our Proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his father's desire, that he some few days after sent his Servitor to intreat Mr. Sheldon to his chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. Sheldon, having (like a young man as he was) run into some such irregularity as made him conscious he had transgressed his statutes, did therefore apprehend the Proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment; the fear of which made his bed restless that night; but at their meeting the next morning that fear vanished immediately by the Proctor's cheerful countenance, and the freedom of their discourse of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this first meeting proved the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of; of a friendship free from all self-ends: and it continued to be so till death forced a separation of it on earth; but it is now re-united in heaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his Proctorship, I proceed to tell my reader, that this busy employment being ended, he preached his sermon for his degree of Bachelor in Divinity in


2 "..............................Is aught so fair
   " In all the dewy landscapes of the spring,
   " In the bright eye of Hesper and the morn,
   " As virtuous friendship?"

(AKENSIDE'S PLEASURES OF THE IMAGINATION.)
as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the method and matter, as hath been preached in that University since that day. And having well performed his other exercises for that degree, he took it the 29th of May following, having been ordained Deacon and Priest in the year 1611, by John King, then Bishop of London, who had not long before been Dean of Christ-Church, and then knew him so well, that he owned it at his Ordination, and became his more affectionate friend. And in this year, being then about the 29th of his age, he took from the University a licence to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderson, Lord Viscount Castleton, presented to the Rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston, in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that country, as was inconsistent with his health. And health being (next to a good conscience) the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring

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a Dr. John King had this dignity conferred on him Aug. 4, 1605; and in 1611 he was made Bishop of London.

b Sir Nicholas Sanderson of Saxby and of Filingham in Lincolnshire, Knight, was created a Baronet in 1612, to James I. and afterward Viscount Castleton in Ireland. Sir James Sanderson, lineally descended from him, was in 1715 made Baron Sanderson of Saxby, in the county of Lincoln; in 1716, Viscount Castleton of Sandbeck, in the county of York; and in 1720, Earl of Castleton, in the county of York.
therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it, and he, apprehending a danger of losing it, if he continued at Wibberton a second winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy kinsman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the Rectory of Boothby Pannell d in the same county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because Dr. Sanderson, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson, was more than forty years Parson of Boothby Pannell, and from thence dated all or most of his matchless writings.

To this living (which was of less value, but a purer air than Wibberton), he was presented by Thomas Harrington of the same county and parish, Esq. a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great use and esteem in his country during his whole life e. And in this Boothby Pannell the

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c Wibberton R. St. Leodegar, in the Deanery of Holland, and Archdeaconry of Lincoln.

d Bothby, alias Boothby Pannell R. St. Andrew's, in the Deanery of Grantham, and Archdeaconry of Lincoln. He was inducted into this Rectory, Sept. 7, 1619, and was succeeded by Humphrey Babbington, who was inducted Nov. 1, 1661. " On " this place," saith Bishop Gibson, " Dr. Robert Sanderson, who " was for some years Rector here, has entailed a lasting name " and honour."

e To this gentleman, his very kind neighbour and patron he has dedicated three sermons, printed in 1637. " Living so long " under
meek and charitable Dr. Sanderson and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made Parson of Boothby Pannell, he resigned his Fellowship of Lincoln College unto the then Rector and Fellows; and his resignation is recorded in these words:

"under my charge, as I doe also under your patronage, you never yet gave me the least cause to thinke myself either despised in the work, or defrauded in the wages of my ministry. Which as it is a gracious evidence of a pious and sincere heart in you, so it is a circumstance wherein I am happy beyond the condition of most of my brethren in the same calling." (Epistle Dedicatory, &c.)

The name of Robert Sanderson first appears in the Register of Lincoln College, subscribed to the order of the College Chapter of the 6th of May, 1606; and it appears that he was a resident Fellow till the time of his resignation, which is inserted in the Register with his own hand, in the College Chapter of the 6th of May, 1619, in the following affectionate and solemn form:

6 Maio, 1619.


Testor, Robertus Sanderson.
I Robert Sanderson, Fellow of the College of St. Mary's and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln College in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the Rector and Fellows, all the right and title that I have in the said College, wishing to them and their successors, all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

ROBERT SANDERSON.

May 6, 1619.

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of York, (or the King, Sede vacante), made Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Southwell in that Diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln by the Bishop of that See.

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannell, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general and cheerful acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a University

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* Dr. Tobias Matthew was then Archbishop of York. He died March 29, 1628, in the 83d year of his age.

* Dr. George Mountain, Bishop of Lincoln, was translated to London, July 20, 1621. It is probable, that Dr. John Williams, his immediate successor in the See of Lincoln, was the patron of Dr. Sanderson.
life; he could not but think the want of society would render this of a country Parson still more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life; yet a complying and prudent wife changes those very cares into so mutual joys, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul, which he would not have wanted, because they occasioned his rejoicing in them. And he having well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so, as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them: He, having considered all this; the hopes of such happiness turned his faint purpose into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, Bachelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the Giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires; a wife that made his life happy, by being always content when he was cheerful; that was always cheerful when he was content; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife that demonstrated
her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too, for she out-lived him.

And in this Boothby Pannell he either found or made his parishioners peaceable and complying with him in the constant, decent, and regular service of God. And thus his parish, his patron, and he lived together in a religious love, and a contented quietness; he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions, but such; and only such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised in order to the honour of God and their own salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For it may be noted he would often say, "That without the last, "the most evident truths (heard as from an enemy, "or an evil liver) either are not (or at least the "less) effectual; and usually rather harden, than "convince the hearer."

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by only reading the church-prayers, catechising, preaching, and administering the sacraments seasonably; but thought (if the law or the canons may seem to enjoin no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin; even the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom he loves to
perform. He, considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising not only what the law enjoins, but what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-suits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate families, persuading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and cheerful discourse, and by adding his own alms, if there were any so poor as to need it; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advised by St. Paul, "Help to bear one another's burden," either of sorrow or want: And what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account as well for that evil we have done, as the good we have omitted; to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed family.

And that his practice was to do good, the following narrative may be one example. "He met with a poor dejected neighbour that complained he had taken a meadow, the rent of which was 9l. a year; and when the hay was made ready to be carried into his barn, several days constant rain had so raised the water, that a sudden flood carried all away, and his rich landlord would bate him no rent; and that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were utterly undone." It may be noted, that in this age there are a sort of people so unlike the God of
mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children; love them so, as not to be concerned, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame; people that are cursed with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not so with Dr. Sanderson, for he was concerned, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himself with sorrow, for he would go to his landlord next morning, and if his landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day; and in a conference the Doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected tenant, telling him how much God is pleased "when men compassionate the poor." And told him, that "though God loves sacrifice, yet he loves mercy so much better, that he is best pleased when he is called the God of Mercy:" And told him, "the riches he was possessed of were given him by that God of Mercy, who would not be pleased if he that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich Steward in the Gospel, that took his fellow servant by the throat to make him pay the utmost farthing." This he told him: And told him, that "the law of this nation (by which law he claims his rent) does not undertake to make men honest or merciful: That was too nice an under-
“taking; but does what it can to restrain men
from being dishonest or unmerciful, and yet that
our law was defective in both; and that taking
any rent from his poor tenant, for what God
suffered him not to enjoy, though the law
allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was
too like that rich Steward which he had men-
tioned to him.” And told him, that “riches so
gotten, and added to his great estate, would, as
Job says’, prove like gravel in his teeth; would
in time so corrode his conscience, or become so
nauseous when he lay upon his death-bed, that
he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be
able: And therefore advised him (being very
rich) to make friends of his unrighteous Mam-
mon, before that evil day come upon him: But
however, neither for his own sake, nor for God’s
sake, to take any rent of his poor dejected sad
tenant, for that were to gain a temporal and lose
his eternal happiness.” These and other such
reasons were urged with so grave and so com-
passionate an earnestness, that the landlord forgave
his tenant the whole rent.

1 Mr. Walton generally quotes from memory. “Bread of
Deceit is sweet to a man; but afterwards his mouth shall be,
filled with gravel.” Prov. xx. 17.

k It is related of Dr. Hammond, that having set the tithe of a
large meadow, and received part of the money at the beginning
of the year, it happened that the product was afterward spoiled
by
The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was himself so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and will believe also, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boasts, that "he had seen none perish for want of clothing; and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoice." And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions: but since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myself and him in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life was to this which I have now related 1.

by a flood, he returned all the money to the poor tenant, saying, "God forbid I should take the tenth, where you have not the "nine parts."

1 Is it possible to read the above description without great pleasure? May every Clergyman of the Church of England seriously contemplate this excellent portrait! Not merely content with the transitory gaze of admiration, may he faithfully copy, and accurately express the transcript of it in his own life and manners!—Dr. Featley tell us, that "there were few gen-

"tlemen of his acquaintance whom Dr. Sanderson had not "directed to some noble and charitable work for men's improve-

"ment or relief: he, their great casuist, having their hearts and "purses at his devoir, and using his happy power, always to "their honour, comfort, and infinite satisfaction." See "Reason "and Judgment," &c. p. 29.
Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety, were much noted and valued by the Bishop of his Diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the first of which he was often summoned to preach many Visitation Sermons, and by the latter at many Assizes. Which Sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them, yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory, (even the art of it), yet he was punished with such an innate invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless as to the repetition of his sermons, so as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when some of them were first printed and exposed to censure (which was in the year 1632), "that the best sermons that were ever "read were never preached."

In this contented obscurity he continued till the learned and pious Archbishop Laud, who knew

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m In the collection of his Sermons, we find five preached *ad Clerum*, at the Visitations held at Boston or Grantham; one preached *ad Magistratum*, at a public Sessions at Grantham; four at the Assizes at Lincoln, and one at the Assizes at Nottingham.

n Whom the author of "The Confessional" hath distinguished with the harsh epithet of *malicious*. The noble historian has delineated
him well in Oxford (for he was his contemporary there), told the King (it was the knowing and conscientious King Charles I. \textsuperscript{v}) that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure country Minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all casuistical learning, that he desired his Majesty
delineated the character of this great Prelate with his usual ability and candour: "He was a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities; the greatest of which was (besides a hasty sharp way of expressing himself) that he believed innocence of heart and integrity of manners was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that provision. He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful; and who, according to their usual maxim and practice, call every man they do not love, 'Papist;' and under this senseless appellation, they created him many troubles and vexations." (History of the Rebellion, \textit{&c.} Vol. I. p. 90.)—Archbishop Laud's excellent book against Fisher the Jesuit, and his success in recovering Mr. Chillingworth from Popery, afford incontestible proofs of his learning, and his sincere attachment to the Church of England. Not to mention other instances of his liberality; how nobly did he bestow his patronage, unexpected, and undesired, upon Mr. John Hales, of Eton, who esteemed him so much, that he mourned for his death in a most remarkable manner, and wished he had died in his stead!

\textsuperscript{v} A Prince! whom the noble historian justly describes as "the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced."
would take so much notice of him as to make him his Chaplain. The King granted it most willingly, and gave the Bishop charge to hasten it; for he longed to discourse with a man that had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning. The Bishop forgot not the King's desire, and Mr. Sanderson was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following (1631). And when the King and he became better known to each other, then, as it is said, that after many hard questions put to the prophet Daniel, King Darius found "an excellent "spirit in him"; so it was with Mr. Sanderson and our excellent King: who having put many cases of conscience to him, received from Mr. Sanderson such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him so great content in conversing with him (which he did several times in private) that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him "he should long for the next November; for he "resolved to have a more inward acquaintance "with him when that month and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good King was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, "I carry my ears to hear other "preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear "Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from posterity, that

Mr. Walton, generally quoting from memory, is not always accurate: Compare Dan. i. 19, 20. and vi. 3.
the King thought what he spake: For he took him to be his adviser in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in those days of his affliction, when he was under such a restraint as he apprehended himself to be in danger of death or deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first Parliament of this good King (which was 1625), he was chosen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the Diocese of Lincoln ⁹, which I here mention, because about that time did arise many disputes about predestination, and the many critical points that depend upon or are interwoven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new principles of Mr. Calvin, though others say they were long before his time. But of these Dr. Sanderson then drew up for his own satisfaction such a scheme (he called it "Pax Ecclesiae") as then gave himself, and hath since given others, such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation. He was also chosen Clerk of all the Convocations during that good King's reign; which I here tell my reader, because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that Convocation in 1640, that unhappy Long Parliament, and some

⁹ Dr. Sanderson, being a Prebendary of Southwell, served as one of the Clerks of the Convocation for the Archdeaconry of Nottingham, in the former part of the Long Parliament.

(Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire p. 475.)
debates of the predestinarian points, as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, the now

On a portrait of Dr. Henry Hammond, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, afterward Canon of Christ-Church, Public Orator of the University, one of King Charles the First's Chaplains, and a constant attendant on his Majesty during his last troubles, are inscribed the following lines:——

"
En gentis lumen columnen culmenque togatae

"Hammondus! Secli Lexque decusque sui."

(Gutch's Wood's History, &c. p. 328.)

This good man, who has already been mentioned in this volume, was born at Chertsey, in Surrey, Aug. 18, 1605, being the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond, physician to Prince Henry. Educated at Eton School, he was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1630, he was preferred by the Earl of Leicester to the Rectory of Penshurst.—In 1639, he proceeded D. D. was Member of Convocation in 1640, and afterward named to be of the Assembly of Divines. In 1643, he was persecuted and forced to retire, the Parliament visitors ejecting him from his canonry of Christ-church and his office of Public Orator. Having spent his life in great retiredness, lucubration, and devotion, he surrendered up his most pious soul to God, in the house of Sir John Packington, April 23, 1660, aged 55 years: Whereupon his body was, upon the morrow, in the evening, buried in the chancel of Hampton Church, with the whole office and usual rites of the Church of England, not at that time restored or practised by public command. See "Kennet's Register," p. 123.

Bishop Burnet has observed, that Hammond's death before the restoration was an unspeakable loss to the Church; that he was a man of great learning and of most eminent merit, having been the person that, during the bad times, had maintained the cause of the Church in a very singular manner; that he was a very
THE LIFE OF

reverend Dean of Salisbury. And here the reader may note, that in letters wrote to the said Dean, Dr. Sanderson seems to have altered his judgment in some points, since he wrote his scheme, called "Pax Ecclesiae," which he seems to say in his last Will, besides other reasons to think so.

moderate man in his temper, though with a high principle, and perhaps he would have fallen into healing counsels. He was also much set on reforming abuses, and for reviving in the Clergy a due sense of the obligations they were under.

* Dr. Thomas Pierce, for some years President of Magdalen College, Oxford, well known in his time for his skill in the quinquarticular controversy, and for his writings in defence of the ancient establishment of the Church of England, against Baxter, Calamy, and other Non-conformists. On the Promotion of Dr. Ralph Brideoke to the See of Chichester, he was appointed Dean of Salisbury. He composed the following epitaph upon himself, a little before his death:....

"Here lies all that was mortal, the outside, dust, and ashes of Thomas Pierce, D. D. once the President of a College in Oxford, at first the Rector of Brington-cum-Membris, Canon of Lincoln, and at last Dean of Sarum; who fell asleep in the Lord Jesus, [Mar. 28, an. 1691.] but in hope of an awake at the resurrection. He knew himself, and taught others, that all the glorified saints in heaven cannot amount to one Saviour, as all the stars in the firmament cannot make up one sun. Therefore his only hope and trust was in the Lord Jesus, who will change," &c. Phil. iii. 21.


Of his disputes with Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, see Dr. Walter Pope's Life of that Prelate, p. 171, 182.

Dr.
In the year 1636, his Majesty, then in his progress, took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and his honourable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities: But this is mentioned, because at the King's coming thither, May 3, Mr. Sanderson did then

Dr. Pierce, in a letter to Mr. Isaac Walton, dated 1677-8, gives a particular account, from a book written by Dr. Hammond, of Dr. Sanderson's change of sentiments relative to the famous points controverted between the Calvinists and the Arminians—how his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by certain puritanical pamphlets, and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of "Calvin's Institutions," the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors. How he erred with Mr. Calvin, while he took things upon trust, in the sublapsarian way. How being chosen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the Diocese of Lincoln, he reduced the quinquarticular controversy into five schemes and tables; and thereupon discerned the necessity of quitting the sublapsarian way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the supralapsarian, which he could never fancy.

The King, Queen, and their respective courts, having been entertained this year by the University, on the 29th and 30th of August, it was his Majesty's pleasure, upon his leaving the University, which was the 31st of the same month, that there should be a creation in several faculties. Whereupon the names of those that made suit to be actually created being given into the hands of the Chancellor, Dr. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, by one of the Secretaries of State, was a Convocation celebrated on the same day in the afternoon, wherein were actually created two Bachelors of Arts, two Batchelors of Law,
attend him, and was then (the 31st of August) created Doctor of Divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made Doctors and Masters of Arts with him: Some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his, and none shall outlive it. First, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren *, who were

five and forty Masters of Arts, ten Bachelors in Divinity, three Doctors of Civil Law, three Doctors of Physic, and one and twenty Doctors in Divinity. (Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. Col. 268.)

Archbishop Laud has given a full account of his entertainment of their Majesties, when, at this their summer progress, they visited the University.

(Laud's Remains, &c. Vol. II. p. 100.)

* Dr. Matthew Wren, successively Bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, died April 24, 1667, aged eighty-one years and upwards. He was distinguished for his extraordinary attachment to the royal cause, having suffered an imprisonment for eighteen years with singular patience and magnanimity. The pressures under which he lay during this period were such, that, his estate being taken away, he could not allow his children bread, much less supply their expenses for living in Colleges. (Kennet's Register, p. 220.)—He built the beautiful Chapel at Pembroke-Hall, in Cambridge, "where he was " buried with the greatest solemnity seen in the memory of man, " performed by the whole University, twenty-four scholars of " St. John's, Peter-house, and Pembroke, being his relations, in " mourning." (Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 612.)—The history of his life has been faithfully written by his great nephew, Christopher Wren, Esq. who left behind him a treatise in manuscript, with this title, "Parentalia; Memorials of the Lives of " the Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew Wren, D. D. " Lord Bishop of Ely, Christopher Wren, D. D. Dean of Windsor, " and
then Bishops of Winton and of Norwich, and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge, were with him created Doctors of Divinity in his University. So was Meric, the son of the learned Isaac Casaubon; and Prince Rupert, who still

"and Sir Christopher Wren, Knight, Surveyor General of the "Royal Buildings. With Collections and Records of original "Papers." This treatise was published by his son, Stephen Wren, Esq.

It should not be forgotten, that when Cromwell had repeatedly offered to release the Bishop, he refused to accept of the proffered boon, saying "that he scorned to receive his "liberty from a tyrant and usurper." His life was kindly prolonged by Providence, that as he had seen the destruction so he might also see the happy restoration of his order.

Meric Casaubon, the heir of a great name and a learned race, having for his father Isaac Casaubon, who is called by Joseph Scaliger, "doctissimus omnium qui hodie vivunt," (his grandfather being Henry Stephene, and his great grandfather Robert Stephens) was born at Geneva, in 1599. He came into England with his father, and was educated at Christ-Church in Oxford. It will be unnecessary to expatiate on his vast erudition. He was much esteemed by James I. and Charles I. He nobly rejected the proposal of Cromwell, who invited him with the offer of a pension to write the history of his life: And when Christina, Queen of Sweden, solicited him to undertake the government of one or more of her Universities, he declined a compliance with her request, and determined to end his days in England. He was a Prebendary of Canterbury, and died in 1671. See the inscription on his tomb in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury.

The name of this Prince, the third son of the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, occurs not unfrequently in the annals of this
lives; the then Duke of Lenox, Earl of Hereford, Earl of Essex, Earl of Berkshire, and very many others of noble birth, too many to be named, were then created Masters of Arts.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, though inwardly sick of being well, namely in

and of the succeeding reign. After innumerable toils, and a variety of heroic actions performed by him both by sea and land, he spent several years in sedate studies, and the prosecution of chymical and philosophical experiments. He died, Nov. 29, 1682, in the 63d year of his age, generally lamented, having maintained such good temper, and exact neutrality in the unhappy divisions which then prevailed, that he was honoured and respected by men of the most differing interests. See "Echard's History of England," Vol. III. p. 666.

* Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, created Earl of Richmond, 11 James I.; and afterward Duke of Richmond, in 1623. He was at this time a student of Trinity College in Cambridge.

y Rather, Earl of Hertford. William Seymour, Earl of Hertford, educated in Magdalen College, Oxford. He was admitted B.A. in 1607. In 1613, he was elected Chancellor of this University, and being deprived by the Parliament in 1647, was re-instated May 26, 1660. He died Duke of Somerset in October following.

z Robert Devereux, Viscount Hereford and Earl of Essex, who was afterward Captain-General of the army raised by the Parliament against the King.

a Thomas Howard, Viscount Andover, created Baron of Charlton and Earl of Berkshire.

b Like the Italian Patient on whom this epitaph was written:

"STAVO BEN, MA, FER STAR MEGLIO, STO QUI."
the year 1639, a discontented party of the Scots Church were zealously restless for another reformation of their kirk government; and to that end created a new Covenant; for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his assent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be presented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity, but by so many thousands, and they so armed, as seemed to force an assent to what they seemed but to request: So that though forbidden by the King, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcastle, where the King was forced to meet them with an army; but upon a treaty and some concessions he sent them back, though not so rich as they intended, yet, for that time, without bloodshed. But oh! this peace and this covenant were but the forerunners of war and the many miseries that followed: For in the year

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* The Scotch army entered England, Aug. 20, 1640, and by slow marches encamped on the 27th of that month at Newbourn-upon-Tyne, four miles west from Newcastle. The King's forces, under the command of the Lord Conway, attempting to prevent them from passing the river, after a fierce but unsuccessful engagement, retreated in confusion, and abandoned Newcastle, which immediately fell into the hands of the Scots.

(Kennet's Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 96.)

* This treaty was made at Ripon, where the English and Scotch Commissioners met.
following there were so many chosen into the Long Parliament, that were of a conjunct council with those very zealous and as factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the Members of that Parliament (all did never consent) and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears, and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their Covenant would restore them to that former tranquillity which they had lost. And to that end the Presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into England: And hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto,—"FOR THE CROWN AND "COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS."—This I saw and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, when I consider this, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it*. And I have been the bolder to say

* See a copy of this "Solemn League and Covenant for "Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Hap-"piness of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three "Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland," in "Lord "Clarendon's History of the Rebellion," Vol. II. p. 373. This
this of myself, because in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the Covenanters of this nation, and their party in Parliament, made many exceptions against the Common-prayer and ceremonies of the Church, and seemed restless for another Reformation: And though their desires

This Covenant was recommended to the common people, by their preachers in very strange language.—"See that the Covenant be both taken and performed. It is the Covenant of the Most High God, who will be much provoked sure with the neglect of it. You have holden forth a pious example in entering into our Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, like the honoured Prince Josiah, and that with the same sincerity. Oh! accompany that King one step farther, in causing all in Jerusalem and Benjamin to make it and stand to it, when they have made it." (John Strickland's Sermon before the Lords, Nov. 5, 1644, p. 5.)"—"England shall be England, or a Sodom and Gomorrah, according as it keeps or breaks the Covenant." (Lazarus Seaman's Fast Sermon before the Commons, Sept. 25, 1644, p. 45.)—"A Covenant is a golden girdle to tie us fast to God; it is a joining and glewing ourselves to the Lord: It is a binding ourselves apprentice to God: It is not only commendable but very necessary (and for this cause you are met here this day); to enter into a bond a second time, to bind and enrol yourselves again unto the Lord, to make up this hedge, to tie this golden girdle, and to join and glew yourselves once more unto the Lord, in a perpetual Covenant never to be forgotten." (Edm. Calamy's Sermon before the Lord Mayor, Jan. 14, 1645, entitled, The great Danger of Covenant-refusing and Covenant-breaking, p. 2.)
seemed not reasonable to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and many others; yet to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did in the year 1641 desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the Convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences; and to this end he and two others did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house, for the space of five months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the Reformation ready for a view, the Church and State were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's model for Reformation became then useless. Nevertheless the repute of his moderation and wisdom was such, that he was in the year 1642 proposed by both Houses of Parliament to the King then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of Church affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be so; but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two Houses of Parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and

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*Dr. John Williams was then Dean of Westminster. He held this Deanery in commendam during the whole time of his being Bishop of Lincoln, and likewise three years after his translation to York. (Le Neve.)*
call an Assembly of Divines, to debate and settle Church-controversies; of which many that were elected were very unfit to judge; in which Dr. Sanderson was also named by the Parliament, but did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did

Thomas Lord Fairfax, the Parliament's General, was wont to call this Assembly, which consisted chiefly of Presbyterians, "The Chariots and Horsemen of Israel." Mr. Baxter denominates it "The Learned and Pious Synod at Westminster." The order for convening it is inserted in "Sir William Dugdale's View," p. 902.

Of the Members of this Assembly, Lord Clarendon observes, (Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 530.) that, "of about one hundred and twenty of which it was to consist, there were not above twenty, who were not declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous in their lives and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of England." The famous Selden, one of their lay assessors, took great delight in exposing their want of learning. When they cited a text to prove their assertions, he would tell them, "Perhaps in your gilt little pocket Bibles" (which they would often pull out and read), "the translation may be thus; but the Greek and Hebrew signifies thus and thus;" and so would totally silence them. See "Whitlock's Memoirs," p. 68. Each member of this Assembly received a salary of four shillings a day, much too little, as some thought, for men of their merit; others grumbling at it as too much for what by them was performed. (Fuller's Church History, B. X. p. 200.)—"Our English Assembly sate humdrumming several years, and after all expectation brought forth nothing worth a mouse."

(Fouliis's Hist. of Wicked Plots, &c. p. 207.)
forbear, the summons wanting the King's authority.

And here I must look back and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was (July 21) named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be Professor Regius of Divinity in Oxford; but though knowledge be said to puff up, yet his modesty, and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons, expressed in his speech, when he first appeared in the chair, and since printed, kept him from entering into it till October 1646.

He did for about a year's time continue to read his matchless lectures, which were first de Jura-mento, a point very seraphical and as difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abilities to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important subject; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of oaths, in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part, or at least very useful to their religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these and

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b Upon the promotion of Dr. John Prideaux to the See of Worcester, Dr. Sanderson was appointed the King's Professor in Divinity, July 21, 1642, and was ejected by the Parliament's Visitors, June 14, 1648. In the beginning of August, 1660, he was restored. (Le Neve.)
his following lectures _de Conscientia_, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the best pens fall short in the commendation of them; so that I shall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in that part of casuistical divinity: And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures (the King being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight) that part of the Parliament then at Westminster sent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more to Oxford, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair, and all Heads of Houses. And all the other inferior Scholars, of what degree soever, were also to take these oaths by a fixed day; for those that did not were to abandon their Colleges and the University too within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum; and if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

1 "In 1648, the Visitors appointed by Parliament having sat several times in the lodgings of Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College, in the last yeare, but to little purpose, they proceeded, this yeare, with very great rigour to the ruin of the Universitie. The Members of every College were all summoned to appeare on a certaine day, and sometimes two or three Colleges appeared in one day, and if they did not give a positive answer, whether they would submit to them and their visitation, as appointed by Parliament, they were forthwith ejected." (Life of A. Wood, by himself, p. 50, 51.)
Dr. Laud the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and many others had been formerly murdered, but the King yet was not; and the University had yet some faint hopes that in a treaty then in being betwixt him and them, that confined him, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an agreement made, that the Dissenters in the University might both preserve their consciences, and the poor subsistence which they then enjoyed by their Colleges.

And being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the men in present power were not yet grown so merciless, as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the University appointed twenty delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a manifesto to them, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences: And of these delegates Dr. Sheldon, late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley, now Bishop of Winchester, and that most honest, very learned, and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch\(^k\), were a part; the rest I cannot now

\(^k\) A predilection in favour of his own family will not, he trusts, preclude the Editor of this Work from paying his tribute of praise to the memory of Dr. Richard Zouch, the first Civilian of the age in which he lived. He derived his descent from the Lord Zouches of Harringworth, in Northamptonshire, and was one of the same family with Guido or Eudo de Zouch, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and with William Zouch, Archbishop of York, whose military prowess, signally displayed in the
name; but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and

the defeat of the Scotch army near Durham, is celebrated in the annals of the English History.——Born at Anstley in Wiltshire, in 1590, he received his education in William of Wykeham’s school, near Winchester; was matriculated in the University of Oxford in 1608, and admitted Fellow of New College in 1609. He took the degree of LL.B. June 30, 1614, and that of LL.D. April 8, 1619.

In 1613, he published "the Dove; or Passages of Cosmography;" a poem comprising a description of Asia, Africa, and Europe; dedicated to his relation, the friend of Archbishop Whitgift and of Sir Henry Wotton, the truly noble and worthy honoured Edward Lord Zouch, St. Maure or Cantelupe. He concludes his poem with an account of Great Britain. Having described renowned Exeter, sweet-seated Sals-b’ry, and Bristow, the merchant’s magazine, he proceeds:.....

"Old Winchester, the ancient seate of kings,
"For virtue and for valour much renowned,
"So subject unto change are earthly things,
"Instead of diadem, with bayes is crowned;
"Where worthy Wiccham’s children now maintaine
"The fame once known by great King Arthur’s traine.
"Oxford, by Isis’ crystal streams confin’d,
"And well-discerning Cambridge, Learning’s payre,
"Excell those lamps which once on Ida shin’d,
"Bright Juno shew’d, cleare Pallas, Venus faire;
"But eyther of these thricc illustrious eyes
"Doth brightnes, clearness, fairness, all comprise.
"As that true ensigne of the Almighty’s love
"Lively displayed in the cloudy skye,
"The gazer’s eye astonished doth move
"To wonder at such strange variety;
"Rainbow resembling London, England’s blisse,
"The heav’n’s great mercy, and earth’s marvel is."
give it to Dr. Sanderson, and he was requested to methodize, and add what referred to reason and

He no sooner had obtained his first degree than he became an Advocate in Doctor's Commons. Through the influence of his noble kinsman, who was then Lord of the Cinque Ports, he was elected, in 1620, a Burgess to serve in Parliament for Hythe in Kent. In the same year he succeeded Dr. John Budden as Professor of Civil Law; and, in 1625, he was appointed Principal of Alban's Hall, on the death of Dr. Edward Chaloner, of the ancient family of the Chaloners of Guisborough in Yorkshire, who died of the plague at Oxford. Though a layman, he held the Prebend of Shipston, in the Church of Salisbury, which was then first annexed to the Law Professorship by James I.

When William Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University, by a letter dated June 23, 1623, had appointed certain persons nominated by the Convocation, to revise the statutes, and to reduce them to a better form and order, they chose a Committee among themselves to prepare materials for the inspection of the whole body. This Committee consisted of Robert Pink, D. D. Warden of New College, Richard Zouch, LL. D. Bryan Twine, B. D. and Mr. Peter Turner, Savilian Professor of Geometry. On the death of Lord Pembroke, Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, being elected Chancellor, April 12, 1630, exerted himself with unremitting zeal in promoting the arduous work of completing a settled and a known body of statutes. What was begun by his noble predecessor was happily accomplished in 1634, under the auspices of this Prelate, the most munificent patron of learning which that age produced.

The University of Oxford acquired immortal fame by their virtuous opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant. Those members of that venerable Society, who joined in this opposition, appointed twenty delegates to draw up a declaration of the motives which influenced their conduct. To Dr. Zouch was assigned the province of composing that part of their defence which regarded the law; whilst his friend Dr. Sanderson, then

Regius
conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires and did so. And then, after they

Regius Professor of Divinity, was requested to arrange the arguments deducible from law and conscience. The whole was methodized by the latter; and, when finished, was approved in full Convocation. That the learned men in Europe might be apprised of the propriety of this determination, it was printed in Latin, under the title of "Judicium Universitatis Oxoniensis de " 1. Solenni Legâ et Fœdere. 2. Juramento Negativo. 3. Or¬
" dinationibus Parliamenti circa Disciplinam et cultum, in plenâ " Convocatione, 1 Junii 1647, communibus Suffragiis, Nemine " contradicente, promulgatum."

In 1648, when the Visitors appointed by Parliament exercised their powers in Oxford, Dr. Zouch acquiesced in their proceedings, actuated probably by the same motives which induced Sir Matthew Hale to accept of a Judge's place in the Common Pleas. After a mature deliberation, that great and good man determined, "that it being absolutely necessary to have justice and property " kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from " usurpers, if he made no declaration of acknowledging their " authority." Yet our Civilian resigned his office in the Ad¬
miralty, in which he was replaced at the restoration.

In 1653, an unprecedented violation of the public peace, at¬
tended with assassination, and every species of insult was committed upon the New Exchange in London, by the dom¬
estics of the Portuguese Ambassador, who was then soliciting terms of peace with Oliver Cromwell. The unbridled im¬
petuosity of their fury had impelled them, for two successive nights, to acts of the most savage cruelty. Several of them were apprehended and committed to prison, the Ambassador having delivered into the hands of the civil magistrate his brother, Don Pantaleon Sa, a Knight of Malta, who was a principal in the riot. The Protector and his Privy Council differing in opinion on the extent of the privilege of an ambassador, and on the legality of proceeding against the delinquents, thought it necessary
had been read in a full Convocation and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the

necessary to request the advice of Dr. Zouch, who was then, as Anthony Wood calls him, "the living Pandect of the law." By the express direction of our able Civilian, the Ambassador's brother was declared amenable to a trial in an English Court of Judicature. Accordingly he was tried by a special commission of Oyer and Terminer. The Commissioners were Lord Rolles, Justice Atkyns, Serjeant Steele, Dr. Richard Zouch, and five others. The Ambassador's brother was indicted for murder, convicted, and executed. Nothing contributed more effectually to increase the reputation of Cromwell in foreign countries, than this act of public justice; which is universally acknowledged to have been strictly conformable to the law of nations. On this subject Dr. Zouch composed a learned tract, entitled, "Solutio " Quaestionis de Legati delinquentis Judice competente, Oxon. " 1657," to which he has annexed a narrative of the whole transaction. It was at this critical time, that the Portuguese Ambassador presented the famous panegyric on the Protector, supposed to be actually written by Milton, but generally believed to be the work of a Jesuit. Yet Cromwell remained insensible to adulation; and with a resolution worthy of an upright judge, permitted Justice to take her due course.

In 1657 he became a candidate for the office of Custos Archivorum, vacated by the death of Dr. Gerard Langbaine. He was opposed on this occasion by Dr. John Wallis, eminent above all his contemporaries for his mathematical knowledge, one of the Savilian Professors, a man of mild and gentle manners, perfectly attached to the subsisting government, and who had, in fact, been one of the Secretaries to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, during the whole time of their sitting. Dr. Wallis was elected in preference to his competitor; and the proceedings of this election were afterward commented on with great asperity by the celebrated Mr. Henry Stubbs.
Parliament's proceedings and the University's sufferings might be manifested to all na-

After the restoration, Dr. Zouch, whose loyalty always remained unimpeached, had the honour of being named by the King, along with several other Commissioners, to restore the splendour, and regulate the disorders of the University. He was re-instated in the Court of Admiralty; and if he had lived he would doubtless have attained those higher dignities in his profession, to which his integrity and great abilities entitled him. He died at his apartments in Doctor's Commons, London, March 1, 1660, and was buried in the Church of Fulham, near the remains of Katharine, his eldest daughter, the wife of Sir William Powell, alias Hinson. His works, which principally relate to his professional studies, are enumerated by Anthony Wood. It must be remarked to his credit, that at a time when there was a warm contest between the Civilians and the common Lawyers, the latter of which were discouraged by the Court, he treated the common law of England with reverence and respect; herein differing from Dr. Cowell, the King's Professor at Cambridge, who endeavoured to extend the civil law beyond its due bounds. The author of the best didactic treatise extant, on the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court, hath paid the greatest attention to the writings of Dr. Zouch. Indeed they contain the fundamental principles of law and government, the knowledge of which constitutes an essential part of the education of an English gentleman. John and Daniel Elzevir have dedicated a beautiful and correct edition of his most celebrated work, entitled, "Elementa Juris Civilis," to its learned author. "He was," says Anthony Wood, "an exact artist, a subtle politician, an expert historian; and for the knowledge and practice of the civil law, the chief person of his time, as his works, much esteemed beyond the seas, where several of them are reprinted, partly testify. He was so well versed also in the statutes of the University, and controversies between the Members thereof and the city, that none, after Twine's death, went beyond him."
tions; and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them. But they were past the first; and for the latter I might swear they neither can nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that all those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the cause of the loyal party's sufferings.

About this time the Independents (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army) had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment, and, by their own pretences to liberty of conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat like that to the King, who had in the year

"As his birth was noble, so was his behaviour and discourse; and as personable and handsome, so naturally sweet, pleasing, and affable. The truth is, there was nothing wanting, but a forward spirit, for his advancement; but the interruption of the times, which silenced his profession, would have given a step to his rise had he been of another disposition."

1 The assistance of Dr. Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, was of great service on this occasion. "These delegates," says Lord Clarendon, "to their eternal renown, being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison put over them by the Parliament, the King in prison, and their hopes desperate, passed a public act and declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the Assembly of Divines, which then sat at Westminster, ever ventured to make any answer to it: But it must remain to the world's end, as a monument of the learn-
1646 sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon (the late Archbishop of Canterbury), and Dr. Morley (the now Bishop of Winchester) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the Parliament for a peace in Church and State: but these, having been then denied him by the Presbyterian Parliament, were now by their own rules allowed him by those Independents now in present power. And with some of those Divines, Dr. Sanderson also gave his attendance on his Majesty in the Isle of Wight; preached there before him, and had in that attendance many both public and private con-

"ing, courage, and loyalty of that excellent place, against the "highest malice and tyranny, that was ever exercised in or over "any nation." See the "History of the Rebellion," Vol. III, p. 56.

After the Restoration, when the Parliament sat at Oxford, the Commons ordered thanks to be returned to the University, for their noble and resolute conduct, at this time.

"Martis, 31 Octob. 1663.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this House be returned to "the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of "Oxford, for their remarkable loyalty to his Majesty's father of "happy memory, in the late rebellion: Especially for that ex-
"traordinary instance of their duty, in making a bold opposition "to the rebellious Visitors, and refusing to submit to their "League and Covenant: And lastly, for the illustrious per-
"formance they printed, entitled, 'The Judgment of the Uni-
"versity,' in which they have learnedly maintained the justice "of the King's cause."
ferences with him, to his Majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderson, that being the Parliament had then proposed to him the abolishing of Episcopal Government in the Church, as inconsistent with monarchy, and selling theirs and the Cathedral Church-Land to pay those soldiers that they had raised to fight against him, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's then taking his leave of his Majesty, in this his last attendance on him, the King requested him "to betake himself to the "writing cases of conscience for the good of "posterity." To which his answer was, "That "he was now grown old, and unfit to write cases "of conscience." But the King was so bold with him as to say, "It was the simplest answer he "ever heard from Dr. Sanderson; for no young "man was fit to be made a judge, or write cases "of conscience." And let me here take occasion to tell the reader this truth, very fit, but not commonly known; that in one of these conferences this conscientious King was told by a faithful and private intelligencer, that "if he "assented not to the Parliament's proposals, the "treaty 'twixt him and them would break im-
mediately, and his life would then be in danger; "he was sure he knew it." To which his answer was, "I have done what I can to bring my con-
"science to a compliance with their proposals and "cannot; and I will not lose my conscience to "save my life." And within a very short time after, he told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley, or one of them that then waited with him, that "the "remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, "which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's "death, and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scot-
"land; and that if God ever restored him to be in "a peaceable possession of his crown, he would "demonstrate his repentance by a public con-
"fession and voluntary penance (I think barefoot) "from the Tower of London or Whitehall, to "St. Paul's Church, and desire the people to "intercede with God for his pardon." I am sure one of them, that told it me, lives still, and will witness it. And it ought to be observed, that Dr. Sanderson's Lectures de Juramento were so approved and valued by the King, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude he transla-
ted them into exact English, desiring Dr. Juxson m

m Let it ever be remembered to the honour of this Prelate, whom Charles I. was wont to call "the good man," and whom he declared to be his greatest comfort in his most afflictive situa-
tion, that he delivered his sentiments without disguise to the King, on the subject of Lord Strafford's fate, telling him plainly, that "he ought to do nothing with an unsatisfied conscience, "upon any consideration in the world." His character is thus beautifully pourtrayed by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. "There is in him no tumour, no sourness, "no distraction of thoughts; but a quiet mind, a patient care,
(then Bishop of London), Dr. Hammond, and Sir Thomas Herbert (who then attended him in his restraint) to compare them with the original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that King's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately shewed me by Sir

"free access, mild and moderate answers. To this I must add, "a solid judgment, a sober plainness, and a most indubitable "character of fidelity in his very face; so as there needs not "much study to think him both a good man and a wise man." (Reliq. Wottonianæ, p. 31.) The appointment of this Divine to the office of Lord High Treasurer of England gave great disgust to the nobility: But he conducted himself so well in the administration of it, as to silence all complaint.

This learned person who published observations upon his Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, under the patronage and at the expense of his kinsman, William Earl of Pembroke, went abroad in 1626, and spent four years in visiting Asia and Africa. Upon his return into England, he waited on that Nobleman, who having invited him to dinner, the next day, at Baynard's Castle in London, died suddenly that night, according to the calculation of his nativity, which his father had made several years before. Thus disappointed in his expectations of promotion, he again went abroad, and travelled over several parts of Europe. He afterward joined the Parliament against Charles I. whom he was appointed to attend from the very beginning of his imprisonment to the time of his death. He shewed himself a most faithful servant to the King, whose real character he soon discovered to be totally different from that which had been represented to him. In 1660, Charles II. advanced him to the dignity of a Baronet, by the name of Thomas Herbert of Tinterne, in Monmouthshire, "for faithfully serving his royal "father, during the two last years of his life."——In 1678 he published
William Dugdale, King at Arms. The translation was designed to be put into the King's Library at St. James's, but, I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honour of the author and translator to be both so much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the chair at Oxford, where they that complied not in taking the Covenant, negative oath, and Parliament ordinance for Church-discipline and worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion; for the Visitors were daily expected, and published "Threnodia Carolina; containing Memoirs of the two last Years of the Reign of King Charles I." A work much commended for the candour, impartiality, and truth, with which it is composed. He assisted Sir William Dugdale in compiling the third volume of his "Monasticon Anglicanum;" and died at York, his native place, in 1682, leaving several MSS. to the public library at Oxford, and others to that of the Cathedral at York.

Charles I. who always entertained the most sincere affection for his upright and faithful servant, gave him many of his books a little before his death. There is extant a copy of Shakspeare's Works, fol. 1632, in which is the King's writing, in these words, "Dum spiro spero. C. R." And by Mr. Herbert's hand, "Ex dono serenissimi Regis Car. servo suo humiliss. "T. Herbert."

* The Life of this eminent antiquary, written by himself, is prefixed to the second edition of his "History of St. Paul's Cathedral."
both city and University full of soldiers, and a party of Presbyterian Divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured Visitors were to eject the Dissenters out of their Colleges and livelihoods: But notwithstanding, Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his Lecture, and did, to the very faces of those Presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and with a calm fortitude, make such applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborn to do what followed. But these thriving sinners were hardened: and as the Visitors expelled the orthodox, they, without scruple or shame, possessed themselves immediately of their Colleges; so that, with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was (in June 1648) forced to pack up and be

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\( ^p \) See a full account of this Visitation in "Walker's History of the Sufferings of the Clergy," P. I. p. 122, &c.

\( ^q \) June 14, 1648.

A transcript of the following order was kindly communicated to me by the Rev. Dr. Sheffield, Provost of Worcester College, and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum:

"AT THE COMMITTEE OF LORDS AND COMMONS, FOR REFORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITIE OF OXON.

"WHEREAS the answers of Dr. Fell, Deane of Christ-Church, and others, the Prebendaries of Christ-church, in Oxford, refusing to submitt to the authoritie of Parliament for visitinge the said Universitie, were referred to this Committee, by speciall
gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

"speciall order of both Houses of Parliament, to hear, and "determine, and to apply effectual remedies as the cases should "require: Upon full hearinge and debate of the said answeres, "it was resolved, that the matter hereof was an high contempt, "and denyale of authoritie of Parliament; and further resolved, "that Dr. Sanderson was guilty hereof; and that, for an "effectual remedy, the said Dr. Sanderson be removed from his "place of Prebendary of Christ-Church, and Regius Professor of "the Universitie of Oxford: And whereas upon further con-sideration, this Committee thought fitt, and ordered, that their "former vote should be suspended, in hope of his submission to "the authoritie, and conformity to the orders and ordinances of "Parliament, for the reformation of the Universitie: Now upon "hearinge the report of the Visitors (which is), That the said "Dr. Sanderson hath not, all this while, given any satisfactorie "testimony of his submission: it is therefore ordered, That the "last vote of the Committee concerning the suspension of the "said Dr. Sanderson, be taken off, and revoked; and the former "vote concerning his removall doe stand and be confirmed.

"CAT. MSS. ANGL. N°. 3736. FRANC. ROUS."

During his confinement at this time, Dr. Hammond began his excellent "Paraphrase, and Annotations on the New Testa-ment."—When Dr. Sanderson was ejected from the Divinity chair, he was succeeded by Dr. Robert Crosse, Fellow of Lincoln College, who at the end of three months resigned it. The Regu-lators of the University then appointed Dr. Joshua Hoyle, on whom they had conferred the Mastership of University College. How this honourable office was filled, Anthony Wood has informed us: "Professoris regii munus obire capiit D. Hoyle "oratione planè plumbeā, et eruditionis omnimodae prorsus "experte."
I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the University had denied this subscription, and apprehended the danger of that visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Christ-Church (now Lord Bishop of Winchester), and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or to accept of their reasons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the Petition was by Parliament referred to a Committee to hear and report the reasons to the House, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and fee counsel, to plead their cause on the day appointed: but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst be so bold as to undertake it cordially: For at this time the privileges of that part of the Parliament then sitting were become a Noli me tangere; as sacred and useful to them as traditions ever were, or are now to the Church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reason Dr. Morley was forced for want of counsel, to plead the University's reasons for not-compliance with the Parliament's injunctions; and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the justice of his cause, yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the
Visitors and more soldiers were sent down to drive the Dissenters out of the University. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that Committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and inquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his principles in religion, and of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and that he might express it, sent for me that relate this story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, "he had such a love for Dr. Morley, that knowing he would not take the oaths, and must therefore be ejected his College, and leave Oxford; he desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford when the Visitors came into it, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety; and that by so doing he should, without taking any oath, or other molestation, enjoy his Canon's place in the College." I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power to do what he professed, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the Doctor word; to which his answer was, "that I must not fail to return my friend (who still lives) his humble and undissembled thanks, though he could not accept of his intended kindness; for when Dr. Fell (then the Dean), Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and all the rest of the College were turned out, except Dr. Wall,
he should take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame, to be left behind with him only 5.

Dr. Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of him, for he is dead.

It may be easily imagined with what a joyful willingness these self-loving Reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved Colleges and subsistence: but their consciences were dearer than both, and out they went; the Reformers possessing them without shame or scruple, where I will leave these scruple-mongers, and

5 They were all, except Dr. Wall, ejected in 1647. Dr. Samuel Fell died of grief, the day he was made acquainted with the murder of Charles I. viz. on Feb. 1, 1648-9. Dr. Gardner, Canon of the third stall, lived to be restored, and died in 1670. Dr. Paine, Canon of the fourth stall, died during the rebellion. Dr. Hammond, Sub-dean and Canon of the second stall, died in 1660. As for Dr. Wall, Canon of the seventh stall, he conformed no doubt to the measures of the Visitors. He died possessed of it in 1666.—Wood, in his "Ath. Oxon." Vol. II. p. 375, speaks of Wall’s ingratitude to his College, and of his liberality to the city of Oxford, of which see "Gutch’s Wood’s "History," &c. p. 512.

It appears from a treatise, printed in 1660, entitled, "A De-

fence of Human Learning in the Ministry," that Dr. Wall was once domestic Chaplain to Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, whose family he honoured with his learning and piety, and who gave this honourable character of him, that he was the best read in the Fathers of any he ever knew. He published a Latin sermon preached before the University, on the first day of May in that year, under the title of "Solomon in Solio, Christus in "Ecclesia."
proceed to make an account of the then present affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the Bishops' houses were turned to be prisons, and they filled with Divines that would not take the Covenant, or forbear reading Common-prayer, or that were accused for some faults like these¹. For it may be noted, that about this time the Parliament sent out a proclamation to encourage all laymen that had occasion to complain of their ministers for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a select Committee for that purpose; and the minister, though one hundred miles from London,

¹ "When all the common jails and compters about town were filled with the principal Gentry and Clergy of the kingdom, the venerable palaces of the Bishops were converted into prisons. On January the 3d, 1642-3, Lambeth, Ely, and London houses were ordered to be made prisons, and Dr. Alexander Leighton was appointed Keeper to the first of them. The same was done, four days after, by the Bishop of Lincoln's house. And the Bishop of Winchester's house, in Southwark, was applied to the same purpose. And when all these, capacious as they were, could not contain the prisoners, the Deanery of St. Paul's was made a prison." (Walker's Sufferings, &c.) — "When the legal or orthodox Clergy were thus put under confinement, some, to the number of twenty, were imprisoned on board of ships in the Thames, and shut down under decks, no friend being suffered to come to them."

(Dr. Richard Grey's miserable and distracted State of Religion in England, upon the Downfall of the Church Establishment, p. 17.)
was to appear there and give satisfaction, or be sequestered; and you may be sure no parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grained complainant: by which means all prisons in London, and in many other places, became the sad habitations of conforming Divines.

And about this time the Bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution suspended for some days, many citizens, fearing time and cool thoughts might procure his pardon, became so maliciously impudent as to shut up their shops, professing not to open them till justice was executed. This malice and madness is scarce credible, but I saw it.

The Bishops had been about this time voted out of the House of Parliament, and some upon that occasion sent to the Tower, which made many Cove-

"The Bishops being declared incapable of sitting in the House of Peers, presented a protesting petition, maintaining their indubitable right of sitting and voting in that House, and expressing their willingness and readiness to perform their duties there, if they could obtain protection from force and violence. This act was construed into high treason, and the twelve Bishops, who subscribed the petition and protestation, were ordered to be committed to the Tower. These were Williams, Archbishop of York; Morton, Bishop of Durham; Wright, of Lichfield; Hall, of Norwich; Owen, of St. Asaph; Piers, of Bath and Wells; Cook, of Hereford; Skinner, of Oxford; Wren, of Ely; Goodman, of Gloucester; Towers, of Peterborough; and Owen, of Landaff. The Bishops of Durham and Lichfield, in consideration of their great age and ill health, were consigned to the care of the Gentleman Usher."
nanters rejoice, and most of them to believe Mr. Brightman, who probably was a well-meaning man) to be inspired when he writ his “Comment on the Apocalypse;” a short abridgment of which was now printed, cried up and down the streets, and called “Mr. Brightman’s Revelation of the Revelation,” and both bought up and believed by all the Covenanters: And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet because he had there

Mr. Thomas Brightman, born at Nottingham, and educated at Queen’s College in Cambridge, was Rector of Hawnes in Bedfordshire. He was the author of “The Revelation of St. John illustrated, with an Analysis and Scholions,” &c. and of “A most comfortable Exposition of the last and most difficult Part of the Prophecie of Daniel, from the 26th Verse of the 11th Chapter, to the end of the 12th Chapter,” written originally in Latin. He also composed a Latin Commentary on the Canticles, or Song of Solomon, which his warm imagination prompted him to consider as a prophetic description of the state of the Church from King David’s time to after the year 1550. He shows himself upon all occasions a most inveterate enemy of Episcopacy. The translator of the two last works thus characterises him:—“He was indeed one of a thousand, great and gracious many ways, both in life and learning, dum ea docuit quæ fecit, et ea fecit quæ docuit, et verba vertebat in opera. He taught in that he did practise, did practise that he taught, and so turned words into works. He was a great artist, and a great linguist. He had good skill in all arts and tongues needful for a complete Divine, even in song also, vocal music being the best, till his more weighty studies called him from the Maidens to Divinity, their Mistress, wherein he excelled and shined above many of his fellows: all that then lived with him in Queen’s College in Cambridge, whereof he was a Fellow, do very well know. He shined every way, and was a Bright-
made the churches of Geneva and Scotland, which had no Bishops, to be Philadelphia, in the Apocalypse, "that angel that God loved;" and the power of Prelacy to be Antichrist, the evil angel, which the House of Commons had now so spued up, as never to recover their dignity:

"MAN indeed in his life; shining to all that heard his learned catechising, and common places, and lectures in the College, or his sermons in the country, in Bedfordshire. He is said to have always prayed for a sudden death. His prayer was granted. As he was reading a book, and travelling in a coach with his friend and patron, Sir John Osborn, he was seized with a fainting fit, and being taken out of the carriage for the benefit of the air, he instantly expired, Aug. 24, 1607."

Mr. Thomas Cartwright, the noted Puritan, in allusion to the name of Mr. Brightman, considers him as full of illumination as "a bright star in the church of God." Though no favourable opinion can be entertained of his writings, yet the acknowledged innocence of his life and conversation entitles him to every encomium.

"The Antitype thereof is the second reformed church, which should spring up after that of Germany. And this is the Church of Helvetia, Suavia, Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland. I joyn all these together into one Church, because they almost live by one and the same lawes and manner of government, as touching any matter of moment. Neither doth the distance of place breake off that society, which the conjoining of mindes and good will coupleth together. Yea, this dispersing doth chiefly agree to the Philadelphians, whom we said to dwell more thickly in the fields than in the city. Whereby it cometh to pass, that this bareness of the citizens taketh up a great deal of place, though the citizens be not so many"
Therefore did those Covenanters rejoice, approve, and applaud Mr. Brightman, for discovering and foretelling the Bishops' downfall; so that they both railed at them, and at the same time rejoiced to buy good pennyworths of all their land, which their friends of the House of Commons did afford

"many. We shall find, that this Church I speak of arose up after that of Germany, when Ulrick Zuinglius began to teach, at Zurich, among the Zuizers, anno 1519. And the Reformation was begun the fourth year after, that is 1523."

(Brightman on the Revelation, p. 109.)

"Laodicea, the seventh city, wanteth a parallel to match her, as being a peerless paragon. The counterpain of the third reformed church, which before that I do by name specify, I must put away from me, by all earnest intreaty, the unjust suspicion which some men may raise against me, and the offence which they may take at my words. It was not truly any distempered affection of my heart, that hath set me on work to seek out an odious application of this epistle. God is my witness, that I am not grieved through envy either at the wealth or yet at the honour of any man.—Wherefore let no man blame me for speaking that which not so much my own mind, as the duty of a faithful interpreter, constraineth me to utter. And I hope that those, who love the truth, will not disdain and reject so equal a petition, on which hope relying, and chiefly on his help, who is the guide of my way and my life, I will forthwith address myself to come to the matter. The counterpain, I say, of Laodicea is the third reformed Church, our Church of England."

(Ibid. p. 123, 124.)

"Their great admired opener of the Revelation (Brightman on Apoc. c. 3.), maketh our Church the linsey-wolsey Laodicean Church, neither hot nor cold."

(Dr. Sanderson's Sermon on Rom. xiv. 3.)
both to themselves and them, as a reward for
their zeal and diligent assistance to pull them
down.

And the Bishops' power being now vacated,
the common people were made so happy, as that
every parish might choose their own minister, and
tell him when he did and when he did not preach
true doctrine; and by this, and the like means,
several churches had several teachers, that prayed
and preached for and against one another; and
engaged their hearers to contend furiously for
truths which they understood not; some of which
I shall mention in what will follow.

I have heard of two men that in their discourse
undertook to give a character of a third person;
and one concluded he was a very honest man, for
he was beholden to him; and the other that he was
not, for he was not beholden to him. And some-
thing like this was in the designs both of the

\footnote{The noted Hugh Peters, in an Epistle to the reader prefixed
to a book entitled "Church Government, and Church Covenant
"discussed, 1643," was bold to say, Presbytery and Independ-
dency are the ways of worship and Church-fellowship now
looked at, since we hope Episcopacy is coffined up, and will be
buried without expectation of another resurrection.}

\footnote{This dreadful state of things seems, in some measure, to
have been predicted by Sir Walter Raleigh, who, observing the
vast increase of separatists and sectaries, remarks, "That all cost
"and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to
"be served and worshipped, was accounted by those people a
"kind of Popery, so that time would soon bring it to pass, if it
"were}
Covenanters and Independents, the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former: for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace if we were but zealous for the Covenant, and the other not: for we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourselves; and therefore not to force any to swear to the Covenant contrary to their consciences, and probably lose both their livings and liberties too. But though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down Common Prayer, and get into the best sequestered Livings; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of conscience.

"were not resisted, that God would be turned out of churches "into barns; and from thence again into the fields, and moun-
tains, and under hedges; and the offices of the ministry, robbed "of all dignity and respect, be as contemptible as those places:
"all order, discipline, and Church-government left to newness of "opinion and men's fancies: yea, and soon after as many kinds "of religion spring up, as there are parish-churches in England;
"every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with "the spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of revelation;
"insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to "the simple multitude no less variable than contrary to itself, the "faith of men will soon die away by degrees; and all religion be "held in scorn and contempt." (History of the World, B.II. c. 5.)

Q 3
They also made other strange observations of election, reprobation, and free-will, and the other points dependent upon these; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not, though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannell.

And in the way thither I must tell him, that a very Covenanter, and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy Covenant, was got into a good sequestered Living by the help of a Presbyterian parish, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch Presbyterian, being well settled in this good Living, began to reform the Church-yard, by cutting down a large yewe tree, and some other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the parishioners: and they, excepting against him for so doing, were by him answered, "That the trees were his, "and it was lawful for every man to use his own "as he, and not as others, thought fit." I have heard (but do not affirm it), that no action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet from off a dead body after it is buried; and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity; and that such a law would vilify that nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it.\(^a\):

\(^a\) But see "Burn's Ecclesiastical Law," Vol. I. p. 364.
I speak this because I would not suppose any man to do what this Covenanter did: And whether there were any law against him I know not, but pity the parish the less for turning out their legal Minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannell, where he hoped to have enjoyed himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy; but it proved otherwise: For all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confusion, committee-men, and soldiers, defacing monuments, breaking painted glass windows, and serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit; and these committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this Covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to

b "After the military standard was erected, these profane out-rages were greatly increased. Some stately religious fabrics were totally demolished; many were converted into stables, or polluted and profaned by other shocking abominations. Their beautiful sculptures, though only containing Scripture-histories, were absurdly broken down with axes and hammers; their monuments erected to illustrious and venerable personages were defaced; the very urns, in which their ashes had been deposited, were ransacked; and their consecrated utensils were exposed to rapine and plunder. Crosses, whether graved or delineated, whether in churches or out of them, were peculiar objects of enthusiastic aversion. Nor less was their rage levelled against painted glass, containing in it either por-

Q 4 "traitures
get into company, and to joy (so the historian Thucydides saith) when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations; and so though there might be some of these Covenanters that were beguiled and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet was an eminent dissenter from them, could thererefore not live peaceably; nor did he; for the soldiers would appear and visibly oppose and disturb him in the Church when he read prayers, some of them pretending to advise him how God was to be served more acceptably, which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the Church-service, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers.

"traitures of Prelates and Kings, of Fathers and Martyrs, of our "Saviour and his Apostles, or representations of Scripture-"histories. The pious captive Sovereign, amidst all his calamities, could not forbear taking notice of this breaking of "Church-windows, this pulling down of crosses, this defacing "of the monuments and inscriptions of the dead, &c. as the "malignant effects of popular, specious, and deceitful reforma-"tions. Eikon Basi. c. 20."

(The Ornaments of Churches considered, &c. p. 116.)

" Of such insolence of behaviour numberless instances are re-"corded. "Dr. Layton, one of the fanatical preachers of that "time, brought in a guard of soldiers together with their arms, "into Lambeth Church, in the time of Divine Service, tore the "Book
At this time he was advised by a Parliament-man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the Common Prayer, but make some little variations, especially if the soldiers came to watch him; for if he did, it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the covenant, or sequestration; for which reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict rules of the Rubric. I will

"Book of Common Prayer in pieces, pulled the surplice from the Minister's back, and scoffing at the good people, who were at their devotions, said 'Make an end of your pottage;' and the soldiers following him to the Communion-table, with tobacco-pipes in their mouths, and committing divers outrages to the great terror of the congregation."

(Dugdale's Short View, &c. p. 566.)

"Sunday 9th of September, 1649, at the Church of St. Peter's Paul's-Wharf, Master Williams reading morning service out of the Book of Common Prayer, and having prayed for the King, as in that Liturgy established by act of Parliament he is enjoined, six soldiers from St. Paul's Church, where they quarter, came into the Church, commanding him to come down out of the pulpit, which he immediately did, and went quietly with them into the vestry; when presently a party of horse from St. Paul's rode into the Church, with swords drawn and pistols spanned, crying out, 'Knock the rogues on the head; shoot them and kill them;' and presently shot at random at the crowd of unarmed men, women, and children, and carried away the Minister a prisoner to Whitehall."

(Walker's History of Independency, Part II. p. 254.)

This mode was adopted by many of the Clergy, who were deterred from openly using the liturgy of the Church of England. It is related of Dr. Rainbow, afterward Bishop of Carlisle, that
set down the very words of confession which he used, as I have it under his own hand; and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and very much like to this.

HIS CONFESSION.

"O ALMIGHTY GOD and merciful Father, we thy unworthy servants do with shame and sor-

that though he could not use the English Liturgy, yet he introduced some of those excellent prayers of which it is composed; and that not only in his private family, but he also composed such prayers as he used in the Church out of those in the Liturgy; and so gradually brought the ignorant people to affect the common prayers a little transformed and altered, who disliked the common prayer book itself, they knew not why.

"The iniquity of the times would not bear the constant and regular use of the Liturgy: To supply therefore that necessity, Mr. Bull formed all the devotions he offered up in public, out of the Book of Common Prayer, which did not fail to supply him with fit matter and proper words, upon all those occasions that required him to apply to the throne of grace for a supply of the wants of his people. He had the example of one of the brightest lights of that age, the judicious Dr. Sanderson, to justify him in this practice; and his manner of performing the public service was with so much seriousness and devotion, with so much fervency and ardency of affection, and with so powerful an emphasis in every part, that they, who were most prejudiced against the Liturgy, did not scruple to commend Mr. Bull, as a person that prayed by the spirit; though, at the same time, they railed against the Common Prayer, as a beggarly element, and as a carnal performance." (Mr. Nelson's Life of Dr. George Bull, p. 39.)—See also the method observed by Dr. John Hacket, in "Granger's Biogr. Hist." Vol. III. p. 241.
"row confess that we have all our life gone astray out of thy ways like lost sheep; and that by following too much the vain devices and desires of our own hearts, we have grievously offended against thy holy laws, both in thought, word, and deed; we have many times left undone those good duties which we might and ought to have done; and we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord, that there is no health at all, nor help in any creature to relieve us; but all our hope is in thy mercy; whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked: have mercy therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders: spare us, good God, who confess our faults, that we perish not; but, according to thy gracious promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon our true repentance into thy grace and favour. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we henceforth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and a sober life, to the glory of thy holy name, and the eternal comfort of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

In these and other provocations of tearing his service-book; a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening service was ended, to visit and condole with him for the affront offered by the
soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said: "God hath restored me to my desired privacy, with my wife and children, where I hoped to have met with quietness, and it proves not so; but I will labour to be pleased, because God, on whom I depend, sees it is not fit for me to be quiet. I praise him that he hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of a good conscience to maintain me in a place (Doctor of the Chair) of great reputation and profit: and though my condition be such, that I need the last, yet I submit; for God did not send me into this world to do my own, but suffer his will, and I will obey it." Thus by a sublime depending on his wise and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully submit to what God had appointed; still justifying the truth of that doctrine and the reason of that discipline which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of "The King's Meditations in his Solitude" was printed and made public: and Dr. Sanderson was such a

*Dr. Gauden's too luxuriant imagination, which betrayed him into a rankness of style in the Asiatic way, is an argument with Bishop Burnet, that he was not the author of Ἐἰκὼν Βασιλέως, in which there is a nobleness and justness of thought, with a greatness of style, that made it be looked on as the best written book in the English language." It has gone through forty-seven impressions, and the number of copies printed is said to have been forty-eight thousand.—Of this work Bishop Warburton remarks, "it is so far from being certain," as Neale in
lover of the author, and so desirous that not this nation only, but the whole world should see the character of him in that book, and something of the cause for which he and many others then suffered, that he designed to turn it into Latin; but when he had done half of it most excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done it, and printed the whole very well before him.

And about this time his dear and most intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a quiet conversation and rest with him for some days at Boothby Pannell, and did so. And having formerly persuaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but to try to speak a sermon as he had wrote it, Dr. Sanderson became so compliant as to promise he would. And to that end, they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbouring Minister, and requested to exchange a sermon, and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderson's going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon (which was a very short one) into the hand of

in his history pretends, "that it is spurious, that it is the most uncertain matter I ever took the pains to examine. There is "strong evidence on both sides; but I think the strongest and "most unexceptionable is on that which gives it to the King."

(Warburton's Works, Vol. VII. p. 920.)

Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was wrote; but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond looking on his sermon as written, observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, especially the method, that he also became afraid for him; for it was discernible to many of that plain auditory: but when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, "Good Doctor, give me my sermon; and know, that neither you nor any man living shall ever persuade me to preach again without my books." To which the reply was, "Good Doctor, be not angry; for if I ever persuade you to preach again without a book, I will give you leave to burn all the books that I am master of."

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit was at this time to discourse with Dr. Sanderson about some opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly: It was about those knotty points which are, by the learned, called the Quinquarticular Contro-

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1 "It was remarked of Dr. Hammond himself, that his memory was serviceable, but not officious: faithful to things and business; but unwillingly containing the texture, and punctuality of words; which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one sermon by heart, than to pen twenty." See "Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond," p. 96.
versy; of which I shall proceed, not to give any judgment (I pretend not to that), but some short historical account which shall follow.

There had been since the unhappy covenant was brought and so generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers (those of London especially) to preach and be too positive in the points of universal redemption, predestination, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preached, "That all men were, " before they came into this world, so predesti-
"nated to salvation or damnation, that it was not " in their power to sin so, as to lose the first, " nor, by their most diligent endeavour, to avoid " the latter. Others that it was not so; because " then God could not be said to grieve for the " death of a sinner, when he himself had made " him so by an inevitable decree, before he had so " much as a being in this world;" affirming there-
fore, " that man had some power left him to do " the will of God, because he was advised to work

8 It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the Calvinists and Arminians differed in opinion on 1. The eternal decrees. 2. Free-will. 3. Grace and conversion. 4. The extent of Christ's redemption and universal grace. And, 5. The perseverance of the saints.—On these subjects are several letters written by Dr. Sanderson to Dr. Hammond, and printed in the works of the latter.—The angelic Dr. Henry More has, in a letter to a foreigner, expressed his wish, that the quinquarticular points were all reduced to this one, " That none shall be saved without " sincere obedience."
"out his salvation with fear and trembling;" maintaining, "that it is most certain that every "man can do what he can to be saved; and as "certain, that he that does what he can to be "saved shall never be damned:" And yet many that affirmed this to be a truth would yet confess, "That that grace, which is but a persuasive offer, "and left to us to receive or refuse, is not that "grace which shall bring men to heaven." Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these or the like occasions come to be searched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce (the now reverend Dean of Salisbury), of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the 52 London Ministers (then a fraternity of Sion College in that city) had in a printed declaration aspersed Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his "Practical Catechism" affirmed, that "our Saviour "died for the sins of all mankind." To justify

\[\text{h Dr. Hammond, on the first publication of this work, was}
\text{attacked by Mr. Francis Cheynel, one of the Assembly of}
\text{Divines, the same person whose extraordinary treatment of}
\text{Mr. Chillingworth is related by himself, in a tract entitled}
\text{"Chillingworthi Novissima." See Cheynel's Life, in "Dr.}
\text{"Johnson's Works," Vol. XII. p. 190.}
\text{It was usual with Dr. Hammond, in the summer season,}
\text{to spend an hour before evening prayer in catechising, accord-}
\text{ing to the form of the Church Catechism, which he rendered}
\text{fully}
which truth, he presently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works). After which there were many letters past betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderson was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who, in his judgment of God's decrees, differed with Dr. Hammond (whom he reverenced and loved dearly), and would not therefore engage himself in a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end: Nevertheless they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned; those betwixt Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond being now printed in his works; and for what passed betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter sent to me and annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderson was by these debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his fully intelligible to the meanest capacities by his explanations, which were much the same in substance with the work which he afterward published, his "Practical Catechism." Though it first appeared without a name, it presently met not only with approbation, but with universal esteem and veneration; the cavils of Cheynel being not worth notice, though Dr. Hammond condescended to answer them. King Charles I. in his last instructions to his children, recommended this, among other books, as a most safe and sound guide to religion.

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excellent sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margin find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting those sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hamond, in a postscript to the last letter of his to Dr. Sanderson, says "God can reconcile his own contradictions, and therefore advises all men, as the "Apostle does, to study mortification, and be "wise to sobriety." And let me add further, that if these 52 Ministers of Sion College were the occasion of the debates in these letters; they have, I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the Quinquarticular Controversy; for none have since undertaken to say more; but seem to be so wise,

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1 In the quarto edition, p. 34, is the following marginal remark: "Of late our English Arminians have got the trick to fetch in "within the compass of this title of Puritans, all orthodox Di- "vines, that oppose against their Semipelagian subtleties, of "purpose to make sound truth odious, and their own corrupt "novelties more possible and plausible." And again, in page 35: "So Pelagius, from whose root Popery (in that branch) and "Arminianism sprouted, was a man as strict for life as most "Catholics, yet a most dangerous and pestilent heretic." In the subsequent editions in folio, the first remark is entirely omitted; and in the second quotation, the words "and Arminianism" are wanting.
as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader also, that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confess it to the honour of God and themselves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations.

I am not willing to lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson where we left them together at Boothby Pannell, till I have looked back to the Long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in Sion College, and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, whose life seemed to be sacrificed, to appease the popular fury of that present time. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both at his trial and before it; yet my desire is, that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter concern us, that is, to note, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he did (as our blessed Saviour advised his disciples) "Pray for those that persecuted and "despitefully used him." And not only pardoned those enemies, but passionately begged of Almighty God that he would also pardon them: and besought all the present beholders of this sad sight, "That
they would pardon and pray for him." But though he did all this, yet he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for not suppressing a sort of people whose malicious and furious zeal had so far transported them, and violated all modesty, that though they could not know whether he were justly or unjustly condemned, were yet suffered to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, "that the Parliament would hasten his execution." And he having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in Popery (for that was one of the accusations for which he died); he declared with sadness, "That the several sects and divisions then in England

k "The second particular," says Archbishop Laud, in his last speech, "is concerning this great and populous city, which God bless. Here hath been of late a fashion taken up to gather hands, and then go to the great court of this kingdom, the Parliament, and clamour for justice; as if that great and wise court, before whom the causes come which are unknown to many, could not, or would not, do justice, but at their appointment. A way which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and, perhaps, upon the city's also: and this hath been lately practised against myself, the magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from parish to parish, without any check. God forgive the setters of this (with all my heart I beg it); but many well-meaning people are caught by it."

1 Mr. Evelyn informs us, that he was at Rome in the company of divers of the English fathers, when the news of the Archbishop's
"(which he had laboured to prevent) were now "like to bring the Pope a far greater harvest "than he could ever have expected without "them." And said, "these sects and divisions "introduce prophaneness under the cloak of an "imaginary religion;" and, "that we have lost "the substance of religion by changing it into "opinion; and that by these means, the Church "of England, which all the Jesuits' machinations "could not ruin, was fallen into apparent danger "by those Covenanters, which were his accusers." To this purpose he spake at his death; for which, and more to the same purpose, the reader may view his last sad sermon on the scaffold. And it is here mentioned, because his dear friend Dr. Sanderson seems to demonstrate the same fear of Popery in his two large and remarkable prefaces before his two volumes of sermons; and seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last Will, made when he was, and apprehended himself to be, very near his death. And these Covenanters ought to take notice of it, and to remember, that, by the late wicked war, begun by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the Professor's chair in Oxford; and that if he had con-
continued in it (for he lived fourteen years after) both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable cases of conscience, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determined, that posterity might have joyed and boasted, "that Dr. Sanderson was born in this nation, for the ease and benefit of all the learned that shall be born after him:" But this benefit is so like time past, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

I should now return to Boothby Pannell where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson together, but neither can now be found there: For the first was, in his journey to London, and the second seized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried prisoner to Lincoln, then a garrison of the Parliament's. For the pretended reason of which commitment, I shall give this following account:

There was one Mr. Clarke (the minister of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannell), who was an active man for the Parliament and Covenant; and one that, when Belvoire Castle (then a garrison for the Parliament) was taken by a party of the King's soldiers, was taken in it, and made a prisoner of war in Newark (then a garrison of the King's); a man so active and useful for his party, that they became so much concerned for his enlargement, that the Committee of Lincoln sent a troop of horse to seize and bring Dr. Sanderson a prisoner to that garri-
Sander; and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many that knew him so well as to reverence and treat him kindly; but told him, "he must continue their prisoner, till he " should purchase his own enlargement by procu-
"ring an exchange for Mr. Clarke, then prisoner " in the King's garrison of Newark." There were many reasons given by the Doctor of the injustice of his imprisonment, and the inequality of the exchange, but all were ineffectual: For done it must be, or he continue a prisoner. And in time done it was, upon the following conditions:

First, that Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke being exchanged, should live undisturbed at their own parishes; and if either were injured by the soldiers of the contrary party, the other, having notice of it, should procure him a redress, by having satisfaction made for his loss, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be used in the same kind by the other party. Nevertheless Dr. Sanderson could neither live safe, nor quietly, being several times plundered, and once wounded in three places; but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burden by impatience or complaining, forbore both: and possessed his soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this exchange, yet by his Providence that can bring good out of evil it turned so much to his advantage, that whereas his Living had been sequestered from the year 1644, and continued to be so till
this time of his imprisonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but more contented subsistence for himself, his wife, and children, till the happy restoration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor but contented privacy of life, his casuistical learning, peaceful moderation, and sincerity became so remarkable, that there were many that applied themselves to him for resolution in perplexed cases of conscience; some known to him, and many not; some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds; yet, as St. Paul accounted himself "a debtor to all men," so he, for he denied none. And if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, "that all worldly joys seem less, when compared "with showing mercy, or doing kindnesses;" then doubtless this Barnabas, this son of consolation, Dr. Sanderson, might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded consciences; which, as Solomon says, "are a burden that none can bear," though their fortitude may sustain their other calamities; and if words cannot express the joy of a conscience relieved from such restless agonies; then Dr. Sanderson might rejoice, that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied; and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion; and that "God had "inclined his heart to do it, to the meanest of any,
“of those poor, but precious souls, for which his
“Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified.”

Some of those very many cases that were re-
solved by letters have been preserved and printed
for the benefit of posterity; as namely: ....

1. Of the Sabbath. 5. Of Scandal.
2. Marrying with a Recu-
sant. 6. Of a bond taken in the
King's name.
3. Of unlawful love. 7. Of the engagement.

But many more remain in private hands, of
which one is of Simony; and I wish the world
might see it, that it might undeceive so many
mistaken patrons, who think they have discharged
that great and dangerous trust, both to God and
man if they take no money for a Living, though it
may be parted with for other ends less justifiable,
which I forbear to name.

And in this time of his retirement, when the
common people were amazed and grown restless
and giddy by the many falsehoods, and misappli-
cations of truths frequently vented in sermons,
when they wrested the Scripture by challenging
God to be of their party, and called upon him in
their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zeal-
ous phrenzies in this time\textsuperscript{m}, he did so com-

\textsuperscript{m} Of the impious and insolent familiarity, with which the
Preachers of these times addressed the Supreme Being, too many
proofs are extant.
passionate the generality of this misled nation, that though the times threatened such an undertaking with danger; yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his last 20 sermons, (first printed in the dangerous year 1655), in which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the Non-conformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed of a good sequestered Living, and with it such a spirit of covetousness and contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifested (his conscience having slept long and quietly in that Living), was yet at the reading of it so awakened (for there is a divine power in reason), that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the damage he was still to sustain, if he consented to it, and being still unwilling to be so convinced, as to lose by being over-reasoned, he went in haste to the bookseller of whom it was bought, threatened

One of these Preachers thus boldly expostulates. "O Lord, when wilt thou take a chair, and sit among the House of Peers? And when, O God, when, I say, wilt thou vote among the honourable House of Commons, who are so zealous of thine honour?" Again, "Lord thou hast said, that he is worse than an infidel, that provides not for his own family.—Give us not reason to say this of thee, Lord; for we are of thine own family, and yet have been scurvily provided for of a long time." See many other instances in "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence."
him; and told him in anger, "he had sold a book in which there was false divinity; and that the "preface had upbraided the Parliament, and many "godly Ministers of that party for unjust dealing." To which his reply was ('twas Tim. Garthwaite "), "that 'twas not his trade to judge of true or false "divinity, but to print and sell books; and yet if "he, or any friend of his, would write an answer to "it, and own it by setting his name to it, he "would print the answer, and promote the selling "of it."

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London, in sad-coloured clothes, and God knows, far from being costly: The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand: We had no inclination to part presently, and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a penthouse (for it began to rain) and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so incon-

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Several books which appeared at this time were printed for "Timothy Garthwaite, at the Little North door of St. Pauls." In 1660 "The Gentleman's Calling" was published, with an epistle addressed to Mr. Garthwaite, recommending an impression of it, dated "Sarum, Oct. 27, 1659, your assured friend, "Hum. H."—that is Humphrey Hinchman, afterward Bishop of Salisbury, and then of London. To this industrious bookseller the literary world is obliged for the preservation of the Letters of Mr. John Hales of Eton, written from the Synod of Dort. See Mr. Farringdon's Address to Mr. Garthwaite, prefixed to "Golden Remains," 1673.
venient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire for our ready money. The rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations of the present times with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my reader. He seemed to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the grief and scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and necessary use of it with their blood: And that no Minister was now thought godly that did not deery it; and, at least, pretend to make better prayers extempore: And that they, and only they that could do so, prayed by the spirit, and were godly; though in their sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the Common Prayer of the Church, saying, "The Holy Ghost seemed to assist the composers; and that the effect of a constant use of it would be, to melt and form the soul into holy thoughts and desires; and beget habits of devotion." This he said; and that "the Collects were the most passion-ate, proper, and most elegant comprehensive ex-pressions that any language ever afforded; and that there was in them such piety, and that, so
"interwoven with instructions, that they taught 
us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, 
and mercy of God, and much of our duty both 
to him and our neighbour; and that a congrega-
tion behaving themselves reverently, and putting 
up to God these joint and known desires for 
pardon of sins, and their praises for mercies re-
ceived, could not but be more pleasing to God, 
than those raw unpremeditated expressions which 
many understood not, and to which many of the 
hearers could not say, Amen."

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter or Psalms of David, speaking to this purpose, "That they were the treasury of 
Christian comfort, fitted for all persons and all 
necessities, able to raise the soul from dejection 
by the frequent mention of God's mercies to 
repentant sinners; able to stir up holy desires; 
to increase joy; to moderate sorrow; to nourish 
hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's 
leisure for what we beg: Able to beget a trust 
in the mercy, power, and providence of our 
Creator; and to cause a resignation of ourselves 
to his will: and then (and not till then) to 
believe ourselves happy." This he said the

"The Psalms," says Dr. Donne (Donne's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 663.), "are the Manna of the Church." As Manna tasted to every man like that that he liked best, so do the Psalms minister instruction and satisfaction to every man in every emergency or occasion. How beautiful are the late Bishop Horne's sentiments on this
Liturgy and Psalms taught us; and that by the frequent use of the last they would not only prove to be our soul's comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul that composed them. After this manner he expressed himself and sorrow concerning the Liturgy and Psalms; and seemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, should in common pulpits be turned into needless debates about free-will, election, and reprobation, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he seemed to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, "they might be religious first, and then just and merciful; that they might sell their consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping; that they might be sure they were elected, though their lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning was to be wise; that to be rich

this subject! Happier hours than those which have been spent in meditations on the songs of Sion he never expects to see in this world; and he has justly remarked, that the Psalms are calculated alike to profit and to please; they inform the understanding, elevate the affections, and entertain the imagination.
"was to be happy, though it is evidently false; "that to speak evil of government, and to be busy "in things they understood not, was no sin." These, and the like mistakes, he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and single-heartedness, with which this nation was blessed, before the unhappy covenant was brought amongst us, and every man preached and prayed what seemed best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, "that "the way to restore this nation to a more meek, "and Christian temper, was to have the body of "divinity (or so much of it as was needful to be "known by the common people) to be put into "fifty-two homilies, or sermons of such a length "as not to exceed a third or fourth part of an "hour's reading; and these needful points to be "made so clear and plain, that those of a mean "capacity might know what was necessary to be "believed, and what God requires to be done; "and then some plain applications of trial and "conviction: and these to be read every Sunday "of the year, as infallibly as the blood circulates "the body at a set time; and then as certainly "begun again, and continued the year follow-"ing ?"

\[p\] Of the Homilies appointed to be read in Churches, it must be allowed, that they abound with strange phrases, with obsolete and uncouth expressions, with coarse and inapposite applications of Scripture; not to enumerate some more essential defects. And though an entire dissent may not be withheld from the declaration
And he explained the reason of this his desire, by saying to me, "All grammar scholars that are often shifted from one to another school, learn neither so much, nor their little so truly, as those that are constant to one good master: because by the several rules of teaching in those several schools, they learn less, and become more and more confused; and, at last, so puzzled and perplexed, that their learning proves useless both to themselves and others. And so do the imme-thodical, useless, needless, notions that are delivered in many sermons, make the hearers; but a clear and constant rule of teaching us what we are to know, and do, and what not, and that taught us by an approved authority, might probably bring the nation to a more conscien-tious practice of what we know, and ought to do." Thus did this prudent man explain the reason of this his desire: and oh! that he had un-

declaration of an eminent Prelate, that "the second, third, fourth, and fifth Homilies exhibit an unexceptionable summary of doctrine upon the important points which they tend to illus-trate, and an excellent model of composition for popular in-
struction;" yet the prosecution of the plan recommended by Dr. Sanderson, with the addition of some discourses to be used on the festivals, cannot fail of being attended with the most beneficial consequences. The expediency of such a work will appear to be at this time more immediately necessary, when we consider the recent introduction and too extensive circulation of those miserable and motley discourses, which, under the direc-tion of venal compilers, are sold at a low price, to supply the lazy and the ignorant.
dertaken what he advised; for then, in all probability, it would have proved so useful, that the present age would have been blessed by it; and posterity would have blessed him for it.

And at this happy time of my enjoying his company and this discourse, he expressed a sorrow by saying to me, "O that I had gone Chaplain to " that excellently accomplished gentleman, your " friend, Sir Henry Wotton! which was once " intended when he first went Ambassador to the " State of Venice: for by that employment I had " been forced into a necessity of conversing, not " with him only, but with several men of several " nations; and might thereby have kept myself " from my unmanly bashfulness, which has proved " very troublesome, and not less inconvenient to " me; and which I now fear is become so habitual " as never to leave me": and besides, by that " means, I might also have known, or at least have " had the satisfaction of seeing one of the late " miracles of mankind, for general learning, pru-" dence, and modesty, Sir Henry Wotton's dear

1 "Is unus, quem et fateri pudet, pudor plusquam subrusticus, " et, quam facilè patior amicos, amoris quodam errore, modestiam " interpretari, invirilis quaedum verecundia.—Insuperabilis illa " quidem, ut quam natura insevit, formavit educatio, fovit " hactenus atque etiamnum fovet tenuitatis propriae consciencia: " Sed quà tamen vix aliud comperi quidquam à primà pueritiā " ad hunc usque diem aut rationibus meis, aut existimationi " magis adversarium." (Oratio habita in Scholâ Theologica "Oxon. à R. S. sacrae Theologiae, &c. 12. Oct. 1646.)
friend, Padre Paulo, who, the author of his
"life says, was born with a bashfulness as invin-
cible as I have found my own to be: A man
"whose fame must never die, till virtue and
"learning shall become so useless as not to be
"regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by
that hour's conversation: and I gladly remember
and mention it, as an argument of my happiness,
and his great humility and condescension. I had
also a like advantage by another happy conference
with him, which I am desirous to impart in this
place to the reader. He lamented much, that in
those times of confusion in many parishes where
the maintenance was not great, there was no
Minister to officiate; and that many of the best
sequestered Livings were possessed with such rigid
Covenanters as denied the sacrament to their pa-
rishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such
a manner as they could not with a good conscience
take it: This he mentioned with much sorrow,
saying, "The blessed sacrament did, even by way
"of preparation for it, give occasion to all con-
"scientious receivers to examine the performance
"of their vows, since they received that last seal
"for the pardon of their sins past; and also to
"examine and research their hearts, and make
"penitent reflections on their failings; and, that
"done, to bewail them seriously, and then make
"new vows or resolutions to obey all God's com-
"mands better, and beg his grace to perform
them. And that this being faithfully done, "then the sacrament repairs the decays of grace, "helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to "beg God's grace, and then gives us what we beg; "makes us still hunger and thirst after his righte-"ousness, which we then receive, and being assisted "with our own endeavours, will still so dwell in "us, as to become our sanctification in this life, "and our comfort on our last sick-beds." The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired, but could not obtain it.

I hope I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his person and temper. As first, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little (yet enough) of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested an endearing affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm and so matchless a fortitude, as secured him from complying with any of those many Parliamentary injunctions that interfered with a doubtful conscience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wisdom useful, his integrity visible, and his whole life so unspotted, so like the primitive Christians, that all ought to be preserved as copies for posterity to write after, the Clergy especially, who with impure hands ought not to offer sacrifice to that God whose pure eyes abhor iniquity, and especially in them.
There was in his sermons no improper rhetoric, nor such perplexed divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazzles the eyes that the sight becomes less perfect: But in them there was no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispelled all confused notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser, and more confirmed in virtuous resolutions.

His memory was so matchless and firm, as it was only overcome by his bashfulness: for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Perseus without book; and would say, "the

If we had not the most convincing proofs of the indefatigable diligence, with which the Divines of the two last centuries applied themselves to study, it would be difficult to suppose that they could find time to collect the vast mass of matter, that forms the substance of their works. And to digest that matter seems to require a man's whole life.—In extent of erudition, Dr. Sanderson was surpassed by none of his contemporaries. He is clear and perspicuous in his argumentation, easy and natural in his language. But his far-fetched introductions, his tedious repetitions of division and subdivision, are disgusting. In compliance with the prevailing mode of the times, he introduces Latin quotations, even when he preaches to the common people; herein unlike to Dr. Edward Pocock, who was described by one of his country parishioners, as "a plain honest man, but no "Latiner." In his discourses, we meet with the most comprehensive and the most accurate knowledge of classic antiquity. Thoroughly conversant in the best writings of Greece and Rome, he illustrates his own sentiments by the most apposite applications from those treasures of learning.
"repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself (which he did often) was to him such music, as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they played it voluntarily to themselves or friends."

And though he was blessed with a clearer judgment than other men, yet he was so distrustful of it, that he did usually over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and reconsider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his Divinity Lectures in Oxford, and all the scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolved and writ what he meant to determine; so that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend, Dr. Sheldon would often say of him, namely, "That his judgment was so much superior to his fancy, that whatsoever this suggested, that disliked and controlled; still considering and reconsidering, till his time was so wasted, that he was forced to write, not probably, what was best, but what he thought last." And yet what he did then read appeared to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applause.

These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him some averseness to enter into the toil of considering and determining all casuistical points; because during that time they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not
suffer his mind to be always loaden with these knotty points and distinctions; yet the study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave a pleasant rest to his mind. Of the last of

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s "He was the most diligent collector of genealogies I ever knew in these parts, especially of Lincolnshire."

(Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire, p. 475.)

t In his Articles of Visitation, in 1662, the Clergy within the county of Lincoln are desired to bring with them, in writing, a note of all such coats of arms as are in the Church windows, and of all such monuments, grave-stones, and inscriptions, whether of ancient or later times, as are yet remaining in their several respective Churches or Chapels, or the Chancels thereof.

In one of his sermons he has a continued allusion to this favourite science: "Consider this, you that are of noble or generous birth. Search your pedigrees, collect the scattered monuments and histories of your ancestors, and observe by what steps your worthy progenitors raised their houses to the height of gentry or nobility. You usurp their arms, if you inherit not their virtues: and those ensigns of honour and gentry, which they by industry achieved, sit no otherwise upon your shoulders, than as rich trappings upon asses' backs. If you, by brutish sensuality, and spending your time in swinish luxury, stain the colours and embase the metals of those badges of your gentry and nobility, which you claim by descent."

(Sanderson's Sermons, p. 212.)

u Thus did this good man innocently employ the hours of his relaxation from severer studies. Animated by this bright example, let the Clergy be induced occasionally to extend their inquiries to other matters besides divinity. Dr. Sanderson observed it "very requisite that Ministers should have a competent skill in history, mathematics, law, and physic, to enter-
which I have seen two remarkable volumes, and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this holy humble man had so conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet, he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness; always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family; nor suffered him in the times of trial to violate his conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore resolved with David, "That his praise should be always in "his mouth."

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past; and much more might be added of all: But I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men (Clergymen especially) were sufferers; namely, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a pitiful condition as to his estate:

"tain the ingenious and to advise the ignorant, who expect the "Priest's lips should preserve all knowledge, and that the people "should receive it from their mouths."

(Reason and Judgment, §c. p. 27.)

x "Dr. Sanderson had at that time a wife and children, was "reduced to great poverty, and, in the year 1658, was in a very "pitiful
The Life of

And in that time Mr. Robert Boyle, a gentle-

"pitiful condition. But, living to the restoration, he was re-
instated in his Professorship and Canonry in August, 1660,
and in October the same year consecrated to the Bishopric of
Lincoln, the palace of which, at Buckden he repaired; and, as
fines came in, augmented several poor Vicarages, notwith-
standing he was old and had a family; which when his friends
suggested to him, he made them this return, 'that he left
them to God, and hoped he should be able to give them a
competency;' though whether he did or not I am not in-
formed, only the contrary seems probable, because he enjoyed
the Bishopric but a very little time." (Walker's Sufferings of
the Clergy, p. 105.)—Of his state of poverty, see "Tracts by
Morley, Bishop of Winchester," published in 1683, and

The following incident, which is said to be well authenticated,
proves the indigence to which Dr. Sanderson was reduced at one
time, as well as the esteem in which he was held by those who
knew him. Having been pillaged by soldiers, and left destitute,
he sent his old servant, as he was wont in better times, to
Grantham, to purchase provisions, telling him, that though he
could not supply him with money, he doubted not that God
would provide for his family. A company of gentlemen, seeing
the servant loitering in the market, reproved his idleness. The
servant related his master's great distress, and the errand upon
which he was sent. The good Doctor's wants were cheerfully
and liberally supplied by the company, and the servant was
dismissed and loaded with provisions.

Yet the author of "The Confessional" hath observed, that
Dr. Calamy exhibits a different representation, informing us,
that "a certain worthy Clergyman of the Church of England,
Mr. Stephens, of Sutton, in Bedfordshire, gave him an account,
that to his knowledge, the Doctor was far from being reduced
to any poverty, in those times; nor was he in a pitiful con-
dition in 1658. He lived in as much plenty as the better sort
of Clergy did, upon his Rectory, and maintained his children
fashionably
man of a very noble birth, and more eminent

"fashionably. His living was valued at 130 or 140 pounds per " annum, and he had money besides which did not lie dead.
" For though he did not put it out to interest in the ordinary " way, which he had written against; yet did he dispose of it " in a way really more advantageous to the lender, and some- " times to the borrower. For he would give a hundred pounds " for twenty pounds for seven years. This he thought lawful, " but not the common way, which occasioned reflections from " several on his casuistical skill. This, he (Mr. Stephens) said, " was the common report; and one that was his agent in dis- " posing of the money, assured him of the truth of it." (The Church and Dissenters compared as to Persecution, p. 78.)— From the general character of Dr. Sanderson, thus cruelly aspersed, the candid reader will determine what degree of credit is due to the above evidence. The sarcasms on the casuistry of this eminent Divine, if they deserve notice, are best an- wered by the words of Archbishop Usher: "I proposed," says he, "the case to judicious Dr. Sanderson, who grasped all the cir- mumstances of it, and returned that happy answer, that met all " my thoughts, satisfied all my scruples, and cleared all my " doubts."

Mr. Boyle, the glory of his age and nation, died December 30, 1691, having survived his beloved sister, Lady Ranelagh, only one week. To the accomplishments of a scholar and a gentleman, he added the most exalted piety, the purest sanctity of manners. His unbounded munificence was extended to the noblest and most honourable purposes—the advancement of true religion in almost all parts of the world. A firm friend to the Church of England, he was one of her brightest ornaments. So long as goodness, learning, and charity, are held in estimation, the name of Boyle will be revered.

At Oxford, which was then the Asylum of learned men, Mr. Boyle fixed his residence in 1654, that he might pursue his philosophical, critical, and theological studies. Here he formed a strict
for his liberality, learning, and virtue, and of whom I would say much more, but that he still lives, having casually met with and read his Lectures de Juramento, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition, by his not complying with the Parliament's injunctions, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow (the now learned Bishop of Lincoln) 50l. and with it a request and promise: The request was, "that he would review " the Lectures de Conscientia, which he had read " when he was Doctor of the Chair in Oxford, " and print them for the good of posterity;" and

a strict intimacy with Dr. Thomas Barlow, at that time principal Librarian of the Bodleian Library.——Lord Orrery, in his notes on "Pliny's Epistles," B. VI. Ep. 16. has compared Mr. Boyle, in his philosophical character, to Pliny the Elder, as resembling him in "his constitution of body, and his speculative turn of "mind, and his too great credulity in believing all men as sincere "and ingenuous as himself."

2 Dr. Thomas Barlow, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, was appointed Bishop of Lincoln in 1675, and dying, in 1691, was buried on the north side of the chancel of the Church of Bugden, near to the body of Dr. Sanderson, and, at his own request, in the grave of Dr. William Barlow, one of his predecessors, whose monument being destroyed in the late civil war, he caused another to be erected, and also one for himself, with an inscription written by him a few days before his death. From his incomparable knowledge both in theology and Church-history, and the ecclesiastical law, the character which Cicero gave of Crassus has been applied to him: "Non unus è "multis,
this Dr. Sanderson did in the year 1659. And the promise was, “that he would pay him that, “or, if he desired it, a greater sum yearly, during “his life, to enable him to pay an amanuensis, to “ease him from the trouble of writing what he “should conceive or dictate.” For the more par-“ricular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ to me by the said Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the beginning of the year 1660, when the many mixed sects, and their creators, and merciless protectors, had led, or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion both in Church and

“multis, sed unus inter omnes singularis.” His great zeal against Popery was considerably abated after the accession of James II.; and it is much to be regretted, that we do not find his name among those ever venerable Prelates, who, in the hour of danger, stood forth the champions of the Protestant religion, by their steady opposition to the mandates of arbitrary power.

Dr. Sanderson, in consequence of this application, communi-
nicated by Dr. Barlow from Mr. Boyle, published his treatise entitled “De Obligatione Conscientiæ Praelectiones Decem “Oxonii in Scholá Theologicá habitæ, Anno Domini 1647,” and addressed it to Mr. Boyle in an elegant dedication, dated at Boothby Pannell, Nov. 22, 1659, wherein he commends his patron, “cūm natalium splendor illustrís, tum generous mentis indole amore literarum, humanitate, pietate, et omni virtu-
tum genere tumultu etiam illustriorem, mihi tamen, delitescenti “nimirum in parvā Casuli suaviter, nec quid rerum foris geratur, “præsertim ut nunc sunt tempora, multum solici to, de facie nun-
quam ante paucos menses, nec de nomine quidem, adeoque ne “nunc tandem nisi solá munificentii notum.”
State; when amazement and fear had seized most of them by foreseeing they must now not only vomit up the Church's and the King's land, but their accusing consciences did also give them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the god of opposition, disobedience, and confusion, which they had so long and so diligently feared, was now ready to reward them with such wages as he always pays to witches for their obeying him; when these wretches (that had said to themselves, "we shall see no sorrow") were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return, and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderson (and with him many of the oppressed Clergy and others) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it; then the 29th of May following, the King was by our good God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and then a

*This allusion may admit some apology, when it is considered that the opinion concerning the reality of witchcraft was not exploded even at the end of the seventeenth century. The prejudices of popular credulity are not easily effaced. Men of learning, either from conviction, or from some other equally powerful motive, adopted the system of demonology advanced by James I.; and it was only at a recent period that the Legislature repealed the act made in the first year of the reign of that monarch, entitled "An Act against Conjuration, Witchcraft, and dealing " with evil and wicked Spirits."

A preacher from Queen's College, Cambridge, is required to deliver a discourse against witchcraft, diabolical contracts, &c. at Huntingdon, every year, on the 25th day of March. See "Smith's Select Discourses," p. 442.
general joy and peace seemed to breathe through the three nations; the suffering and sequestered Clergy (who had, like the children of Israel, sat long lamenting their sad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon) were, after many thoughtful days and restless nights, now freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to Almighty God publicly, in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson and his dejected family rejoiced to see this happy day, and be of this number.

At this time of the conformable Clergy's deliverance from the Presbyterian severities, the Doctor said to a friend, "I look back on this strange and happy turn of the late times, with amazement and thankfulness; and cannot but think the Presbyterians ought to read their own errors, by considering that by their own rules the Independents have punished and supplanted them, as they did the conformable Clergy, who

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b On July 20, 1660, some of the Clergy of the county of Lincoln, in the name of the rest, being brought into the royal presence, the Earl of Manchester presented an address to the King, by the hands of the reverend and most learned Dr. Sanderson, accompanied by that worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Meers. This address, of which there is a copy in "Kennet's Register," p. 209, was probably penned by Dr. Sanderson.
"are now (so many as still live) restored to their lawful right; and, as the prophet David hath taught me, so I say, with a thankful heart, 'Verily there is a God that judgeth the earth: and a reward for the righteous.'"

It ought to be considered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times, men of learning, prudence, and virtue, were usually sought for, and solicited to accept of Episcopal government, and often refused it. For they conscientiously considered, that the office of a Bishop was not made up of ease and state, but of labour and care: that they were trusted to be God's almoners of the Church's revenue, and double their care for the Church's good and the poor; to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their family, officers, and clergy, became examples of innocence and piety to others; and that the account of that stewardship must, at the last dreadful day, be made to the Searcher of all hearts: and, for these reasons, they were in the primitive times timorous to undertake it. It may not be said, that Dr. Sanderson was accomplished with these, and all the other requisites required in a Bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly; but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of seventy-three years (for he was so old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man than are apparent in others in these days, in which, God knows, we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to
God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Christianity.—This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderson; as namely, that at the King's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Archbishop of Canterbury (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderson more or better), was by his Majesty made a chief trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant Bishoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderson, and therefore humbly desired the King that he would nominate him: and, that done, he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderson, that he would, for God's and the Church's sake, take that care and charge upon him. Dr. Sanderson had, if not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness to undertake it, and would often say, "he had not led "himself, but his friend would now lead him into "a temptation, which he had daily prayed against; "and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to "assist him with his grace, that the example of "his life, his cares, and endeavours might promote "his glory, and help forward the salvation of "others."

"He was made Bishop, with the universal vote of all good "men in 1660, as who expected his prudence, counsel, equa- "nimity, and moderation, equal with his other abilities, might "allay animosities, close differences, heal men's distempers, and "work a right understanding; all men imagining his gravity "might awe, his goodness oblige, his moderation temper, his "reason persuade, and his approved sincerity prevail upon all "men
This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his Bishopric; and am next to tell that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, at Westminster, the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a Christian care taken, that those whose consciences were, as they said, tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the Church, might have a satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of

"men otherwise minded; for he was not only a man of much learning and reading, but of a mature understanding, and a mellow judgment, in all matters politic and prudential, both ecclesiastical and civil." (Reason and Judgment, p. 39.)—

"He had this advantage of other men, that, when he entered upon that employment which lay open to the malice and envy of so many, his life was so spotless, his integrity so eminent, that partiality itself could not accuse him: he being a man of solid worth, in whom was nothing dubious or dark, nothing various or inconstant, nothing formal or affected, nothing as to his public carriage that was suspected, nothing that needed palliation or apology. I never heard of any thing said or done by him, which a wise and good man would have wished not said or undone." (Ib. p. 40).

4 A sermon was preached at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Fathers in God Gilbert (Sheldon) Lord Bishop of London, Humphrey (Henchman) Lord Bishop of Sarum, George (Morley) Lord Bishop of Worcester, Robert (Sanderson) Lord Bishop of Lincoln, George (Griffith) Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, on Sunday October 28, 1660, at St. Peter's, Westminster, by John Sudbury, D. D. and one of the Prebendaries of that Church, on 1 Tim. iii. 1.—It was dedicated to Lord Hyde the Chancellor, who was present, and at whose desire it was printed.
those that had been sufferers for the Church-service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty; of which last, some were then preferred to power and dignity in the Church. And of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate, and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason; but all proved ineffectual: For there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which, though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy, in the Strand: and the points debated were, I think, many (and I think many of them needless); some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates, being at first in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed, as satisfied neither party. For some time

* At the Bishop of London's lodgings in the Savoy. A person in the least degree conversant in the transactions of this memorable period will determine whether this Conference deserves to be called "a complication of sophistry, hypocrisy, and virulence, "on the part of the orthodox, hardly to be paralleled in a Popish history." See the Preface to the first edition of "The Confessional," p. xxix.

"The Bishops being provoked by their long sufferings, and not brooking to have laws prescribed to them by those who had been the occasion thereof, were not very forward to make any alterations which were proposed by the Presbyterians, even in some things as might have deserved consideration; refusing them so much as the change of deadly sin, in the Liturgy, into heinous sin."
that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot, or mistaken, or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. And that the debate might become more satisfactory and useful, it was therefore resolved, that the day following the desires and reasons of the Nonconformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though

"The Presbyterians, on the other hand, heaped together all the old exceptions, which the Puritans, for two years, had raised against the Liturgy, with the addition of some new ones. But Mr. Baxter's new-fangled Liturgy, drawn up in a method which was warranted by no ancient forms, either Greek or Latin, was looked on by all, on the Church side, with the greatest disdain. And, indeed, it is an occasion of no little wonder to think, that so many learned men of the Presbyterian side could ever be persuaded to give their consent to let such an odd performance of that kind be laid before Bishops Cosin, Morley, Nicholson, Pearson, Dr. Gunning, Dr. Heylin, Mr. Thorndike, &c. men so admirably versed in antiquity and Liturgical learning: and this especially, when they were directed by the commission to compare the Common Prayer Book with the most ancient Liturgies, which have been used in the Church, in the most primitive and purest times; and to avoid, as much as may be, all unnecessary alterations of the Forms and Liturgy, wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England." (Dr. Nicholl's Preface to his Comment on the Common Prayer, p. x.)—Charles II. in his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, proposed to the dissatisfied part of the Clergy, that they would read so much of the Liturgy, as they themselves had no exception against. But, in many of them, he could not prevail for so much as one syllable, not one Collect, no nor so much as one chapter, according to the Rubric;
I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren; yet I am sure Mr. Richard Baxter was one, and I am sure also one of the points debated was "Concerning a command of lawful "Superiors, what was sufficient towards its being "a lawful command?"—This following proposition was brought by the conforming party:

so much doth yielding work upon that good generation. See "Kennet's Register," p. 432.

Mr. Baxter's genius, like that of many other reformers, was "ten times apter for pulling down than for building up."

Baxter," says Bishop Burnet, "was a man of great piety, and "if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been "esteemed one of the learned men of the age. He wrote near "two hundred books. Of these, three are large folios. He had "a moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole "life long a man of great zeal and simplicity, but was most un-"happily subtle and metaphysical in every thing. Great sub-
mission was paid to him by the whole party. So he persuaded "them, that, from the words of the commission, they were "bound to offer every thing that they thought might conduce to "the good or peace of the Church, without considering what "was like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding so much "might have in irritating the minds of those who were then the "superior body in strength and number.

"The good Sir Matthew Hale lived in habits of intimacy with "Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour, and whom he considered "as a person of great devotion and piety, and of a very subtle "and quick apprehension: their conversation lay most in meta-"physical and abstracted ideas and schemes."

(Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 35.)
"That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus: One was, "Because that may be a sin per accidens, which is not so in itself; and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command." Another was, "That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence per accidens any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, is not sinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason, then given in with his own hand in writing, thus: "Because the first act commanded may be per accidens unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded be such."

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly, or per accidens, any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act per acci-
"dens unlawful, nor of commanding an act under "an unjust penalty."

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same reasons.

**Peter Gunning**

**John Pearson**

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5 Dr. Peter Gunning was a resolute defender of his Majesty King Charles the First's cause and right, and the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, against all sorts of sectaries, with whom he had almost daily public disputes in their congregations, for which he underwent all sorts of obloquy, hardships, and imprisonments. At the restoration, he was made, first, Prebendary of Canterbury, Master of Bennet, and soon after of St. John's College in Cambridge; then Regius Professor of Divinity, Bishop of Chichester, and, lastly, of Ely, in possession of which see he died, in 1684. (Magna Britannia, p. 575, 576.)

Bishop Burnet has observed, that Gunning was a man of great reading, and noted for a special subtlety of writing; that in this conference all the arts of sophistry were made use of by him in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning. He was a man of an innocent life, unweariedly active to very little purpose. He was much set on reconciling us with Popery, and set himself with great zeal to clear the Church of Rome from idolatry. This made many suspect him as inclining to go over. But he was far from it, and was a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment, and of no prudence in affairs. He was for conforming in all things to the rules of the primitive Church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the use of oil, and many other things. He formed many in Cambridge upon his own notions, who have perhaps carried them farther than he intended. Baxter and he spent some days, in much logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who said, "here were a couple of fencers engaged in disputes, that could "never be brought to an end, nor have any good effect." See "Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times."

h Dr. John Pearson, the son of a private Clergyman in Norfolk, and grandson to Vaughan Bishop of London, was elected
These were then two of the disputants, still alive, and will attest this; one being now Lord Bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the Dissenters (which I could, but forbear to name), appeared to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so

elected from Eton school into King's College in Cambridge, in 1632. He was Fellow of that College for some time, and in 1639 was collated by Bishop Davenant to the Prebend of Netherhaven in the Church of Sarum, the same which Mr. Hooker formerly enjoyed. In 1642, he was Minister of St. Clement's East Cheap, London, where he preached those excellent sermons, which he afterwards digested into his justly celebrated "Exposition of the Creed." In 1657, he and Mr. Gunning distinguished themselves by a conference with two disputants of the Church of Rome. At the restoration he was rewarded with preferment, being appointed Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and successively Master of Jesus College, and of Trinity College: and at length was promoted to the See of Chester, on the death of Dr. Wilkins.

Of the manner in which Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearson conducted themselves at the Savoy Conference, Mr. Baxter has given the following account:—"Dr. Pearson and Dr. Gunning did all their work (beside Bishop Morley's discourses), but with great difference in the manner. Dr. Pearson was their true logician and disputant, without whom, as far as I could discern, we should have had nothing from them, but Dr. Gunning's passionate invectives, mixed with some argumentations. He disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly, being but once in any passion, breeding in us a great respect for him, and a persuasion, that, if he had been independent, he would have been for peace; and that, if all were in his power, it would have gone well:—He was the strength and honour of that cause, which we doubted whether he heartily main-"
troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderson (who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and a Moderator with other Bishops) to say, with an unusual earnestness, "that he had never met with a man of more "pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all "his conversation.""

tained. Dr. Gunning was their farthest and greatest "speaker, understanding well what belonged to a disputant, a "man of greater study and industry than any of them, well "read in fathers and councils, and of a ready tongue (and I hear "and believe of a very temperate life as to all carnal excesses "whatevers), but so vehement for his high imposing principles, "and so over zealous for Arminianism, and formality, and "Church-pomp, and so very eager and fervent in his dis-
"course, that, I conceive, his prejudice and passion much "perverted his judgment; and, I am sure, they made him "lamentably over-run himself in his discourses." (Reliq. Baxt. p. 364.)

We must here regret a sad and melancholy instance of human imbecility. This acute reasoner, this profound Divine, the author of "The Exposition of the Creed," and of many other most learned works, was, for some years before his death, reduced to a state of childhood, and became totally deprived of his memory, and of the use of his mental faculties.

1 "At this Conference in the Savoy," Bishop Morley tells us, "the generality of the non-conforming Divines showed them-
"selves unwilling to enter upon dispute; and seemed to like "much better another way tending to an amicable and fair "compliance, which was frustrated by a certain person's furious "eagerness to engage in a disputation." (The Protestant Peacemaker, by Bishop Rust, 1682.)—There is little doubt, but that Mr. Baxter is here meant.
But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires, and understood the abilities of the other much better than before it: and the late distressed Clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, were so charitable, as at their next meeting in Convocation to contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction, by alteration, explanation, and addition, to some part both of the Rubric and Common Prayer; as also by adding some new necessary Collects, with a particular Collect of thanksgiving. How many of these new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson, I cannot say; but am sure the whole Convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was determined, the Convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve and thank him.

At this Convocation the Common-Prayer was made more complete by adding three new necessary offices; which were, "A Form of Humiliation for the Murder of King Charles the Martyr;" "A Thanksgiving for the Restoration of his Son our King;" and "For the Baptizing of Persons of riper Age." I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did

\[\text{It was thought convenient, that some prayers and thanksgivings, fitted to special occasions, should be added in their due}\]
form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the Convocation; and he did also, by desire of the Convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be used at sea (now taken into the Service-Book). And it may be noted, that William, the now most Reverend

"due places, particularly for those at sea, together with an office "for the baptism of such as are of riper years; which, although "not so necessary, when the former book was compiled, yet, by "the growth of Anabaptism, through the licentiousness of the "late times, crept in amongst us, is now become necessary, and "may be always useful for the baptizing of natives in our plan-"tations, and others converted to the faith."

(Preface to the Common Prayer.)

Dr. William Sancroft was, as his name imports, a man of incorrupt sincerity. If innocence of life, and rectitude of heart, ever demanded our esteem and veneration, this Prelate is justly entitled to them. To a good conscience he sacrificed every worldly consideration.—When he lay upon his death-bed, he was visited by Mr. Needham, formerly one of his Chaplains, who had differed from him in his political conduct. Having given him his benediction most affectionately, he said, "You "and I have gone different ways in these late affairs; but I trust "that Heaven's gates are wide enough to receive us both." Upon Mr. Needham's modest attempt to give an account of his own conduct, his Grace was pleased to reply; "I always took "you for an honest man: What I said concerning myself was "only to let you know, that what I have done I have done in "the integrity of my heart, indeed in the great integrity of my "heart." See his character finely drawn by Mr. Nelson, in "The Life of Dr. George Bull," p. 354.

Dr. John Pell, the first mathematician of the age in which he lived, and celebrated for his knowledge of ancient and modern languages, was the person who, on Dec. 5, 1661, brought into the
Archbishop of Canterbury, was in these employments diligently useful, and especially in helping to rectify the Kalendar and Rubric. And lastly, it may be noted, that for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the Convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be now known by this title, "The Preface."

It "hath been the wisdom of the Church."

the Upper House of Convocation, the Kalendar reformed by him, with the assistance of Mr. Sancroft.

1 "The Preface is said to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson, and it should seem by the style thereof to be his. However no mention of his being the author of it is made in the Acts of the Upper House of Convocation. It is there only said, 'Die Lun. 2 Decemb. Praefatium sive Exordium Libri Precum fuit Introduct. et Public. Perlect.' On Monday the 2d of December, the Preface or Introduction to the Common Prayer-Book was brought in and read: But it is not said by whom. It was referred to a Committee of the Upper House, to consider of it, who were Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely; Dr. Robert Skinner, Bishop of Oxon; Dr. Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of Sarum; and Dr. George Griffith, Bishop of St. Asaph. On the 13th of that month, the Acts say, some amendments were made to the Preface." (Dr. Nicholl's Comment on the Common Prayer.)—It may be further remarked, that the Prayers "for Ember Weeks," "for the Parliament," "for all Conditions of Men," were added at the review of the Liturgy in 1661.
I shall now follow Dr. Sanderson to his Bishopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busy and weighty employment. And first, that it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanest of his Clergy, as to know and be known to most of them. And indeed he practised the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old neighbours or parishioners of Boothby Pannell, for there was all joy at his table when they came to visit him: Then they prayed for him, and he for them with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied, but that the care and toil required of a Bishop may justly challenge the riches and revenue with which their predecessors had lawfully endowed them; and yet he sought not that so much, as doing good with it both to the present age and posterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The Bishop's chief house at Bugden, in the county of Huntington, the usual residence of his predecessors (for it stands about the midst of his Diocese), having been at his consecration a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repaired; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge. And to this

Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, did wonders at his seat of Bugden, with the will of a liberal man, and the wit of a good surveyor: For, in the space of one year, with many hands
may be added, that the King having by an injunction commended to the care of the Bishops, Deans, and Prebends of all Cathedral Churches, the repair of them, their houses, and an augmentation of the revenue of small Vicarages; he, when he was repairing Bugden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases: So fast, that a friend taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember, "he was under his first fruits, and that he was old, "and had a wife and children that were yet but "meanly provided for, especially if his dignity

hands and good pay, he turned a ruinous thing into a stately mansion. The out-houses were re-edified with convenient beauty, as well for use as uniformity: And the outward courts, which were next them, he cast into fair alleys, and grass-plats. Within doors, the cloisters were the trimmest part of his repairs: The windows of the square beautified with stories of coloured glass; the pavement laid smooth and new; and the walls, on every side, hung with pieces of exquisite workmen in limning, collected and provided long before. The like and better was done for the Chapel in all these circumstances, and with as much cost as it was capable of. He loved stirring and walking, which he used two hours or more every day in the open air, if the weather served; especially if he might go to and fro, where good scents and works of well-formed shape were about him. But that this was his innocent recreation, it would amount to an error, that he should bury so much money in gardens, arbours, orchards, pools for water-fowls, and for fish of all variety, with a walk raised three foot from the ground, of about a mile in compass, shaded and covered on each side with trees and pales. He that reports this knows best that all the nurseries about London for fair flowers and choice fruits were ransacked to
"were considered "." To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, "It would not be-
"come a Christian Bishop to suffer those houses 
"built by his predecessors to be ruined for want 
"of repair; and less justifiable to suffer any of 
"those poor Vicars that were called to so high a 
"calling as to sacrifice at God's altar, to eat the 
"bread of sorrow constantly, when he had a 
"power by a small augmentation to turn it unto 
"the bread of cheerfulness; and wished, that as 
"this was, so it were also in his power to make 
"all mankind happy, for he desired nothing more.

to furnish him. Alcinous, if he had lived at Bugden, could not have lived better. And all this, take it together, might have stood to become five ages after his reparation. But what is there that appears now? or what remains of all this cost and beauty? all is dissipated, defaced, pluckt to pieces to pay the army; following the rule, which Severus the Emperor gave to his sons Antoninus and Geta, "locupletate Milites, ceteros contemnite!"
Here's nothing standing of all the Bishop's delights and ex-
 pense. "Nebuzar-adan, the servant of the King of Babylon, "hath been there," 2 Kings, xxv. 8. and made profit of the 
 havoc of the palace, though the building would have yielded 
more gain to have let it stood, than to be demolished. See 
"Bishop Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams," P. II. p. 29.

Dr. Sanderson had issue three sons, and two daughters. 1. 
Catharine, baptized May 27, 1621. 2. Thomas, baptized Feb. 2, 
1621, which Thomas was married at Lenton, otherwise Laving-
ton, to Elizabeth Winlup, one of the daughters of Samuel Win-
lup, S. T. P. June 19, 1653. Being deprived of his Fellowship 
of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, he applied himself to phy-
sic, and became eminent in the practice of it at Grantham, 
where he died. 3. Mary, baptized May 30, 1625, who was 
married
"And for his wife and children, he hoped to leave them a competence, and in the hands of a God that would provide for all that kept innocence, " and trusted in his providence and protection, " which he had always found enough to make and " keep him happy.

There was in his Diocese a Minister of almost his age, that had been of Lincoln College when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness: This Minister asked the Bishop what Books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning? To which his answer was, "That he declined reading many " books; but what he did read were well chosen.

married to William Geery of Braunston, Clerk, Oct. 16, 1649.

4. Robert, baptized Nov. 18, 1630, and married to Anne Foxley, grand-daughter of Edward Foxley, senior, parish-clerk, May 17, 1658. 5. Henry, baptized Dec. 3, 1633. (From the Parish Register of Boothby Pannell.)—Henry married Frances, the eldest daughter of Edward second Earl of Manchester, by his second wife, the daughter of Robert Rich Earl of Warwick.

(Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 113.)

* Among the subscribers towards the repair of the delapidated buildings of Christ Church in Oxford, we find the name of Dr. Sanderson contributing eighty pounds.

(Kennel's Register, p. 345.)

Æ Luther advised all that intended to study in what art soever, that they should betake themselves to the reading of some sure and certain sorts of books oftentimes over and again; for to read many sorts of books produceth more and rather confusion, than to
"and read so often, that he became very familiar with them;" and told him, "they were chiefly three, "Aristotle's Rhetoric," "Aquinas's Secunda Secundae," and "Tully," but chiefly his "Offices," which he had not read over less than

to learn thereout any thing certainly or perfectly, like as those that dwell every where and remain certainly in no place, such do dwell no where, nor are any where at home. And like as in company we use not daily the community of all good friends, but of some few selected, even so likewise ought we to accustom ourselves to the best books, and to make the same familiar unto us, that is, to have them, as we use to say, at our finger's ends. (Luther's Table Talk, p. 507.)

"Thomas Aquinas, usually styled "The Angelic Doctor," and "The Eagle of Divines," was the great luminary of the scholastic world, in the fourteenth century. He first introduced the Philosophy of Aristotle, in direct opposition to several Divines, and particularly to the Roman Pontiffs. It was usual, at that time, to compose and publish sums, or systematical collections of virtues and vices. "The Second Part of the Sum of Thomas Aquinas was wholly employed in laying down the "principles of morality, and in deducing and illustrating the "various duties that result from them." (Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. III. p. 102.) "Notwithstanding the ridicule, which, "in these days, attends the mere mention of the Angelic Doctor, I will venture to affirm," says an eminent writer of the present age, "That in that work 'The Summa Theologica of "Thomas Aquinas,' there are, mixed indeed with many difficult "subtleties and perverse interpretations of Scripture, not a few "theological questions of great moment, stated with clearness "and judgment."

"'Tully's Offices,' a book which boys read and men under-"stand, was so esteemed of my Lord Burleigh, that, to his "dying
"twenty times, and could at this age repeat without book." And told him also, "The learned Civilian Doctor Zouch (who died lately) had writ "Elementa Jurisprudentiae," which was a book that he thought he could also say without book; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love, or commend it too much:" And he told him "the study of these had been his toil; but for himself, he always had a natural love to genealogies and heraldry; and that when his thoughts were harassed with any perplexed studies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation; and that his very recreation had made him dying day, he always carried it about him, either in his bosom or his pocket, as a complete piece, that, like 'Aristotle's Rhetoric,' would make both a scholar and an honest man." (Lloyd's State Worthies.)—"En itaque quem in hoc scriptionis genere ducem sequaris illum olim in Academià Oxoniensi Theologiae Professorem regium, Sandersonum: Hominem in primis dialecticum, neque verò minus oratorem: Qui horridiorem illum scholasticorum æræ, elegantiae cujusdam novae et singularis condimento temperatam exhibuit; ita ut de qualibet re subjectâ apte, distinctè, graviter, nec inornatè verba faceret. Unde illi hac eximia dicendi facultas accesserit rogas? Inde nimirum unde eandem et ipse facilè possis depromere. Versabatur ille in M. T. Ciceronis Operibus non quidem oratoriiis, quæ plus admirationis, quàm imitationis habere videbantur, sed in philosophicis; quippe ad usus morales communisque magis attemperatis: Hæc ille continuò legere, relegere, eorum succum atque sanguinem haurire, in scripta sua transfundere. Itaque illi verborum neque delectus neque copia deerat." (Dr. John Burton's Address to the Reader, prefixed to his Latin Tract, entitled "Samuel."
so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the descent, arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or gentry of this nation."

Before I give an account of his last sickness, I desire to tell the reader, that he was of a healthful constitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet $^5$, and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death; but was then every winter punished with a diarrhoea, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it: And this distemper did, as he grew older, seize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indisposed than sick, and did no way disable him from studying (indeed too much). In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason (for this distemper works not upon the understanding), he made his last Will, of which I shall give some account for confirmation of what has been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did, in his last Will, give an account of his faith and persuasion in point of religion and Church-government, in these very words:....

$^5$ "In his apparel none more plain; in his diet none more temperate, 'eating,' as he would say, 'rationally, only for health 'and life:' One meal a day sufficed him, with some fruit at 'night; in his sleep none more sparing; eleven or twelve at 'night being his usual time of going to rest, five, or very rarely six, the hour of his rising." (Reason and Judgment, p. 16.)
I Robert Sanderson, Doctor of Divinity, an unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, and by the providence of God, Bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) without any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my Will and Testament (written all with my own hand) revoking all former Wills by me hitherto made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in itself (infinitely polluted with sin,) but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son and my most sweet Saviour, Jesus Christ; in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die in the communion of the Catholic Church of Christ, and a true son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education
(to which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and impartial examination of the grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the Papists on the one hand, and the superstition which the Puritans on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God the Father of Mercies, to preserve the Church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the world's end: which doubtless he will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people (and particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also farther humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious Sovereign, the reverend Bishops, and the Parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens this Church in point of religion by the late great increase of Popery, and in point of revenue by sacrilegious inclosures; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies as may prevent the same before it be too late.

And for a further manifestation of his humble
thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader, by another part of his Will which follows:

As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to the earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the parish-church of Bugden, towards the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or, at the farthest, the third day after my decease; and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person, how near soever related to me, other than the inhabitants of Bugden; without the unnecessary expense of escutcheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and without any blacks to be hung anywhere in or about the house or church, other than a pulpit-cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning-gown for the Preacher; whereof the former, after my body shall be interred, to be given to the Preacher of the funeral sermon, and the latter to the Curate of the parish, for the time being. And my will further is, that the funeral sermon be preached by my own household Chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment; and that he shall have for his pains five pounds, upon condition that he speak nothing at all concerning my person either good or ill, other than I myself shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will that no costly monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone to be laid over me, with this
inscription, in legible Roman characters:—DEPOSITUM ROBERTI SANDERSON NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCLXII. ET AETATIS SUE SEPTUAGESIMO SEXTO. HIC REQUIESCIT IN SPE BEATAE RESURRECTIONIS.——This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my Will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least hæresoever testifying at my death, what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time, my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expenses otherwise laid out in funeral

† Prefixed to the inscription on his monument are his arms: and there is also an addition denoting the day on which he died, viz. January 29, 1662. Mr. James Heath (of whom see "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 337.) wrote an elegy with an epitaph on the much lamented death of Dr. Sanderson.

"It was the request of Rainbow Bishop of Carlisle, that no "pomp or state should be used at his funeral, no more than any "eulogium should be made of him (such was his rare modesty "and humility); so did he desire to be buried in Dalston "Churchyard, and to have a plain stone laid over his grave, "with no other inscription but that such a day and year died "Edward, Bishop of Carlisle."

(Life of Bishop Rainbow, p. 81.)
solemnities and entertainments, with very little benefit to any, which, if bestowed in pious and charitable works, might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons.—This is a part of his Will.

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662, and that his body was buried in Bugden, the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from ostentation, as he desired it; and all the rest of his Will was as punctually performed. And when I have, to his just praise, told this truth, that he died far from being rich, I shall return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his last sick-bed.

His last Will, of which I have mentioned a part, was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his strength to decay, by reason of his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what might concern this world. Thus, as his natural life decayed, his spiritual life seemed to be more strong, and his faith more confirmed: still labouring to attain that holiness and purity, without which none shall see God. And that not any of his Clergy (which are more numerous than any other Bishop's of this nation) might suffer by his retirement, he did, by commission, empower his Chaplain, Mr.
Pullin, with episcopal power, to give institutions to all Livings or Church-preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement, which was wholly spent in devotion, he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, "His friends said their prayers backward for him; and that it was not his desire to live an useless life, and, by filling up a place, keep another out of it that might do God and his Church more service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, "that during his being a housekeeper, which was more than forty years, there had not been one buried out of his family, and that he was now like to be the first." He would also mention with thankfulness, "that, till he was threescore years of age, he had never spent five shillings in law, nor, upon himself, so much in wine: and rejoiced much that he had so lived, as never to cause an hour's sorrow to his good father: and that he hoped that he should die without an enemy."

He in this retirement had the Church prayers read in his chamber twice every day; and at nine

*Mr. John Pullin, B. D. and formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge. We find his name subscribed to a copy of commendatory Latin verses prefixed to "Duport's Greek Version of Job." He was a Prebendary of Lincoln, and also Chancellor of Lincoln.*
at night some prayers read to him and a part of his family, out of "The Whole Duty of Man." As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals: and his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he, expecting and calling for it, was answered, "It would be ready in a quarter of an hour." To which his reply was, with some earnestness, "A quarter of an hour!—Is a quarter of an hour "nothing to a man that probably has not many "hours to live?" And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary either of motion or sitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed. In which I desire he may rest, till I have given some short account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed (which was three days before his death) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his Chaplain, Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express*. After the praise and thanks-

* This narrative entirely confutes the rumour that was industriously propagated concerning this good man, "that, before
giving for this blessing was ended, he spake to this purpose: "I have now to the great joy of my soul tasted of the all-saving sacrifice of my Saviour's death and passion; and with it received a spiritual assurance that my sins past are pardoned, and my God at peace with me: and that I shall never have a will or power to do any thing that may separate my soul from the love of my dear Saviour. Lord confirm this belief in me; and make me still to remember that it was thou, O God, that tookest me out of my mother's womb, and hast been the powerful Protector of me to this present moment of my life: thou hast neither forsaken me now I am become grey-headed, nor suffered me to forsake thee in the late days of temptation, and sacrifice my conscience for the preservation of my liberty or estate. It was not of myself but by grace that I have stood, when others have fallen under my trials; and these mercies I now remember with joy and thankfulness; and my hope and desire is, that I may die remembering this, and

"his death, he repented of what he had written against the Presbyterians, and that on his death-bed he would suffer no hierarchical Minister to come to pray with him, but desired, "and had only Presbyterians about him:" And further to contradict this report, Mr. Pullin, his household Chaplain, published a sermon, preached at a Visitation holden at Grantham, Oct. 8, 1641, the last sermon that Dr. Sanderson wrote with his own hand. This sermon was printed in 1681, with all his other sermons, in one volume folio.
"praising thee, my merciful God."—The frequent repetition of the Psalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive Christians: The Psalms having in them, not only prayers and holy instructions, but such commemorations of God's mercies, as may preserve, comfort, and confirm our dependence on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator. And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy Psalmist said, that "his eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and the night-watches, by meditating on God's word;"—so it was Dr. Sanderson's constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts with a repetition of those very psalms that the Church had appointed to be constantly read in the daily morning-service; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly closed his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for the service of the evening; remembering and repeating the very psalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this exercise of his devotion. And if the first-fruits of his waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it; he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth, which is now the employment of Dr. Hammond and him in heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he desired his Chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution: and at his performing that
office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his body seemed to be at more ease, and his mind more cheerful; and he said often, "Lord, forsake me not now "my strength faileth me, but continue thy mercy, "and let my mouth be ever filled with thy "praise." He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment": and, during that time, did often

Thus Dr. Hammond, in his last sickness, did not by peevishness disquiet his attendants; but was pleased with every thing that was done, and liked every thing that was brought.—(Life of Dr. Hammond, p. 227.) There are three of Archbishop Secker's sermons which I read repeatedly with serious attention—because they apply to a condition in which the lot of humanity will one day assuredly place me; unless it should please Almighty God to take me out of this world by a sudden death. They are "on the Duties of the Sick," from Isa. xxxviii. 1, 2. The following passage relates to our behaviour towards all who are about us in our sickness:—"We are strictly bound ": to show them, peculiarly at that time, great humanity and "goodness; not requiring from them more fatiguing and con-

stant attendance than is fit; nor more care, skill, and dex-

terity than is to be expected: recollecting that our illness "inclines us to imagine things amiss in a degree beyond "reality, and that others ought not to suffer merely because "we do: thinking often how disagreeable an office they go "through, and what benefit and comfort we receive from it: "begging them to forgive us those hasty sallies of fretfulness "and impatience, that sometimes will escape us; and making "them good amends, in every way that we can, for all the "trouble which they take about us."

(Secker's Sermons, Vol. III. p. 281.)
say to himself the 103d Psalm; a Psalm that is composed of praise and consolations, fitted for a dying soul, and say also to himself very often these words, "My heart is fixed, O God! my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found." And now his thoughts seemed to be wholly of death, for which he was so prepared that the king of terrors could not surprise him "as a thief in the night;" for he had often said, "he was prepared, and longed for it." And as this desire seemed to come from heaven, so it left him not, till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments are to join in concert with his, and sing praise and glory to that God, who hath brought him and them into that place, "unto which sin and sorrow cannot enter."

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life:—It is now too late to wish that mine may be like his: for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age; and God knows it hath not; but I most humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may: and I do as earnestly beg, that if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain, and

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z "Thus was he taken away with a happy euthanasia, composedly, peaceably, and comfortably departing, giving himself to prayer, meditations, and discourses, which his own strength could bear, full of the grace and peace of God, and confirmed by the absolution of the Church."

(Reason and Judgment, &c. p. 43.)
as true relation, he will be so charitable as to say *Amen*.

I. W.

**BLESSED IS THAT MAN IN WHOSE SPIRIT THERE IS NO GUILE.** Psal. xxxii. 2.

* However diversified the conditions of men are, there is one common event to all. When the hour of death approaches, the distinctions of worldly pomp are of no avail. At that awful period every consolation will vanish, except that which flows from the consciousness of doing well, and the expectance of another life.—The examples recorded in the preceding pages present to our view the noblest of all spectacles—the calm composure, the pious resignation of good men, who, having finished their earthly course of virtuous conduct, anticipate the blessedness of the heavenly state, and, full of joyful hope and humble confidence in the merits of a Redeemer, close the last scene with dignity and honour.

“*Sic mihi contingat vivere, sicque mori!*”
[The Letter of Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, mentioned in Vol. II. page 267, is inserted in the Life of Mr. Isaac Walton, prefixed to this Work.]
APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

I. "LOGICÆ ARTIS COMPENDIUM. Oxon. 1615."—8vo.

II. "PHYSICÆ SCIENTIÆ COMPENDIUM, à Roberto Sanderson, Coll. Lincoln. in alma Oxoniensi olim socio, &c. ante multos annos Lucis usuræ destinatum, nunc verò ex authentico Manuscripto primò Impressum. Oxoniae, 1671."

III. SERMONS. "Dr. Sanderson’s XII. Sermons, 1632." 4to.—"Dr. Sanderson’s Sermons, (including the twelve before printed) 1664." Folio.—"Ditto, with his Life by Isaac Walton, 1689." Folio.

IV. "NINE CASES of CONSCIENCE DETERMINED, 1678, 1685." 8vo.—Several of these were printed separately. Two in 1658 (not in 1628, as Wood asserts). Three more in 1667. Another in 1674, and one in 1678.

The last of these Nine Cases is "Of the Use of the Liturgy;" the very same tract which was published by Isaac Walton in his "Life of Dr. Sanderson, 1678," under the title of "Bishop Sanderson’s Judgment concerning submission to Usurpers." In this tract is given a full account of the manner in which Dr. Sanderson conducted himself, in performing the service of the Church, in the times of the Usurpation.
V. "DE JURAMENTI PROMISSORII OBLIGATIONE PRÆELECTIONES SEPTEM: HABITÆ in SCHOLA THEOLOGICA OXONII, Termino Michaëlis, anno Dom. MDCXLVI. à ROBERTO SANDERSON. Præmissâ Oratione ab eodem habitâ cum Publicam Professionem auspicaretur, 26 Octobris, 1646. Lond. 1647."

These Lectures were translated into the English language by Charles I. during his confinement in the Isle of Wight, and printed at London, in 1655.—8vo.


VII. "CENSURE of Mr. ANTON. ASCHAM his BOOK of the CONFUSIONS and REVOLUTIONS of GOVERNMENT. London, 1649."—8vo. Of Anthony Ascham, who was appointed by the Rump Parliament their agent, or resident in the Court of Spain, in 1649, and who was killed in his apartments, at Madrid, by some English Royalists, see "Wood’s Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 385.

VIII. "EPISCOPACY (as established by Law in England) NOT PREJUDICIAL to REGAL POWER. Written in the Time of the Long Parliament, by the special Command of the late King. London, 1673."

IX. "DISCOURSE CONCERNING the CHURCH, in THESE PARTICULARS: First, concerning the Visibility of the true Church: Secondly, concerning the Church of Rome. London, 1688." Published by Dr.
W. Asheton, of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, from a MS. communicated to him by Mr. John Pullen, the Bishop’s domestic Chaplain.

X. 1. “BISHOP SANDERSON’s JUDGMENT concerning SUBMISSION to USURPERS.” 2. “PAX ECCLESIAE.” 3. “BISHOP SANDERSON’s JUDGMENT in ONE VIEW for the SETTLEMENT of the CHURCH.” This tract is written by way of question and answer. Anthony Wood tells us, that the questions were formed by the publisher, and that the answers were made up of scraps, without any alteration, taken out of the prefaces and sermons of the Bishop. 4. “REASONS of the present JUDGMENT of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD, concerning the SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVENANT, the NEGATIVE OATH, the ORDINANCES concerning DISCIPLINE and WORSHIP. London, 1678.” These tracts are annexed to “Isaac Walton’s Life of Dr. Sanderson.” 1678.

XI. A large “PREFACE” to a book written at the command of Charles I. by Archbishop Usher, and published by Dr. Sanderson, entitled “The POWER communicated by GOD to the PRINCE, and the OBEDIENCE required of the SUBJECT. London, 1661.”—4to. A second corrected edition of this work was published in 8vo, 1683. See “Kennet’s Register,” p. 347.

XII. “A PREFATORY DISCOURSE” prefixed to a collection of Treatises, entitled ‘CLAVI TRABALES, or NAILES fastened by some great MASTERS of ASSEMBLYES, concerning the KING’s SUPREMACY and CHURCH GOVERNMENT under BISHOPS; the particulars of which are as followeth:

Vol. II.
1. Two Speeches of the late Lord Primate Usher's. The one of the King's Supremacy; the other of the Duty of Subjects to supply the King's Necessities.


4. Bishop Andrews of Church Government, &c.; both confirmed and enlarged by the said Primate.

5. A letter of Dr. Hadrianus Saravia, of the like subjects. Unto which is added a Sermon of Regal Power, and the novelty of the Doctrine of Resistance. Published by Nicholas Bernard, Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of Whitchurch in Shropshire.


The Preface, written by Dr. Sanderson, is dated “London, Aug. 10, 1661,” and subscribed “The unworthy servant of Jesus Christ, Ro. LINCOLN.”

XIII. "PROPHECIES concerning the RETURN of POPERY," inserted in a book entitled 'Fair Warning: The second Part. London, 1663.' This volume containing also several extracts from the Writings of Archbishop Whitgift, and Mr. Richard Hooker, was published with a view to oppose the Sectaries, who were said to be opening a door at which Popery would certainly enter.

XIV. "The PREFACE to the BOOK of COMMON PRAYER," beginning with these words; “It hath been the wisdom of the Church”——
APPENDIX.

XV. "ἐπινομίσε, seu EXPLANATIO JURAMENTI," &c. inserted in the 'Excerpta à Corpore Statutorum Univ. Oxoniensis,' p. 194. It was written to explain the oath of Obligation to observe the penal Statutes.

XVI. "ARTICLES of VISITATION and ENQUIRY concerning MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL, exhibited to the Ministers, Churchwardens, and Side-men of every Parish within the Diocese of Lincoln, in the first episcopal Visitation of the Right Rev. Father in God, ROBERT, by Divine Providence, Lord Bishop of Lincoln; with the oath to be administered to the Churchwardens, and the Bishop's Admonition to them. London, 1662."—4to. See an account of this excellent tract in "Kennet's Register," p. 727.

XVII. Mr. Peck, in the 'Desiderata Curiosa,' Vol. II. has inserted "The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES of the CATHEDRAL CHURCH of the Blessed Virgin St. MARY, at LINCOLN; containing an exact Copy of all the monumental Inscriptions there, in Number 163, as they stood in 1641; most of which was soon after torn up, or otherwise defaced. Collected by ROBERT SANDERSON, S. T. P. afterwards Lord Bishop of that Church, and compared with and corrected by Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE'S MS. Survey."

Dr. White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, had in his possession the copies of two letters transcribed from the originals that were in the hands of Bishop Barlow. 1. Superscribed "For Mr. Thomas Barlow, at the "Library in Oxon," and subscribed "Your very loving "friend and servant, ROBERT SANDERSON," dated "Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 28, 1656," importuning Dr. Barlow, "to undertake the managing that dispute in
the question of great importance upon the ancient 
landmarks, by Dr. Jeremy Taylor; so unhappily (and 
so unseasonably too) endeavoured to be removed in 
the doctrine of original sin." 2. Another letter of Dr. 
Sanderson to Dr. Barlow, at Queen's College, dated 
"Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 17, 1657," expressing himself, 
"That Dr. Taylor is so peremptory and pertinacious of 
his errors, as not to hearken to the sober advices 
of his grave, reverend, and learned friends, amidst 
the distractions of these times," &c. See "Kennet's 

The treatise here alluded to is entitled "Unum Ne-
cessarium, or the Doctrine and Practice of Repen-
tance, describing the Necessity and Measures of a 
strict, holy, and a Christian Life, and rescued from 
popular errors. By Jer. Taylor, D. D." In the 
sixth chapter of this treatise the author discusses the 
subject of original sin otherwise than it is commonly 
explained in the Church of England; whose ninth article 
affirms, that "the natural propensity to evil, and the 
perpetual lusting of the flesh against the spirit, deserves 
the anger of God and damnation." See also another 
tract inserted in Taylor's Polemical and Moral Discourses, under the title of "Deus Justificatus; or a 
Vindication of the Glory of the Divine Attributes 
in the Question of original Sin, in a Letter to a Person 
of Quality."

It is foreign to my purpose to examine this subject of 
controversy. What Dr. Jeremy Taylor has advanced 
upon the question proceeded from the best motives, 
according to his own motto,—"Nihil opinionis gratià, 
omnia conscientiæ faciam."

Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond were jointly con-
cerned in a work entitled "A PACIFIC DISCOURSE
of GOD's GRACE and DECREES," and published by the latter in 1660.

It would be improper not to observe, that in the Preface to the Polyglott Bible, printed at London in 1657, Dr. Bryan Walton has classed Dr. Sanderson among those of his much honoured friends who assisted him in that noble work.

THE END OF WALTON'S LIVES.
ISAAC WALTON.
The Original Painting by Heasman, is in the Possession of Mr. Haines, at Salisbury.

Published, July 11, 1734, by M. Brevi, N° 207, Piccadilly, London.
THE LIFE

OF

MR. ISAAC WALTON,

BY

THOMAS ZOUCH, D.D. F.L.S.
I present not to the reader a history of a wise statesman, an adventurous soldier, or a profound philosopher. Yet I trust, that he will experience no small degree of satisfaction from contemplating the virtues of a private citizen; who, though he arrogates not to himself the splendour of high descent, or the pride of superfluous wealth, deserves our approbation and regard. Isaac, or as he usually wrote his name, Izaac Walton, adorned with a guileless simplicity of manners, claims from every good man the tribute of applause. It was his ambition (and surely a more honourable ambition cannot be excited in the human breast) to commend to the reverence of posterity the merits of those excellent persons, whose vastly comprehensive learning and exalted piety will ever endear them to our memories.

The important end of historical knowledge is a prudent application of it to ourselves, with a view to regulate and amend our own conduct. As the examples of men strictly and faithfully
discharging their professional duties must obviously tend to invigorate our efforts to excel in moral worth, the virtuous characters, which are so happily delineated in the following pages, cannot fail, if considered with serious attention, of producing the most beneficial and lasting impressions on the mind.

The Life of the Author of this biographical collection was little diversified with events. He was born of a respectable family, on the ninth day of August, 1593, in the parish of St. Mary's, in the town of Stafford. Of his father no particular tradition is extant. From his mother he derived an hereditary attachment to the Protestant religion, as professed in the Church of England. She was the daughter of Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury, sister to Mr. George Cranmer the pupil and friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and niece to that first and brightest ornament of the Reformation, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. No vestiges of the place or manner of his education have been discovered: Nor have we any authentic information concerning his first engagements in a mercantile life. It has indeed been suggested, that he was one of those industrious young men, whom the munificence of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal

* "September 1593. Baptiz. fuit Isaac filius Jervis Walton, " XX° die mensis et anni prædict." (Register of St. Mary's, in the town of Stafford.)
Exchange, had placed in the shops, which were erected in the upper building of his celebrated Burse. However this may be, he soon improved his fortune by his honesty, his frugality, and his diligence. His occupation, according to the tradition still preserved in his family, was that of a wholesale linen-draper, or Hamburgh merchant.

Walton was settled at London before the year 1643. The writers of "The Life of Milton" have with the most scrupulous attention, regularly marked out the different houses successively inhabited by the poet, "as if it was an injury to neglect any place, that he honoured by his presence." The various parts of London, in which Isaac Walton resided, have been recorded with the same precision. It is sufficient to intimate, that he was for some years an inhabitant of St. Dunstan's in the West. With Dr. John Donne, then Vicar of that parish, of whose sermons he was a constant hearer, he contracted a friendship, which remained uninterrupted to the period of their separation by death. This his parishioner

b "Sir John Hawkins's Life of Walton," p. xiii.—The economy observed in the construction of the shops over the Burse scarce allowed him to have elbow-room. They were but seven feet and a half long, and five wide.—(See Ward's Life of Sir Thomas Gresham, p. 12.)

attended him in his last sickness, and was present at the time that he consigned his sermons and numerous papers to the care of Dr. Henry King, who was promoted to the See of Chichester in 1641.

He married Anne, the daughter of Thomas Ken, Esq. of Furnival's Inn; a gentleman, whose family, of an ancient extraction, was united by alliance with several noble houses, and had possessed a very plentiful fortune for many generations, having been known by the name of the Kens of Ken-Place, in Somersetshire. She was the sister of Thomas Ken, afterwards the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells. If there be a name to which I have been accustomed from my earliest youth to look up with reverential awe, it is that of this amiable Prelate. The primitive innocence of his life, the suavity of his disposition, his taste for poetry and music, his acquirements as a polite scholar, his eloquence in the pulpit, for he was pronounced by James II. to be the first preacher among the Protestant Divines—These endearing qualities ensure to him our esteem and affection. But what principally commands our veneration is that invincible inflexibility of temper, which rendered him superior to every secular consideration. When from a strict adherence to the dictates of conscience he found himself reduced to a private station, he dignified that station by the magnanimity of his demeanour, by a humble and serene patience, by an ardent, but unaffected piety.
In 1643, Mr. Walton, having declined business, retired to a small estate in Staffordshire, not far from the town of Stafford. His loyalty made him obnoxious to the ruling powers; and we are assured by himself, that he was a sufferer during the time of the civil wars. In 1643 the Covenanters came back into England, marching with the Covenant gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto, "FOR THE CROWN AND COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS." "This," he adds, "I saw, and suffered by it. But when "I look back upon the ruine of families, the blood-
shed, the decay of common honesty, and how "the former piety and plain dealing of this now "sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning; "when I consider this, I praise God, that he pre-
vented me from being of that party which helped "to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confu-
sions that have followed it." He persevered in the most inviolable attachment to the royal cause. In many of his writings he pathetically laments the afflictions of his Sovereign, and the wretched condition of his beloved country involved in all the miseries of intestine dissentions. The incident of his being instrumental in preserving the lesser George, which belonged to Charles II. is related in "Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter."
We may now apply to him what has been said of Mr. Cowley; "some few friends, a book, a cheerful heart, and innocent conscience were his companions." In this scene of rural privacy he was not unfrequently indulged with the company of learned and good men. Here, as in a safe and peaceful asylum, they met with the most cordial and grateful reception. And we are informed by the Oxford Antiquary, that, whenever he went from home, he resorted principally to the houses of the eminent clergymen of the Church of England, of whom he was much beloved. To a man desirous of dilating his intellectual improvements, no conversation could be more agreeable, than that of those Divines, who were known to have distinguished him with their personal regard.

The Roman Poet, of whom it has been remarked that he made the happiest union of the courtier and the scholar, was of plebeian origin. Yet such was the attraction of his manners and deportment, that he classed among his friends the first and most illustrious of his contemporaries,

Staffordshire, where, with Mr. Barlow's privity and advice, he hid his Majesty's George under a heap of dust and chips, whence it was conveyed through the trusty hands of Mr. Robert Milward of Stafford, to Mr. Isaac Walton, who conveyed it to London, to Col. Blague, then in the Tower; whence escaping not long after, he carried it with him beyond seas, and restored it to his Majesty's own hands." (Plot's Hist. of Staffordshire, Ch. VIII. Sect. 77. See also Ashmolé's History of the Order of the Garter, p. 228.)
Plotius and Varus, Pollio and Fuscus, the Visci and the Messalae. Nor was Isaac Walton less fortunate in his social connexions. The times in which he lived were times of gloomy suspicion, of danger and distress, when a severe scrutiny into the public and private behaviour of men established a rigid discrimination of character. He must therefore be allowed to have possessed a peculiar excellency of disposition, who conciliated to himself an habitual intimacy with Usher the Apostolical Primate of Ireland, with Archbishop Sheldon, with Morton, Bishop of Durham, Pearson of Chester, and Sanderson of Lincoln, with the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton, and the judicious Mr. Chillingworth; in short, with those who were most celebrated for their piety and learning. Nor could he be deficient in urbanity of manners or elegance of taste, who was the companion of Sir Henry Wotton, the most accomplished gentleman of his age. The singular circumspection which he observed in the choice of his acquaintance, has not escaped the notice of

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"My next and last example shall be that undervaluer of money, the late Provost of Eton College, Sir Henry Wotton, a man with whom I have often fished and conversed; a man, whom foreign employments in the service of this nation, and whose experience, learning, wit, and cheerfulness, made his company to be esteemed one of the delights of mankind."—

(Complete Angler, P. I. Ch. I.)

In Sir Henry Wotton's verses, written by him as he sate fishing on the bank of a river, he probably alludes to Walton himself, who often accompanied him in his innocent amusement:

"There
Mr. Cotton. "My Father Walton," says he, "will be seen twice in no man's company he does not like; and likes none but such as he believes to be very honest men; which is one of the best arguments, or at least of the best testimonies I have, that I either am, or that he thinks me one of those, seeing I have not yet found him weary of me."

"There stood my friend, with patient skill,  
"Attending of his trembling quill."

That this amiable and excellent person set a high value on the conversation of his humble friend appears from the following letter:

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,

"Since I last saw you, I have been confined to my chamber by a quotidian fever, I thank God of more contumacy than malignity. It had once left me, as I thought, but it was only to fetch more company, returning with a surcrew of those splentetick vapours, that are called Hypocondriacal; of which most say the cure is good company, and I desire no better physician than yourself. I have in one of those fits endeavoured to make it more easie by composing a short hymn; and since I have apparelled my best thoughts so lightly as in verse, I hope I shall be pardoned a second vanity, if I communicated it with such a friend as yourself; to whom I wish a cheerful spirit, and a thankful heart to value it, as one of the greatest blessings of our good God; in whose dear love I leave you, remaining

"Your poor friend to serve you,

"H. WOTTON."

(Reliquiae Wottonianæ, p. 361. 4th edit.—See the Hymn mentioned in this Letter, in Walton's Life of Dr. Donne.)

§ Complete Angler, P. II. Ch. I.
Before his retirement into the country, he published "The Life of Dr. Donne." It was originally appended to "LXXX Sermons, preached " by that learned and reverend Divine, John "Donne, Dr. in Divinity, late Dean of the "Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London, 1640." He had been solicited by Sir Henry Wotton, to supply him with materials for writing that Life. Sir Henry dying in 1639, before he had made any progress in the work, Isaac Walton engaged in it. This, his first essay in biography, was by more accurate revisals corrected, and considerably enlarged in subsequent editions. Donne has been principally commended as a poet;—Walton, who, as it has been already remarked, was a constant hearer of his sermons, makes him known to us as a preacher, eloquent, animated, affecting. His poems, like the sky bespangled with small stars, are occasionally interspersed with the ornaments of fine imagery. They must however be pronounced generally devoid of harmony of numbers, or beauty of versification. Involved in the language of metaphysical obscurity h, they cannot be

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h Dr. Donne affects the metaphysics, not only in his satires, but in his amorous verses, where nature only should reign, and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts and entertain them with the softnesses of love. In this, if I may be pardoned for so bold a truth, Mr. Cowley has copied him to a fault, so great a one in my opinion, that it throws his "Mistress" infinitely below his Pindariques and his latter compositions, which

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read but with fastidiousness: They abound in false thoughts, affected phrases, and unnatural conceits. His sermons, though not without that pedantry which debases the writings of almost all the Divines of those times, are often written with energy, elegance, and copiousness of style. Yet it must be confessed, that all the wit and eloquence of the author have been unable to secure them from neglect.

An instance of filial gratitude and affection occurs in a letter from Mr. John Donne, junior, to Mr. Isaac Walton, thanking him for writing his father the Dean’s Life.

"SIR,

"I send this book rather to witness my debt, than to make any payment. For it would be incivil in me to offer any satisfaction for that

are undoubtedly the best of his poems, and the most correct.—

(Mr. Dryden’s Dedication, prefixed to the Translation of Juvenal and Persius.)

1 Mr. Pope has classed the English Poets by their school. First, School of Provence. Second, School of Chaucer. Third, School of Petrarch. Fourth, School of Dante. Fifth, School of Spenser. Sixth, School of Donne. In the latter School he has very injudiciously placed Michael Drayton, who wrote before Donne, and not in the least in his manner.—“Dr. Donne’s (poetical) writings are like a voluntary or prelude, in which a man is not tied to any particular design of air, but may change his key or mood at pleasure; so his compositions seem to have been written without any particular scope.” (Butler’s Remains, Vol. II. p. 498.)
"that all my father's friends, and indeed all good
men, are so equally engaged. Courtesies that
are done to the dead being examples of so much
piety, that they cannot have their reward in this
life, because lasting as long, and still (by awaking
the like charity in others) propagating the debt
they must expect a retribution from him, who
gave the first inclination.

"2. And by this circle, Sir, I have set you in
my place, and instead of making you a payment,
I have made you a debtor; but 'tis to Almighty
God, to whom I know you will be so willingly
committed, that I may safely take leave to write
myself,

"Your thankful servant,

JO. DONNE."

From my house in Covent-Garden, 1
24th June, 1640.

It is difficult to discover what correspondence
subsisted between our biographer and the writer
of the preceding letter, who, having been admitted
to the degree of Doctor of Laws in the University
of Padua, was incorporated in that degree at Ox-
ford in 1638 k. In a Will which was printed in
1662, Dr. John Donne, junior, bequeathed all his
fathers writings, with his "Common Place Book,"

k He died in 1682, and was buried in the Churchyard of St.
Paul, in Covent-Garden.
to Isaac Walton, for the use of his son, if he should be brought up a scholar. That he was a Clergyman, and had some preferment in the diocese of Peterborough, we learn from a letter written to him by Dr. John Towers, Bishop of Peterborough, his diocesan; wherein his Lordship thanks him for the first volume of his father's sermons, telling him that his parishioners may pardon his silence to them for a while, since by it he hath preached to them and to their children's children, and to all our English parishes, for ever. Anthony Wood, although he describes him as a man of sense and parts, is unfavourable to his memory. He represents him as no better than "an atheistical buffoon, a banterer, and a person of over-free thoughts, yet valued by Charles II." With a sarcasm not unusual to him, he informs his reader, that Dr. Walter Pope "leads an epicurean and heathenish life, much like to that of Dr. Donne, the Son." Bishop Kennet, in his "Register," p. 318, calling him, by mistake, Dr. John Downe, names him as the editor of "A Collection of Letters made by Sir Toby Matthews, Knight," with a character of the most excellent Lady, Lucy Countess of Carlisle, by the same author; to which are added several letters of his own to several persons of honour, who were contemporary with him, London, 1660, 8vo. I cannot but observe that he neither consulted the reputation of his father, nor the public good, when he caused the "Biathanatos" to be printed. If he was determined, at all
events, to disregard the injunctions of parental authority, would it not have been more expedient to have committed the manuscript to the flames, rather than to have encountered the hazard of diffusing certain novel opinions, from which no good consequences could possibly arise? For though those effects did not actually follow, which are mentioned by an industrious foreign writer 1

who tells us that on the first publication of this work, many persons laid violent hands on themselves; yet the most remote probability of danger accruing from it should have induced him entirely to have suppressed it. But to return from this digression.

The narrative of the vision in this Life of Dr. Donne hath subjected the author to some severe animadversions. Let it however be remembered, that he probably related the matter with cautious and discreet fidelity, as it was really represented to him. The account is not inserted in the earlier editions of Dr. Donne's Life. Hence we may presume that the strictest and most severe inquiry was made before its introduction. Plutarch is not esteemed a credulous writer: Yet he has given a full and circumstantial history of the appearances that presented themselves to Dion and to Brutus. And in modern times, Dr. Doddridge, a most sedulous examiner of facts, and of all men the least liable to credulity and weakness of understanding, published a relation of an extraordinary vision. Let it be remarked that, according to the opinion of a medical writer of great eminence, a discriminating symptom of human insanity is "the rising up in the mind of images not distinguishable by the patient from impressions upon the senses."—To a momentary delusion originating from some bodily disorder we may safely attribute the visions or false perceptions, of which many authentic descriptions have been transmitted to
us; and we may easily suppose that Dr. Donne, separated from his beloved wife and family, whom he had left in a very distressful situation, must have suffered the most poignant anxiety of mind, and of course much indisposition of body.

When the first years of man have been devoted to “the diligence of trades and noiseful gain,” we have no reason to hope that his mind will be replenished by study, or enriched with literature. In the lucrative, as well as in the political life, men are tempted to assume some of those habits or dispositions, which are not entirely consistent with the principles of justice or honour. An eagerness to amass wealth, not seldom extinguishes every other affection. But it was not thus with Isaac Walton. Firm and uncorrupted in his integrity, he no sooner bade farewell to his commercial concerns, than he gave the most convincing proofs of his attention to the most laudable pursuits. He had already written the life of one friend. He now undertook to exhibit a testimony of respect to the memory of another. In 1651, he was the editor of “Reliquiae Wottonianæ, or a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of sundry Personages, and other incomparable Pieces of Language and Art, by the curious Pencil of the ever-memorable Sir Henry Wotton, Knt.

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late Provost of Eaton College." This collection is dedicated "to Lady Mary Wotton, relict of the last Lord Wotton, and to her three noble daughters." These ladies communicated to him many original letters, written by their illustrious relation. After the dedication follows "The Life of Sir Henry Wotton." In the succeeding editions, the volume is inscribed to the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Stanhope of Sheldford, and great nephew to Sir Henry Wotton. This nobleman accompanying his mother, the Lady Catharine Stanhope, into Holland, where she attended the Princess of Orange, daughter to Charles I. had his education along with William, Prince of Orange, afterwards advanced to the throne of England, and became very serviceable in promoting the restoration of the Royal Family. He loved the memory, and imitated the virtues of his generous uncle. By a life of strict temperance he attained to a great age. He died, January 28, 1713. It is proper to observe that a later

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The mother of this Lord Chesterfield was Catharine the eldest daughter of Thomas Lord Wotton, and relict of Henry Lord Stanhope, who died before his father the Earl of Chesterfield. She had been governess to Mary Princess of Orange, and after the Restoration was made Countess of Chesterfield. See "Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting," Vol. II. p. 113.

A contemporary writer has thus delineated the characters of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton——"To speak it in a word, "the Trojan Horse was not fuller of heroic Grecians, than King "James's reign was full of men excellent in all kinds of learning. "And
MR. ISAAC WALTON.

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edition of the "Reliquiae Wottonianae," namely that of 1685, is enriched with Sir Henry Wotton's Letters to Lord Zouch, who was eminent among his contemporaries as an able statesman and an accomplished scholar.

"The Church History of Great Britain," compiled by Dr. Thomas Fuller, whose writings, though far from being without blemish, are of inestimable value, was first published in 1655. A conversation, seasoned with much pleasantness and innocent jocularity, is said to have passed between the author and his ever cheerful and friendly acquaintance, Mr. Isaac Walton, upon the general character of this Work. Walton having paid him

"And here I desire the reader's leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance: the one was Mr. John Donne, who, leaving Oxford, lived at the Inns of Court, not dissolute, but very neat; a great visitor of ladies, a great writer of conceited verses, until such time as King James, taking notice of the pregnancy of his wit, was a means that he took him to the study of Divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor was made Dean of St. Paul's, and became so rare a preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired by all that heard him. The other was Henry Wotton (mine old acquaintance also, as having been fellow pupils and chamber-fellows in Oxford divers years together). This gentleman was employed by King James in embassage to Venice; and indeed the kingdom afforded not a fitter man for matching the capaciousness of the Italian wits: A man of so able dexterity with his pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the kingdom more, in leaving no more of his writings behind him."

(Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England, London, 1684.)
a visit, it was asked by Fuller, who knew how in-
timate he was with several of the Bishops and
ancient Clergy, first, What he thought of the
History himself, and, then, what reception it had
met with among them. Walton answered, that
he thought "it should be acceptable to all tem-
"pers; because there were shades in it for the
" warm, and sun-shine for those of a cold constitu-
tion; that with youthful readers the facetious
"parts would be profitable to make the serious
"more palatable; while some reverend old readers
"might fancy themselves in his History of the
"Church, as in a flower garden, or one full of
"evergreens."—" And why not," said Fuller, "the
"Church History so decked as well as the Church
"itself at a most holy season, or the tabernacle of
"old at the Feast of Boughs?"—" That was but
"for a season," said Walton; "in your Feast of
"Boughs, they may conceive, we are so over-
"shadowed throughout, that the parson is more
"seen than his congregation, and this sometimes
"invisible to its old acquaintance, who may wan-
"der in the search, till they are lost in the
"labyrinth." "Oh!" says Fuller, "the very
"Children of our Israel may find their way out
"of this wilderness." "True," returned Walton,
"as indeed they have here such a Moses to con-
"duct them "."

His next work was "The Life of Mr. Richard

\[ p \] See "Biogr. Brit. p. 2061. [P]"
Hooker 9," which first appeared in 1662. It was composed at the earnest request of Dr. Sheldon, then Bishop of London; and with the express purpose of correcting some errors committed by Dr. Gauden, from mere inadvertency and haste, in his account of "that immortal man," as he has been emphatically styled, "who spoke no "language but that of truth dictated by con- "science." Gauden seems to have been extremely deficient in his information, and, dying soon afterwards, had no opportunity of revising and amending his very imperfect and inaccurate memoir. This was followed by "The Life of Mr. George Herbert," usually called "the Divine Herbert," in 1670. In 1678, he concluded his biographical labours with "The Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson." Previous to the publication

9 Sir John Hawkins, in his "Life of Mr. Isaac Walton," inadvertently observes, that Mr. Hooker was personally known to his biographer. The former died in 1600; the latter was then only seven years of age, being born in 1593.

1 The following letter is transcribed from a MS. in the library bequeathed to the Corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Dr. Tomlinson, formerly Rector of Wickham, in the county of Durham.

"Sir, 
"You see I have not forgot my promise to you: Here are "your two books: If you have never read the preface to "your beloved 'A Kempis,' I fancy, it will please you well; "and, if it do, send up one tender thought for him, who "conveys it to your hand. The Life of good Mr. Herbert
of this last work he received the following interesting letter from Dr. Thomas Barlow, then Bishop of Lincoln, who had been for many years the intimate friend of Dr. Sanderson during his residence at Oxford, and after his retirement into the country.

"MY WORTHY FRIEND MR. WALTON,

"I am heartily glad, that you have undertaken to write the Life of that excellent person, and, both for learning and piety, eminent Prelate, Dr. Sanderson, late Bishop of Lincoln; because I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth: And sure I am, that the life and actions of that pious and learned Prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the imitation of posterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work, you desire my assistance, that I would communicate to you such particular passages of his

"is full of discoveries of a sweet composed harmonious mind, that it will not be ungrateful neither: One hour with such entertainment is better than a life of long enjoyment of the pleasures of the Louvre. It is Sunday morning, and I am hasting to prayers. So give me leave to beg a share in your prayers for myself, for your servant my wife, and for the babies.

"I am, with all sincerity,

Dr. d. 12 June

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"Sir, your affectionate servant,

"PERTH."

"For Mr. James Aird, from his affec. servant, Perth."
life, as were certainly known to me. I confess
I had the happiness to be particularly known
to him for about the space of twenty years;
and, in Oxon, to enjoy his conversation, and
his learned and pious instructions while he was
Regius Professor of Divinity there. After-
wards, when (in the time of our late unhappy
confusions) he left Oxon, and was retired into
the country, I had the benefit of his letters;
wherin, with great candour and kindness, he
answered those doubts I proposed, and gave
me that satisfaction, which I neither had, nor
expected from some others of greater confidence,
but less judgment and humility. Having in a
letter named two or three books writ (ex
professo) against the being of any original
sin; and that Adam, by his fall, transmitted
some calamity only, but no crime to his pos-
terity; the good old man was exceedingly
troubled, and bewailed the misery of those
licentious times, and seemed to wonder (save
that the times were such) that any should
write, or be permitted to publish any error
so contradictory to truth, and the doctrine of
the Church of England, established (as he truly
said) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the
just and supreme power of this nation, both
sacred and civil. I name not the books, nor
their authors, which are not unknown to learned
men (and I wish they had never been known),
because both the doctrine, and the unadvised
"abettors of it are, and shall be, to me apocryphal."

"Another little story I must not pass in silence, "being an argument of Dr. Sanderson's piety, "great ability, and judgment, as a casuist. Dis- "coursing with an honourable person "(whose "piety I value more than his nobility and learn- "ing, though both be great), about a case of "conscience concerning oaths and vows, their "nature and obligation; in which, for some par- "ticular reasons, he then desired more fully to "be informed; I commended to him Dr. Sander- "son's book 'De Juramento;' which having read, "with great satisfaction, he asked me,—'If I "thought the Doctor could be induced to write "'Cases of Conscience, if he might have an "'honorary pension allowed him, to furnish him "'with books for that purpose?' I told him, "'I believed he would.' And, in a letter to the "Doctor, told him what great satisfaction that "honourable person, and many more, had reaped "by reading his book 'De Juramento;' and "asked him, 'whether he would be pleased, "'for the benefit of the Church, to write some "'tract of Cases of Conscience?' He replied, "'That he was glad that any had received any

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5 The writer principally alluded to in this part of the Letter, was the excellent Dr. Jeremy Taylor, appointed Bishop of Down and Connor, in Ireland, in 1660, and of Dromore in 1661.

1 Robert Boyle, Esq.
"benefit by his books:" and added further, "that if any future tract of his could bring "such benefit to any, as we seemed to say his "former had done, he would willingly, though "without any pension, set about that work.' "Having received this answer, that honourable "person, before mentioned, did, by my hands, "return 50l. to the good Doctor, whose condi-
tion then (as most good men's at that time "were) was but low; and he presently revised, "finished, and published that excellent book, "De Conscientia:" A book little in bulk, but "not so if we consider the benefit an intelligent "reader may receive by it. For there are so "many general propositions concerning conscience, "the nature and obligation of it explained, and "proved with such firm consequence and evidence "of reason, that he who reads, remembers, and "can with prudence pertinently apply them hic "et nunc to particular cases, may, by their light "and help, rationally resolve a thousand par-
ticular doubts and scruples of conscience. Here "you may see the charity of that honourable "person in promoting, and the piety and industry "of the good Doctor, in performing that excel-
"lent work.

"And here I shall add the judgment of that "learned and pious Prelate concerning a passage "very pertinent to our present purpose. When "he was in Oxon, and read his public lectures "in the schools as Regius Professor of Divinity,
and by the truth of his positions, and evidences of his proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers, especially in his clear resolutions of all difficult cases which occurred in the explication of the subject matter of his lectures; a person of quality (yet alive) privately asked him, 'What course a young Divine should take in his studies to enable him to be a good casuist?' His answer was, 'That a convenient understanding of the learned languages, at least of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and a sufficient knowledge of arts and sciences presupposed: There were two things in human literature, a comprehension of which would be of very great use, to enable a man to be a rational and able casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible: 1. A convenient knowledge of moral philosophy; especially that part of it which treats of the nature of human actions: To know, quid sit actus humanus (spontaneus, invitus, mixtus), unde habet bonitatem et malitiam moralem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumstantiis? How the variety of circumstances varies the goodness or evil of human actions? How far knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish the goodness or evil of our actions? For every case of science being only this—Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?—He who, in these, knows not how and whence
human actions become morally good and evil,
never can (in hypothesi) rationally and cer-
tainly determine, whether this or that par-
ticular action be so.—2. The second thing,
which,' he said, 'would be a great help and
advantage to a casuist, was a convenient know-
ledge of the nature and obligation of laws
in general: to know what a law is; what a
natural and positive law; what's required to
the latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio
legis; what promulgation is antecedently re-
quired to the obligation of any positive law;
what ignorance takes off the obligation of a
law, or does excuse, diminish, or aggravate
the transgression: For every case of conscience
being only this—Is this lawful for me, or
is it not? and the law the only rule and
measure by which I must judge of the law-
fulness or unlawfulness of any action; it evi-
dently follows, that he, who, in these, knows
not the nature and obligation of laws, never
can be a good casuist, or rationally assure
himself, or others, of the lawfulness or unlaw-
fulness of actions in particular.

This was the judgment and good counsel of
that learned and pious Prelate: And having,
by long experience, found the truth and benefit
of it, I conceive, I could not without in-
gratitude to him, and want of charity to others,
conceal it.—Pray pardon this rude, and, I fear
impertinent scribble, which, if nothing else, may

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"signify thus much, that I am willing to obey " your desires, and am indeed,

"Your affectionate friend,

"THOMAS LINCOLN."

London, May 10, 1678.

Among the literary characters of the sixteenth century, none appears with more transcendent lustre than that of Sir Henry Savile, a magnificent patron of merit, and a complete gentleman. He seems to have traversed the whole range of science, being equally celebrated for his knowledge of ancient and modern learning. The life of this illustrious scholar would be a valuable acquisition to the Republic of Letters. That it was actually compiled by Mr. Isaac Walton, we have every reason to conclude. Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, in his letter to him, dated Nov. 17, 1664, tells him, that "he has done much for Sir Henry Savile, the contemporary and friend of Mr. Richard Hooker." It is seriously to be regretted, that the most diligent inquiry after this work has hitherto proved unsuccessful.

u The following particulars, relative to Sir Henry Savile are collected from Mr. Aubrey's "Lives of Mathematical Writers." He was as learned a gentleman as any of his time. Mr. Hobbes informed Mr. Aubrey, that Sir Henry Savile was ambitious of being thought as great a scholar as Joseph Scaliger. But if in the attainments of classic literature he was inferior to Scaliger, in mathematical knowledge Dr. Wallis declared him to be exceeded by none of his contemporaries. He was a very
Among those whom Sir Henry Savile honoured with his friendship was Mr. John Hales of Eton. Mr. Anthony Farringdon, an eminent preacher, and a man of extensive learning and exemplary piety, had collected materials with a view to write the life of this incomparable person. On his demise, his papers were consigned to the care of Mr. Isaac Walton, by Mr. William Fulman, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who had proposed to finish the work, and on that occasion had applied for the assistance of our biographer. The result of this application is not known. "Fulman's Collection of Manuscripts," written with his own hand, was deposited in the archives of the library of his College, and Wood laments that he was refused access to them. It is unnecessary to add, that "The Life of Mr. Hales," by Mr. Dez-maizeaux, was published in 1716.

Angling had been long a favourite diversion in England. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, was a lover of, and most experienced proficient in this delightful art. It was his custom, besides his very handsome and beautiful man: No lady had a fairer complexion. Queen Elizabeth, to whom he explained Greek authors and politics, favoured him much. He was preferred by her to be Master of Eton College, of which he was so severe a governor, that the scholars hated him for his austerity. To men of wit he gave no encouragement. When a young scholar was named to him as a good wit, he would reject him, and choose the plodding student. John Earle, afterwards Bishop
fixed hours of private and public prayer, to spend a tenth part of his time in this amusement, and also to bestow a tenth part of his revenue, and usually all his fish among the poor, saying, that

Bishop of Sarum, being recommended to him, on that account, was the only one of that character, to whom he extended his patronage. He treated the Fellows of Eton College with asperity; and his influence with the Queen rendered all opposition vain. When Mr. Gunter came from London to be appointed his Professor in Geometry, he brought with him his sector and quadrant, with which he began to resolve triangles, and to perform several operations. This disgusted the grave knight, who considered the operations as so many tricks below the dignity of a mathematician, and he immediately conferred the professorship on another candidate, Mr. Briggs from Cambridge.—Mr. Aubrey learned from Dr. Wallis, that Sir Henry Savile had sufficiently confuted Joseph Scaliger's Tract "De Quadraturâ Circuli," in his notes on the very margin of the book: And that, sometimes, when Scaliger says, "A B C D ex Constructione," Sir Henry adds with his pen; "et demonstratio vestra est asinus ex constructione."

In his travels he had contracted a general acquaintance with learned men abroad; by which means he had access to several Greek MSS. in their libraries, and thus obtained correct copies by his amanuensis, who transcribed the Greek character with admirable skill. Fronto Ducaeus, a French Jesuit of Bourdeaux, clandestinely engaged a person to supply him, every week, with the sheets of Sir Henry Savile's Greek edition of "The Works of Chrysostom," printed at Eton, of which he composed a Latin translation; and published "Chrysostom's Works," in Greek and Latin; thus superseding the sale of the English impression. Sir Henry Savile died Feb. 19, 1621, having been Provost of Eton College twenty-five years.
"charity gave life to religion". An elegant Latin poem, written by Dr. Simon Ford, was inscribed to Archbishop Sheldon, who, in his younger years, being fond of this diversion, is said to have acquired a superior skill in taking the Umber or Barbel, "a heavy and a dogged fish to be dealt withall." Dr. Donne is called "a great practitioner, master, and patron of angling."

And we learn from good authority, that Mr.

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v See "Walton's Complete Angler," Part I. Ch. I.—At Brazen-Nose College, in Oxford, of which Dr. Nowell was Principal, is a portrait of him with a fishing-rod over his head, a paper of fishing-hooks in his hand, and this inscription:

ALEXANDER NOWELLUS, SACRÆ THEOLOGÆ PROFESSOR,
S. PAULI DECANUS OBIT 13 FEB. ANNO DOM. 1601, R. R. ELIZ. 44.
AN. DECANATUS 42. ÄTATIS S.UÆ 95; CUM NEQUE OCULI
CALIGABENT, NEQUE AURES OBTUSIORES, NEQUE MEMORIA
INFIRMIOR, NEQUE ANIMI U.L.E FACULTATES VÎTÆ ESSENT.
PISCATOR HÔMINUM.

(Cholm's Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford, p. 370.)

Among other acts of beneficence, this venerable man founded the Free Grammar School of Middleton, in Lancashire, in 1572, and endowed it with a small stipend for two masters.

w "Musæ Anglicanae," Vol. I. p. 97.—Gervase Markham, the author of "The Whole Art of Angling," 4to, 1656, rather proceeds too far, when he tells his reader, that an angler should be "a general scholar, and seen in all the liberal sciences;" that he should be "a grammarian, a logician, and a philosopher."

George Herbert loved angling; a circumstance that is rather to be believed, "because he had a " spirit suitable to anglers, and to those primitive " Christians who are so much loved and com- " mended." Let not these remarks provoke the chastisement of censure: Let them not be con- demned as nugatory and insignificant: Amidst our disquietudes and delusive cares, amidst the painful anxiety, the disgusting irksomeness, which are often the unwelcome attendants on business and on study, an harmless gratification is not merely excusable, it is in some degree necessary. In the skilful management of the angle, Isaac Walton is acknowledged to bear away the prize from all his contemporaries. The river which he seems principally to have frequented, for the pur-

The Experienced Angler," a little tract, written by Colonel Robert Venables, is now before me. The perusal of it calls to memory the days of youth, the guileless scenes of earlier life, spent with innocent companions, in "delightful walks by pleasant rivers, in sweet pastures, and among odorous flowers." The concluding observation in this little book applies to all readers: "Make not a daily practice, which is nothing else but a "profession, of any recreation; lest your immoderate love and de-
"light therein bring a cross with it, and blast all your content and "pleasure in the same." I mention this entertaining work, because Isaac Walton has prefixed to it not a preface, but an "Epistle to the Author," who was personally unknown to him. Having accidentally seen the discourse in manuscript, he held himself obliged, in point of gratitude, for the great advantage he had received thereby, to tender his particular acknowledgment. The testimony of so expert an angler could not fail of recommending the tract.
pose of pursuing his inoffensive amusement, was the Lea, which, rising above the town of Ware in Hertfordshire, falls into the Thames a little below Blackwall; "unless we will suppose that the "vicinity of the New River to the place of his "habitation might sometimes tempt him out with "his friends, honest Nat and R. Roe, whose loss "he so pathetically mentions, to spend an after-"noon there ²." In his tract of "The Complete "Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation," he has comprised the clearest and fullest instructions for the attainment of a thorough proficiency in the art. James Duport, the Greek Professor at Cambridge, who was far from being a novice in the use of the rod ³, disdained not, on this occasion, to address our author in a beautiful Latin Iambic Ode, of which the following classic version will not be unacceptable to the reader ⁴.

"Hail Walton! honoured friend of mine,
"Hail! mighty Master of the line!
"Whether down some valley's side
"You walk to watch the smooth stream glide,
"Or on the flow'ry margin stand
"To cheat the fish with cunning hand,

² "Biographical Dictionary," in the article Walton Isaac.

³ He calls himself "Candidatum arundinis."

⁴ For this version I am indebted to Mr. James Tate, M. A. late Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and now the very excellent master of the free grammar school at Richmond, in Yorkshire.
"Or on the green bank, seated still,
"With quick eye guard the dancing quill.
"Thrice happy sage! who, distant far
"From the wrangling forum's war,
"From the city's bustling train,
"From the busy hum of men,
"Haunt some gentle stream, and ply
"Your honest crafts, to lure the fry:
"And while the world around you set
"The base decoy and treacherous net,
"Man against man, th' insidious wile,
"Or, the rich dotard to beguile,
"Bait high with gifts the smiling hook
"All gilt with Flattery's sweetest look;
"Arm'd for the innocent deceit,
"You love the scaly brood to cheat,
"And tempt that water-wolf, the pike,
"With rav'ning tooth his prey to strike,
"Or in the minnow's living head
"Or in the writhed brandling red
"Fix your well-charged hook, to gull
"The greedy perch, bold biting fool,
"Or with the tender moss-worm tried
"Win the nice trout's speckled pride,
"Or on the carp, whose wary eye
"Admits no vulgar tackle nigh,
"Essay your art's supreme address,
"And beat the fox in sheer finesse:
"The tench, physician of the brook,
"Owns the magic of your hook,
"The little gudgeon's thoughtless haste
"Yields a brief yet sweet repast,
"And the whisker'd barbel pays
"His coarser bulk to swell your praise.
"Such the amusement of your hours,
"While the season aids your powers;
"Nor shall my friend a single day
"Ere pass without a line away.
Nor these alone your honours bound,
The tricks experience has found;
Sublimer theory lifts your name
Above the fisher's simple fame,
And in the practice you excel
Of what none else can teach as well,
Wielding at once with equal skill
The useful powers of either quill.
With all that winning grace of style,
What else were tedious, to beguile,
A second Oppian, you impart
The secrets of the angling art,
Each fish's nature, and how best
To fit the bait to every taste,
Till in the scholar, that you train,
The accomplish'd master lives again.
And yet your pen aspires above
The maxims of the art you love;
Tho' virtues, faintly taught by rule,
Are better learnt in angling's school,
Where Temperance, that drinks the rill,
And Patience, sovereign over ill,
By many an active lesson bought,
Refine the soul, and steel the thought.
Far higher truths you love to start,
To train us to a nobler art,
And in the lives of good men give
That chiefest lesson, how to live;
While Hooker, philosophic sage,
Becomes the wonder of your page,
Or while we see combin'd in one
The Wit and the Divine in Donne,
Or while the Poet and the Priest,
In Herbert's sainted form confest,
Unfold the temple's holy maze
That awes and yet invites our gaze:
Worthies these of pious name
From your pourtraying pencil claim
"A second life, and strike anew
"With fond delight the admiring view.
"And thus at once the peopled brook
"Submits its captives to your hook,
"And we, the wiser sons of men,
"Yield to the magic of your pen,
"While angling on some streamlet's brink
"The muse and you combine to think."

In this volume of "The Complete Angler," which will be always read with avidity, even by those who entertain no strong relish for the art which it professes to teach, we discover a copious vein of innocent pleasantry and good humour. The scenes descriptive of rural life are inimitably beautiful. How artless and unadorned is the language! The dialogue is diversified with all the characteristic beauties of colloquial composition. The songs and little poems, which are occasionally inserted, will abundantly gratify the reader, who has a taste for the charms of pastoral poesy. And, above all, those lovely lessons of religious and moral instruction, which are so repeatedly inculcated throughout the whole work, will ever recommend this exquisitely pleasing performance. It was first printed in 1653, with

* I venture to quote the following beautiful passage. "Content will never dwell but in a meek and quiet soul. And this may appear, if we read and consider what our Saviour says in St. Matthew's Gospel: For there he says, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy: Blessed be the pure in heart, for they shall see God: Blessed be the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God: And blessed be the meek, for they shall possess the earth.' Not that the meek shall not
the figures of the fishes very elegantly engraved, probably by Lombart, on plates of steel; and was so generally read as to pass through five editions during the life of the author. The second edition is dated in 1655, the third in 1661; and in 1668, the fourth appeared with many valuable additions, and improvements. The lovers of angling, to whom this treatise is familiar, are apprised, that the art of fishing with the fly is not discussed with sufficient accuracy; the few directions that are given, having been principally communicated by Mr. Thomas Barker, who has written a very entertaining tract on the subject. To remedy this defect, and to give lessons how to angle for a trout or grayling in a clear stream, a fifth and much improved edition was published in 1676, with a second part by Charles Cotton, of Beresford, in Staffordshire, Esq. This gentleman, who is repre-

"also obtain mercy, and see God, and be comforted, and at last "come to the kingdom of heaven; but in the mean time he, and "he only, possesses the earth as he goes towards that kingdom of "heaven, by being humble, and cheerful, and content with "what his good God has allotted him. He has no turbulent, "repining, vexatious thoughts, that he deserves better; nor is "vext, when he sees others possest of more honour, or more "riches than his wise God has allotted for his share: But he "possesses what he has with a meek and contented quietness, "such a quietness as makes his very dreams pleasing both to God "and himself." (Complete Angler, P. I. Ch. xxi.)

*d* Dr. Plot, in "The Natural History of Staffordshire," p. 48, styles Charles Cotton, of Beresford, Esq. "his worthy, learned, "and most ingenious friend." Beresford lies in the county of Stafford,
presented as the most laborious trout-catcher, if not the most experienced angler for trout and grayling that England ever had, to testify his regard for Mr. Walton, had caused the words **PISCA-TORIBUS SACRUM**, with a cypher underneath, comprehending the initial letters of both their names, to be inscribed on the front of his fishing-house. This little building was situated near the banks of the river Dove, which divides the two counties of Stafford and Derby. Here Mr. Walton usually spent his vernal months, carrying with him the best and choicest of all earthly blessings, a contemplative mind, a cheerful disposition, an active and an healthful body. So beauteous did the scenery of this delightful spot appear to him, that, to use his own words, "the pleasantness of "the river, mountains, and meadows about it, "cannot be described, unless Sir Philip Sidney, or "Mr. Cotton's father were again alive to do it.""

Stafford, on the banks of the river Dove; and not far from Dovedale; of the beauties of which, see "Aikin's Description of the Country round Manchester," p. 501.

"Oh my beloved nymph, fair Dove!
"Princess of rivers! how I love
"Upon thy flow'ry banks to lie,
"And view thy silver stream
"When gilded by a summer's beam!
"And in it all thy wanton fry
"Playing at liberty:
"And, with my angle upon them,
"The all of treachery
"I ever learnt industriously to try."

*(The Retirement, by Mr. Cotton, St. vi.)*
In the latter years of the reign of Charles II. the violence of faction burst forth with renovated fury. The discontents of the Nonconformists were daily increasing; while Popery assumed fresh hopes of re-establishing itself by fomenting and encouraging the divisions, that unhappily subsisted among Protestants. A tract, entitled "The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Church," was published in 1675, and attributed to Dr. Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford. Eager to accomplish an union of the Dissenters with the Church of England, and to include them within its pale, this Prelate hesitated not to suggest the expediency of proposing several concessions to them, with respect to the rites and ceremonies then in use, and even to comply with their unreasonable demand of abolishing Episcopacy. It may be easily presumed, that these proposals met with no very favourable reception: They were animadverted upon with much spirit and ability, in various publications. In the mean time, animosities pre-

\[f\] Three celebrated tracts on this subject were anonymous. 1. "Animadversions on a pamphlet, entitled 'The Naked Truth,' London, 1676." This was written by Dr. Francis Turner, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; and afterwards successively Bishop of Rochester and Ely. 2. "Lex Talionis, or the Author of The Naked Truth stripped naked, 1676." This work is attributed to Mr. Philip Fell, one of the Fellows of Eton College. 3. "A Modest Survey of the most Considerable Things, in a Discourse lately published, entitled 'Naked Truth.' In a Letter to a Friend, 1676." Dr. Burnet owned himself to be the author of this last tract.
vailed without any prospect of their termination. From fanaticism on one side, and from superstition on the other, real danger was apprehended. Those, who exerted themselves in maintaining the legal rights and liberties of the established Church, were denominated 'Whigs.' Most of them were persons eminent for their learning, and very cordially attached to the established Constitution: Others, who opposed the Dissenters, and were thought to be more in fear of a republic than a Popish successor, were distinguished by the name of 'Tories.' At this critical period, Isaac Walton expressed his solicitude for the real welfare of his country, not with a view to embarrass himself in disputation,—for his nature was totally abhorrent from controversy,—but to give an ingenuous and undissembled account of his own faith and practice, as a true son of the Church of England. His modesty precluded him from annexing his name to the treatise, which he composed at this time; and which appeared first, in 1680, under the title of "Love and Truth," in two modest and peaceable Letters, concerning the Distempers of the present times; written from a quiet and conformable Citizen of London, to two busie and factious Shopkeepers in Coventry, 'But let none of you suffer as a busie-body in other men's matters.'

5 The author, in the choice of the title affixed to his tract, might allude to Ephes. iv. 15. "Speaking the Truth in Love."

h This tract is assigned to Mr. Isaac Walton, on the best authority, that of Archbishop Sancroft, who, in the volume of Miscellanies
The style, the sentiment, the argumentation, are such as might be expected from a plain man, actuated only by an honest zeal to promote the public peace. And if we consider that it was written by him in the 87th year of his age, a period of life when the faculties of the mind are usually on the decline, it will be scarce possible not to admire the clearness of his judgment, and the unimpaired vigour of his memory. The real purport of this work, which is not altogether unapplicable to more recent times, and which breathes the genuine spirit of benevolence and candour, is happily expressed in the author’s own words to the person, whom he addresses in the second letter.

"This I beseech you to consider seriously:
"And, good cousin, let me advise you to be one
"of the thankful and quiet party; for it will
"bring peace at last."

Let neither your discourse

Miscellanies—(Miscellanea 14, 2, 34.) in the library of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, has, with his own hand, marked its title thus: "Is. Walton’s 2 letters conc. ye Distemps of ye Times, 1680."

1 Such kind advice accorded with his usual sentiments.

"VEN. This is my purpose, and so let every thing that hath
"breath praise the Lord. Let the blessing of St. Peter’s Master
"be with mine.

"Pisc. And upon all that are lovers of virtue, and dare trust
"in his Providence, and be quiet, and go an angling. ‘ Study
"to be quiet,’" 1 Thess. iv. 11. (Complete Angler, P. I. c. 2.)
nor practice be to encourage, or assist in making
a schism in that church, in which you were
baptized and adopted a Christian; for you may
continue in it with safety to your soul; you may
in it study sanctification, and practise it to what
degree God, by his grace, shall enable you. You
may fast as much as you will; be as humble as
you will; pray both publicly and privately as
much as you will; visit and comfort as many
distressed and dejected families as you will; be
as liberal and charitable to the poor as you think
fit and are able. These, and all other of those
undoubted Christian graces, that accompany sal-
vation, you may practise either publicly or pri-
vately, as much and as often as you think fit;
and yet keep in the communion of that church,
of which you were made a member by your
baptism. These graces you may practise, and
not be a busie-body in promoting schism and
faction; as God knows your father's friends,
Hugh Peters and John Lilbourn did, to the
ruine of themselves, and many of their disciples.
Their turbulent lives and uncomfortable deaths
are not, I hope, yet worn out of the memory of
many. He that compares them with the holy
life and happy death of Mr. George Herbert,
as it is plainly, and, I hope, truly writ by Mr.
Isaac Walton, may in it find a perfect pattern
for an humble and devout Christian to imitate:
And he that considers the restless lives and un-
comfortable deaths of the other two (who always
lived like the salamander, in the fire of contention), and considers the dismal consequences of schism and sedition, will, (if prejudice and a malicious zeal have not so blinded him that he cannot see reason) be so convinced, as to beg of God to give him a meek and quiet spirit; and that he may, by his grace, be prevented from being a busie-body, in what concerns him not."

An edition of "Love and Truth" was published in 1795.

Such admonitions as these could only proceed from a heart overflowing with goodness,—a heart, as was said concerning that of Sir Henry Wotton, "in which Peace, Patience, and calm Content did inhabit."

His intercourse with learned men, and the frequent and familiar conversations which he held with them, afforded him many opportunities of obtaining several valuable anecdotes relative to the history of his contemporaries. The following literary curiosity is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford:

"ffor y' ffriends q"ue this:

"I only knew Ben Jonson: But my Lord of Winton knew him very well; and says, he was in the 6°, that is, the uppermost forme in Westminster scole, at which time his father dyed, and

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k Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, in the early part of his life, was "one of Ben Jonson's sons."
his mother married a brickelayer, who made him
(much against his will) help him in his trade;
but in a short time, his scole-maister, Mr. Cam-
den, got him a better imployment, which was to
attend or accompany a son of Sir Walter Rauley's,
in his travills. Within a short time after their
return, they parted (I think not in cole bloud)
and with a loue suitable to what they had in
their travilles (not to be commended). And then
Ben began to set up for himselfe in the trade by
which he got his subsistance and fame, of which
I need not give any account. He got in time
to have a 100l. a yeare from the king, also a
pension from the cittie, and the like from many
of the nobilitie and some of the gentry, wch was
well pay'd, for love or fere of his railing in verse,
or prose, or boeth. My lord told me, he told
him he was (in his long retyrement and sickness,
when he saw him, which was often) much af-
flickted, that hee had profained the scripture in
his playes, and lamented it with horror: yet
that, at that time of his long retyrement, his
pension (so much as came in) was giuen to a
woman that gouern'd him (with whome he liu'd
and dyed near the Abie in Westminster); and
that nether he nor she tooke much care for next
weise: and wood be sure not to want wine: of
wch he usually tooke too much before he went to
bed, if not oftener and soner. My lord tells me,
he knowes not, but thinks he was born in West-
minster. The question may be put to Mr.
"Wood very easily upon what grounds he is "positive as to his being born their; he is a "friendly man, and will resolve it. So much for "braue Ben. You will not think the rest so "tedyous as I doe this.

"ffor y' 2 and 3 q"se of Mr. Hill, and Bilingsley, "I do neither know nor can learn any thing worth "teling you.

"for y' two remaining q"se of Mr. Warner 1, and "Mr. Harriott this:

"Mr. Warner did long and constantly lodg "nere the water-stares, or market, in Woolstable. "Woolstable is a place not far from Charing-
"Crosse, and nerer to Northumberland-house. My "lord of Winchester tells me, he knew him, and "that he sayde, he first found out the cerculation "of the blood, and discouer'd it to Dr. Haruie "(who said that 'twas he (himselfe) that found it) "for which he is so mem rally famose. Warner "had a pension of 401. a yeare from that Earle of "Northumberland that lay so long a prisner in the "Towre, and som allowance from Sir Tho. Ayles-
"bury, and with whom he usually spent his sumer "in Windsor Park, and was welcom, for he was "harmles and quet. His winter was spent at the "Woolstable, where he dyed in the time of the

1 Of this great mathematician, see "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 461.
"parlement of 1640, of which or whome, he was " no louer.

" Mr. Herriott", my lord tells me, he knew " also: That he was a more gentile man than " Warner. That he had 120l. a yeare pension " from the said Earle (who was a louer of their " studyes), and his lodgings in Syon-house, where " he thinks, or believes, he dyed.

" This is all I know or can learne for your " friend; which I wish may be worth the time " and trouble of reading it.

I. W."

Nou. 22, 80.

" I forgot to tell, that I heard the sermon " preacht for the Lady Danvers, and have it: but thanke your ffriend ".

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\textsuperscript{m} Of Mr. Thomas Hariot, or Harriot, see "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 459. The opinions which have been entertained concerning the infidel principles of Hariot, are sufficiently confuted by the inscription on his monument, erected by his executors, Sir Thomas Aylesbury, and Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle, in which he is expressly called, "Veritatis Indagator studiosissimus, Dei triniunius Cultor piissimus."

\textsuperscript{n} This was the sermon preached by Dr. Donne, in the parish church of Chelsey, at the funeral of Lady Danvers, the mother of Mr. George Herbert. See "Walton's Life of Mr. Herbert," p. 31. Annexed to this extract, in Mr. Aubrey's MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum, are these words: "This account I received " from Mr. Isaac Walton (who wrote Dr. Donne's Life, &c.) " Decemb. 2, 1680, he being then eighty-seven years of age. " This is his own hand-writing, J. A."
A life of temperance, sobriety, and cheerfulness, is not seldom rewarded with length of days, with an healthful, honourable, and happy old age. Isaac Walton retained to the last a constitution unbroken by disease, with the full possession of his mental powers. In a letter to Mr. Cotton from London, April 29, 1676, he writes; "Though I be more than a hundred miles from you, and in the eighty-third year of my age; yet I will for get both, and next month begin a pilgrimage to beg your pardon." He had written "The Life of Dr. Sanderson," when he was in his eighty-fifth year. We find him active with his pen, after this period, at a time when, "silvered o'er with age," he had a just claim to a writ of ease. On the ninetieth anniversary of his birth-day, he declares himself in his will to be of perfect memory. In the very year in which he died, he prefixed a Pre face to a work edited by him: "Thealma and Clearchus, a Pastoral History, in smooth and easy Verse; written long since by John Chalkhill, Esq. an Acquaintant and Friend of Edmund Spenser."

Flatman, who is known both as a poet and a painter, hath in such true colours delineated the character of his much-esteemed friend, that it would be injurious not to transcribe the following lines:

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"Est etiam quietë et purë et eleganter actae Ætatis placida ac lenis Senectus." Cic. de Senectute.—"Non cani, non rugae, repente auctoritatem arripere possunt: Sed honestè acta superior ætas fructus capit auctoritatis." Ib.
"TO MY WORTHY FRIEND MR. ISAAC WALTON,
"ON THE PUBLICATION OF THIS POEM.

"Long had the bright Thealma lay obscure:
"Her beauteous charms, that might the world allure,
"Lay, like rough diamonds in the mine, unknown,
"By all the sons of folly trampled on,
"Till your kind hand unveil'd her lovely face,
"And gave her vigour to exert her rays.
"Happy old man! whose worth all mankind knows,
"Except himself; who charitably shows,
"The ready road to virtue and to praise,
"The road to many long and happy days,
"The noble arts of generous piety,
"And how to compass true felicity;
"Hence did he learn the art of living well;
"The bright Thealma was his oracle:
"Inspir'd by her he knows no anxious cares,
"Through near a century of pleasant years:
"Easy he lives, and cheerful shall he die,
"Well spoken of by late posterity,
"As long as Spenser's noble flames shall burn,
"And deep devotions throng about his urn;
"As long as Chalkhill's venerable name
"With noble emulation shall inflame
"Ages to come, and swell the rolls of fame.
"Your memory shall for ever be secure,
"And long beyond our short-liv'd praise endure;
"As Phidias in Minerva's shield did live,
"And shar'd that immortality, he alone could give."

The classic reader, when he recollects the story of Phidias, will easily acknowledge the propriety of the encomium passed on Mr. Walton, who secured immortal fame to himself, while he con-
ferred it upon others. That divine artist, having finished his famous statue of Minerva, with the most consummately exquisiteness of skill, afterward impressed his own image so deeply on her buckler, that it could not be effaced without destroying the whole work.

The beauties of "Thealma and Clearchus," and the character of the author, are not unaptly described in the editor's own language. He intimates in the Preface, that "the reader will find what the title declares, a Pastoral History, in smooth and easy verse; and will in it find many hopes and fears finely painted and feelingly expressed. And he will find the first so often disappointed, when fullest of desire and expectation; and the latter so often, so strangely, and so unexpectedly relieved by an unforeseen Providence, as may beget in him wonder and amazement." He adds, that "the reader must here also meet with passions heightened by easy and fit descriptions of joy and sorrow; and find also such various events and rewards of innocent truth and undissembled honesty, as is like to leave in him (if he be a good-natured reader) more sympathizing and virtuous impressions than ten times so much time spent in impertinent, critical, and needless disputes about religion." Mr. Chalkhill died before he had perfected even the fable of his poem. He was a man generally known in his
time, and as well beloved; for he was humble and obliging in his behaviour, a gentleman, a scholar, very innocent and prudent; and indeed his whole life was useful, quiet, and virtuous. So amiable were the manners, so truly excellent the character of all those, whom Isaac Walton honoured with his regard.

When Leoniceni, one of the most profound scholars in Italy, in the fifteenth century, was asked by what art he had, through a period of ninety years, preserved a sound memory, perfect senses, an upright body, and a vigorous health,


Dr. Johnson has revived the celebrity of Mr. Chalkhill, by an elegant translation of the following lines:

"Or we sometimes pass an hour
   Under a green willow,
   That defends us from a shower
   Making earth our pillow;
      Where we may
      Think or pray,
      Before death
      Stops our breath.
      Other joys
      Are but toys
      And to be lamented."

See Walton's Complete Angler, P. 1. Ch. 16.)
he answered, "by innocence, serenity of mind, "and temperance." Isaac Walton, having uni-
formly enjoyed that happy tranquillity, which is
the natural concomitant of virtue, came to the
grave in a full age, "like as a shock of corn
"cometh in his season."

"So would I live, such gradual death to find,
"Like timely fruit, not shaken by the wind,
"But ripely dropping from the sapless bough;
"And dying, nothing to myself would owe.
"Thus, daily changing, with a duller taste
"Of less'ning joys, I by degrees would waste;
"Still quitting ground by unperceiv'd decay,
"And steal myself from life and melt away."

DRYDEN.

He died during the time of the great frost,
on the 15th day of December, 1683, at Win-

"Nunc per graminia fusi
"Densà fronde salici,
"Molles ducimus horas.
"Hic, dum debita morti
"Paulum Vita moratur,
"Nunc rescire priora,
"Nunc instare futuris,
"Nunc summi Prece sanctâ
"Patri nymen adire est.
"Quicquid quaeritur ultra
"Caeco ducit amore,
"Vel spe ludit ãnani
"Luctus mox pariturum."

(DR. JOHNSON'S WORKS, Vol. I. p. 190.)
chester, in the Prebendal house of Dr. William Hawkins, his son-in-law, whom he loved as his own son. It was his express desire, that his burial might be near the place of his death, privately, and free from any ostentation, or charge. On the stone which covers his remains within the Cathedral of that city these lines are yet extant.

"Here resteth the body of
"Mr. Isaac Walton,
"Who died the 15th of Decr. 1683.

"Alas! he's gone before,
"Gone to return no more.
"Our panting breasts aspire
"After their aged Sire,
"Whose well-spent life did last
"Full ninety years and past.
"But now he hath begun
"That which will ne'er be done,
"Crown'd with eternal bliss,
"We wish our souls with his.

"VOTIS MODESTIS SIC FLERUNT LIBERI."

He survived his wife many years. She died in 1662, and was buried in our Lady's Chapel, in the Cathedral of Worcester. In the north wall is placed a small oval monument of white marble, on which is the following inscription, written, no doubt, by her affectionate husband.
"Ex — — — terris
"D. +
"S. +. M.
"Here lyeth buried so much as
could dye of ANA the wife of
IZAAC WALTON,
who was
a woman of remarkeable prudence,
and of the primitive piety: her great
and general knowledge being adorn'd
with such true humility, and blest
with soe much Christian meeknesse as
made her worthy of a more memorable
Monument.
She died (alas that she is dead)
the 17th of April, 1662, aged 52.
Study to be like her."

He had one son Isaac, who never married, and
daughter Anne, the wife of Dr. William
Hawkins, a Prebendary in the Church of Win-
chester, and Rector of Droxford in Hampshire.
Dr. William Hawkins left a son William, and
a daughter Anne. The latter died unmarried.
The son, who was a Serjeant at Law, and author
of the well-known treatise of "The Pleas of the
Crown," lived and died in the Close of Sarum.
He published a short account of the life of his
great uncle in 1713, and also his works in 1721,
under the title of "The Works of the right
reverend learned and pious Thomas Ken, D. D.
late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, 4 vol."
These works include only Ken's Poetical Compositions, which do not merit any great encomium, though they are written in a strain of real piety and devotion. This William Hawkins had a son and three daughters, the eldest of whom Mrs. Hawes, relict of the Rev. Mr. Hawes, Rector of Bemerton, is the only surviving person of that generation.

I have omitted to enumerate among the friends of our biographer Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of

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The following sepulchral inscriptions are in the Cathedral Church of Winchester.

H. S. E.
GULIELMUS HAWKINS
S. T. P.
HUJUS ECCLESIE PREBENDARIUS,
QUI OBIIT JUL. 17.
ANNO DOMINI 1691.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 58.

H. S. E.
ANNA ETIAM IZAAC WALTON FILIA
QUÆ OBIIT SUPER-MEMORATI GULIELMI VIDUA
AUG. 18, 1715.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 67.

Mr. Edward Powell, in commendatory Verses, prefixed to "The Complete Angler," has commemorated the friendship which subsisted between Bishop Morley and Mr. Isaac Walton.

"He that conversed with angels such as were
"Oldsworth and Fcatly, each a shining star
"Shewing the way to Bethlehem; each a saint
"Compar'd to whom our zealots do but paint:
"He that our pious and learned Morley knew,
"And from him suck'd wit and devotion too.
Salisbury. To be esteemed, to be caressed by men of such comprehensive learning and extraordinary abilities is honourable indeed. They were his choicest and most confidential companions. After the Restoration, he and his daughter had apartments constantly reserved for them in the houses of these two Prelates. Here he spent his time in that mutual reciprocation of benevolent offices, which constitutes the blessedness of virtuous friendship. He experienced many marks of favour from the Bishop of Win-

A distinguished trait in the character of this Prelate, who was first known to the world as the friend of Lord Falkland, and to whom Mr. Waller owns himself indebted for his taste of the ancient classics, may be discovered from the following narrative. "Being consulted by the Mayor of a country Corporation, what method he should take effectually to root out the fanatics in the year of his Mayoralty; the Bishop, now growing old, first preached friendliness to him, by ordering him a glass of Canary, as oft as he started the question in company; and next admonished him, when alone, to let those people live quietly, in many of whom, he was satisfied, there was the true fear of God, and who were not likely to be gained by rigour and severity." See "Kennet's Register," p. 816.

After the Restoration, many Divines, who had been educated among the Puritans, and had gone into the notions and scheme of Presbytery, upon mature thoughts, judged it lawful, and even eligible to conform for the honour and interest of the Christian religion, and for the peace and happiness of this church and nation. Among these was Dr. Seth Ward, celebrated for his mathematical studies. Having been appointed President of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1639, he was ejected in 1660:

In
chester, of whose kindness to him he has signified his remembrance in the ring bequeathed at his death, with this expressive motto, "A MITE FOR A MILLION." It was doubtless through his re-
commendation, that Ken obtained the patronage of Dr. Morley; who, having appointed him his Chaplain, presented him to the Rectory of Woodhay, in Hampshire; and then preferred him to the dignity of a Prebendary in the Cathedral Church of Winton.

The worthy son of a worthy father had no cause to complain that his merit was unnoticed, or unrewarded. Mr. Isaac Walton, junior, was educa-
ted at Christ Church, in Oxford. Whilst he was Bachelor of Arts, he attended his uncle, Mr. Ken', to Rome, where he was present at the jubilee ap-
pointed by Pope Clement X. in 1675. On this occasion Ken was wont to say, "That he had

In which year he was admitted Precentor of Exeter, Dean in 1661, and Bishop in 1662. He was translated to the see of Salisbury in 1667, and upon his death, in 1688, was succeeded by Dr. Burnet, who has given a character of him in "The History of his own Times." A few years before his death, he suffered a fatal decay, not only in his body, but in his intel-
tlectual faculties. For, to the mortification of all human sufficiency and wisdom, this great master of reason so entirely lost the use of his understanding, as to become an object of compassion, and uneasiness to himself, and a burden to his friends and attendants. See "Dr. Walter Pope's Life of Seth, Bishop of Salisbury."

¹ Ken was not admitted to the degree of D. D. till 1679.
"great reason to give God thanks for his travels; " since, if it were possible, he returned rather more " confirmed of the purity of the Protestant re-
"ligion than he was before." During his residence in Italy, that country, which is justly called the great School of Music and Painting, the rich Repository of the noblest productions of Statuary and Architecture, both ancient and modern, young Mr. Walton indulged and improved his taste for the fine arts ". On his return to England, he retired to the University of Oxford, to prosecute his studies. Having afterward accepted an invitation from Bishop Ward, to become his domestic chaplain, he was preferred to the Rectory of Polshot, near Devizes, in Wiltshire, and elected a Canon of Salisbury. He afforded much assistance

" " VIATOR. But what have we got here? a rock springing " up in the middle of the river.—This is one of the oddest " sights that ever I saw.

" PISC. Why, Sir, from that pike that you see standing up " there distant from the rock, this is called Pike Pool; and " young Mr. Isaac Walton was so pleased with it, as to draw it " in landscape in black and white, in a black book I have at " home, as he has done several prospects of my house also, " which I keep for a memorial of his favour, and will show you " when we come up to dinner.

" VIAT. Has young Mr. Isaac Walton been here too?

" PISC. Yes marry has he, Sir, and that again, and again " too; and in France since, and at Rome, and at Venice, and I " can't tell where; but I intend to ask him a great many hard " questions, so soon as I can see him, which will be, God " willing, next month."—(Complete Angler, P. II. Ch. 6.)
to Dr. John Walker, when engaged in his "History of the Sufferings of the Clergy," communicating to him a variety of materials for that excellent work. He possessed all the amiable qualities that adorned the character of his father, a calm philanthropy, a genuine piety, an unaffected humility. It was at the house of this his nephew, that Dr. Ken was upon a visit when a stack of chimnies fell into his bed-chamber, Nov. 27, 1703, without doing him any harm; whilst Dr. Kidder, his immediate successor in the See of Bath and Wells, was unfortunately killed with his Lady by a similar accident, during the same storm, in his palace at Wells. Mr. Walton, junior, died in 1716. His remains lie interred at the feet of his friend and patron, Bishop Ward, in the Cathedral of Salisbury.

* On a plain flat stone is this inscription:

H. S. E.
ISAACUS WALTON, HUJUS ECCLESIAE
CANONICUS RESIDENTIARIUS,
PIETATIS NON FECATÆ,
DOCTRINÆ SANÆ,
MUNIFICENTIÆ, BENEVOLENTIÆ
EXEMPLAR DESIDERANDUM.
PASTORIS BONI ET FIDELIS FUNCTUS OFFICIO
PER ANNOS
38 IN PAROCHIA DE POLSHOT WILTS.
OBIIT VICESIMO NONO DECEMBRIS,
ANNO DOMINI 1716,
ÆTATIS 69.
It would be highly improper to ascribe to Mr. Isaac Walton that extent of knowledge, which characterizes the scholar: Yet those who are conversant in his writings will probably entertain no doubt of his acquaintance with books. His frequent references to ancient and modern history, his seasonable applications of several passages in the most approved writers, his allusions to various branches of general science, these and other circumstances concur in confirming the assertion, that though he did not partake of the benefits of early erudition, yet in maturer age, he enlarged his intellectual acquisitions, so as to render them fully proportionate to his opportunities and abilities. The fruits of his truly commendable industry he has generously consecrated to posterity.

x Walton, in his "Complete Angler," frequently cites authors that have written only in Latin, as Gesner, Aldrovandus, Rondelius, and others. The voluminous History of Animals, composed by Gesner, is translated into English by Mr. Edward Topsel. This translation was published in 1658, and as it contained numberless particulars, extracted from the works of various writers concerning frogs, serpents, and caterpillars, it furnished our author with much intelligence. "Pliny's Natural History" was translated by Dr. Philemon Holland. Also there were versions of the tract of Janus Dubravius " de Piscinis et Piscium Naturā," and of "Lebault's Maison Rustique," so often referred to by him in the course of his Work. (See the "Biographical Dictionary, London, 1784."—In "The Life of Dr. Sanderson," Walton has quoted Thucydides. It must be remembered, that Hobbes printed his English translation of "The History of the Græcian War," in 1628.
Deprived of the advantage of a learned education, he hath with great fidelity preserved the memory of those, who were "by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions, honoured in their generations, "and the glory of their times;" each of whom, in his edifying pages, "being dead yet speaketh." He may be literally said "to have laboured not "for himself only, but for all those that seek "wisdom." How interesting and affecting are many of his narratives and descriptions! The vision of ghastly horror that presented itself to Dr. Donne, at the time of his short residence in Paris,—the pleasant messages which Sir Henry Wotton and the good-natured priest exchanged with each other in a church at Rome, during the time of vespers,—the domestic incidents which excited the tender commiseration of Mr. Edwin Sandys and Mr. George Cranmer, while they visited their venerable tutor at his country parsonage of Drayton Beauchamp, —the affectionate and patient condescension of Mr. George Herbert, compassionating the distresses of the poor woman of Bemerton,—the interview of Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Isaac Walton accidentally meeting each other in the streets of London,—these and numberless

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A circumstance mentioned in this narrative, reminds me of the description of a domestic picture, in "The Life of Melancthon," who was seen by one of his friends, "with one hand rocking the "cradle of his child, with the other holding a book."
other similar passages will always be read with reiterated pleasure.

We shall indeed be disappointed, if we expect to find in these volumes the brilliancy of wit, the elaborate correctness of style, or the asceticitious graces and ornaments of fine composition. But that pleasing simplicity of sentiment, that plain and unaffected language, and, may I add, that natural eloquence, which pervades the whole, richly compensates the want of elegance, and rhetorical embellishment. Truth is never displayed to us in more grateful colours, than when she appears, not in a garish attire, but in her own native garb, without artifice, without pomp. In

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2 This quality is, I trust, not improperly applied to Mr. Isaac Walton’s writings. “True eloquence,” says Milton, “I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth;” And, that, “whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others; when such a man would speak, his words, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places.”

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a I indulge myself in quoting only one passage. Having described the poignancy of Dr. Donne’s grief on the death of his wife, the author pathetically concludes. “Thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the restless night, and began the weary day in lamentations.” The repetition is exquisitely beautiful. It reminds me of Orpheus lamenting over Eurydice, in Virgil’s Georgics:

“Te veniente Die, te decedente canebat.”

B b 2
that garb Isaac Walton has arrayed her. Deeply impressed with the excellence of those exemplary characters which he endeavours to portray, he speaks no other language than that of the heart, and thus imparts to the reader his own undisguised sentiments, so friendly to piety and virtue. Assuredly, no pleasure can be placed in competition with that, which results from the view of men sedulously adjusting their actions with integrity and honour. To accompany them, as it were, along the path of life, to join in their conversation, to observe their demeanour in various situations, to contemplate their acts of charity and beneficence, to attend them into their closets, to behold their ardour of piety and devotion; in short, to establish, as it were, a friendship and familiarity with them,—this, doubtless, must be pronounced an happy anticipation of that holy intercourse, which will, I trust, subsist between beatified spirits in another and a better state.

Those parts of these volumes are more peculiarly adapted to afford satisfaction, improvement, and consolation, in which is related the behaviour of these good men at the hour of death. Here we find ourselves personally and intimately interested. "A battle or a triumph," says Mr. Addison, "are conjunctures, in which not one man in a million is likely to be engaged; but when we see a person at the point of death, we cannot forbear being attentive to every thing he says or does; because we are sure, that some time or other, we
"shall ourselves be in the same melancholy cir-
"cumstances. The general, the statesman, or the "philosopher, are perhaps characters which we "may never act in; but the dying man is one "whom, sooner or later, we shall certainly re-
"semble." Thus while these instructive pages teach us how to live, they impart a lesson equally useful and momentous—how to die. When I contrast the death-bed scenes, which our author has described, with that which is exhibited to us in the last illness of a modern philosopher, who at that awful period had no source of consolation but what he derived from reading Lucian and other books of amusement, discoursing chiefly with his friends on the trifling topics of common conversation, playing at his favourite game of whist, and indulging his pleasantry on the fabulous history of "Charon and "his Boat,"—without one single act of devotion, without any expression of penitential sorrow, of hope or confidence in the goodness of God, or in the merits of a Redeemer;—when this contrast, I

b Dr. Thomas Townson, the late Archdeacon of Richmond, read "Isaac Walton's Lives" during his last illness, with a view, no doubt, to trim his lamp, and prepare for his Lord, by comparing his conduct with the examples of those meek and holy men, described by the pleasing and faithful biographer. He also read, and, assuredly, with similar intentions, Mr. Herbert's "Country Parson."—Of this pious and learned man, the ornament of the eighteenth century, see "Churton's Memoirs of "Dr. Townson."
say, is presented to my view, it is impossible not to adopt the language of the prophet, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

Is it necessary to add, that we are here presented with two pleasing portraits of female excellence, in the mother and in the wife of Mr. George Herbert? In the first were united all the personal and mental accomplishments of her sex: The enlightened piety of the latter, her native humility, her truly Christian charity, exhibit her as a perfect model of every thing good and praise-worthy, while her marriage with Mr. Herbert, though attended with some unusual circumstances, proves incontestably, that an union, originating from "good sense, from inclination, and from an "equality of age, of dignity, and of fortune," can seldom fail of being attended with happiness.

It is said of Socrates, that all who knew him, loved him: And that if any did not love him, it was because they did not know him. May we may not affirm the same of that worthy person, who is the subject of this memoir? Such was the sweetness of his temper, so affectionate was the regard which his friends professed for him, that, in their epistolary correspondence, though they were far superior to him in rank and condition of life, they usually addressed him

* See "The Life of David Hume, Esq." p. 43, 46.
in the language of tenderness and soothing endearment, styling him, "Good Mr. Walton;" "Honest Isaac;" "Worthy Friend;" "Dear Brother;" "Most Ingenious Friend." No one better deserved these kind appellations. Let it always be recorded to his honour, that he never retracted any promise, when made in favour even of his meanest friend d. Neal, in his "History of the Puritans," introduces an erroneous quotation from "Walton's Life of Mr. Hooker." Dr. Warburton, in his notes on that history (Warburton's Works, Vol. VII. p. 895,) commenting upon this quotation, speaks of "the quaint trash of a fantastical life-writer." Is it possible to suppose that an epithet, more adapted to the asperity of fastidious censure, than to the cool and deliberate judgment of candid and equitable criticism, should be justly applied to a man of real merit, who strenuously exerted himself in promoting the cause of religion, as well by his writings as by his exemplary conduct?

The corporation of Stafford have publicly pronounced him their worthy and generous benefactor. Of his singular munificence to the poor inhabitants of this his native town, we find several instances in his life-time: And, at his death, he consigned

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d See "Mr. Cotton's Epistle Dedicatory to his most worthy Father and Friend, Mr. Isaac Walton the elder," prefixed to the Second Part of "The Complete Angler."
some bequests of considerable value to be appropriated to their use.

In an ancient inscription yet extant, it is said of a Roman Citizen, that he knew not how to speak injuriously—nescivit maledicere. We may observe of Isaac Walton, that he was ignorant how to write of any man with acrimony and harshness. This liberality of disposition will ever recommend him to his readers. Whatever are the religious sentiments of the persons, whom he introduces to our notice, how widely soever they differ from his own; we discover not, in his remarks, the petulance of indiscriminate reproach, or the malignancy of rude invective. The mild spirit of moderation breathes almost in every

* It appears from a table fixed in the Church of St. Mary's, in the borough of Stafford, that Mr. Isaac Walton gave, in his life-time, a garden of eight shillings a year, to buy coals for the poor yearly about Christmas; and that he also gave twenty-two pounds, to build a stone-wall around St. Chad's Churchyard in the said borough; and did also set forth nine boys apprentices, bestowing five pounds on each.

At his death, he bequeathed one messuage or tenement, at Shalford in the county of Stafford, with all the land thereto belonging, of the clear yearly value of twenty pounds ten shillings and sixpence; of which, ten pounds are appropriated, every year, to the putting out two boys, sons of honest and poor parents, to be apprentices to tradesmen, or handicraftsmen; and five pounds to some maid-servant, that hath attained the age of twenty-one years (not less), and dwelt long in one service; or to some honest poor man's daughter, that hath attained to that age, to be paid her at, or on the day of her marriage. What money or rent shall remain undisposed of,
I can only lament one instance of severity, for which however several pleas of extenuation might readily be admitted.

He is known to have acquired a relish for the fine arts. Of paintings and prints he had formed a small, but valuable collection. — And we may presume, that he had an attachment to and a knowledge of music. His affection for sacred music may be inferred from that animated, I had almost said, that enraptured language which he adopts, whenever the subject occurs to him. It will be easily recollected, that Ken, his brother-in-law, whose morning, evening, and midnight hymns, endear his memory to the devout Christian, began the duties of each day with sacred melody.

He directs to be employed in the purchase of coals, for some poor people, that shall need them: the said coals to be distributed in the last week of January, or every first week in February; because he considers that time to be the hardest, and most pinching time.

In his last will, he leaves to his son "all his books, not yet given, at Farnham Castell, and a deske of prints and pictures; also a cabinet, in which are some little things, that he will value, though of no great worth."

"He that at midnight, when the very labourer sleeps securely, should hear, as I have often done, the sweet descants, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling of the nightingale's voice, might well be lifted above earth, and say, Lord, what music hast thou provided for the saints in heaven, when thou affordest bad men such music upon earth?" — (Complete Angler, P. I. Ch. I.)
And that between men perfectly congenial in their sentiments and habits of virtue, a similarity of disposition in this instance should prevail, is far from being an unreasonable suggestion. That he had an inclination to poetry, we may conclude from his early intimacy with Michael Drayton, "the golden-mouthed Poet," a man of an amiable disposition, of mild and modest manners, whose poems are much less read than they deserve to be. It is needless to remark, than on the first publication of a work it was usual for the friends of the author to prefix to it recommendatory verses. Isaac Walton, whose circle of friends was very extensive indeed, often contributed his share of encomium on these occasions. To his productions of this kind no other commendations can be allowed, than that they were sincere memorials of his grateful and tender regard. It must however be added, that he never debased his talents by offering the incense of Adulation, at the shrine of Infamy and Guilt. The persons, whom he favoured with these marks of his attention, were not undeserving of praise. Such, for instance, was William Cartwright, who, though he died in the thirtieth year of his age, was the boast and ornament of the University of Oxford, as a divine, a philosopher, and a poet.

See "Comedies, Tragi-comedies, with other Poems, by William Cartwright, late Student of Christ Church in Oxford, and Proctor of the University. London, 1651."
Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, declared him to be, "the utmost man can come to;" and Ben Jonson was wont to say of him, "My son Cartwright "writes all like a man." And here an opportunity presents itself of ascertaining the author of "The Synagogue, or the Shadow of the Temple," a collection of sacred poems usually annexed to Mr. George Herbert's "Temple." Mr. Walton has addressed some encomiastic lines to him, as his friend; and in "The Complete Angler," having inserted from that collection, a little poem, entitled "The Book of Common Prayer," he expressly assigns it, and of course the whole work, to a reverend and learned divine, Mr. Christopher Harvie, that professes to imitate Mr. Herbert, and hath indeed done so most excellently; and of whom he adds pleasantly, "you will like him the better, because he is a friend of mine, and I am sure "no enemy to angling".

Faithfully attached to the Church of England,

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1 See "The Complete Angler," P. LXVIII. and p. 125, edit. of 1773. We find the name of Christopher Harvie subscribed to "Verses addressed to the Reader of the Complete Angler." He is probably the same person, who was the author of "The Right Rebel. London, 1661," 8vo.—a treatise, discovering the true use of the name, by the nature of rebellion; with the properties and practices of rebels, applicable to all, both old and new fanaticks: by Christopher Harvey, Vicar of Clifton, in Warwickshire. He was a minister's son, in Cheshire, and was educated in Braze-nose College, Oxford. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 268.
he entertained the highest veneration for her discipline and doctrines. He had not been an inattentive spectator of the rapid progress of the sectaries, hastening from one degree of injustice to another, until an universal anarchy consummated the ruin of our ecclesiastical constitution. In his last Will he has announced an ingenuous and decided avowal of his religious principles, with a design, as it has been conjectured, to prevent any suspicions that might arise of his inclination to Popery, from his very long and very true friendship with some of the Roman Communion. But a full and explicit declaration of his Christian faith, and the motives which enforced his serious and regular attendance upon the service of that Church in which he was educated, are delivered, with great propriety and good sense, in his own words. For thus he writes in a letter to one of his friends. "I go so constantly to the Church service to adore and worship my God, who hath made me of nothing, and preserved me from being worse

\textsuperscript{1} A steady friendship subsisted between Mr. Walton and Mr. James Shirley, who, having been ordained a Clergyman of the established Church, renounced his religion, for that of the Church of Rome. He is described by Philips, in his "Theatrum Poetarum," printed at London, in 1675, as "a just pretender to more than the meanest place among the English poets, but most especially for dramatic poesy; in which he hath written both very much, and for the most part, with that felicity, that by some he is accounted little inferior to Fletcher himself." See "The Life of Mr. Herbert," p. 125.
than nothing. And this worship and adoration
I do pay him inwardly in my soul, and testifie
it outwardly by my behaviour; as namely, by
my adoration, in my forbearing to cover my
head in that place dedicated to God, and only
to his service; and also, by standing up at
profession of the Creed, which contains the
several articles that I and all true Christians
profess and believe; and also my standing up
at giving glory to the Father, to the Son, and
to the Holy Ghost, and confessing them to be
three persons, and but one God.

And, secondly, I go to Church to praise my
God for my creation and redemption; and for
his many deliverances of me from the many
dangers of my body, and more especially of my
soul, in sending me redemption by the death of
his Son, my Saviour; and for the constant as-
sistance of his holy spirit: a part of which praise
I perform frequently in the Psalms, which are
daily read in the public congregation.

And, thirdly, I go to Church publicly to con-
fess and bewail my sins, and to beg pardon for
them, for his merits who died to reconcile me
and all mankind unto God, who is both his and
my Father; and, as for the words in which I
beg this mercy, they be the Letany and Collects
of the Church, composed by those learned and
devout men, whom you and I have trusted to
tell us which is and which is not the written
word of God; and trusted also to translate those
"Scriptures into English. And, in these Collects, you may note, that I pray absolutely for pardon of sin, and for grace to believe and serve God: But I pray for health, and peace, and plenty, conditionally; even so far as may tend to his glory, and the good of my soul, and not further. And this confessing my sins, and begging mercy and pardon for them, I do in my adoring my God, and by the humble posture of kneeling on my knees before him: And, in this manner, and by reverend sitting to hear some chosen parts of God's word read in the public assembly, I spend one hour of the Lord's day every forenoon, and half so much time every evening. And since this uniform and devout custom of joining together in public confession, and praise, and adoration of God, and in one manner, hath been neglected; the power of Christianity and humble piety is so much decayed, that it ought not to be thought on but with sorrow and lamentation; and I think, especially by the Nonconformists."

The reasons which he has assigned for his uninterrupted attention to the discharge of another duty will afford satisfaction to every candid reader. Now for preaching, I praise God, I understand my duty both to him and my neighbour the better, by hearing of sermons. And though I be defective in the performance of both (for which I beseech Almighty God to pardon me), yet I had been a much worse Christian, if I had
"not frequented the blessed ordinance of preaching; which has convinced me of my many sins past, and begot such terrors of conscience, as have begot in me holy resolutions. This benefit, and many other like benefits, I and other Christians have had by preaching: And God forbid that we should ever use it so, or so provoke him by our other sins as to withdraw this blessed ordinance from us, or turn it into a curse, by preaching heresie and schism; which too many have done in the late time of rebellion, and indeed now do in many conventicles; and their auditors think such preaching is serving God, when God knows it is contrary." Such were the rational grounds, on which he founded his faith and practice.

No excuse is pleaded for again noticing the opportunities of improvement, which he experienced from his appropriated intimacy with the most eminent Divines of the Church of England. Genuine friendship exists but among the virtuous: A friend is emphatically styled "the medicine of life;" the sovereign remedy that softens the pangs of sorrow, and alleviates the anguish of the heart. We cannot therefore sufficiently felicitate the condition of Isaac Walton, who imbibed the very spirit of friendship; and that with men renowned for their wisdom and learning; for the sanctity of their manners, and the unsullied purity of their lives. "If," to use the words of one of his biographers, "we can entertain a doubt that Walton was one
of the happiest of men, we shew ourselves igno-
rant of the nature of that felicity, to which it is
possible even in this life for virtuous and good
men, with the blessing of God, to arrive.

Yet it must not be concealed, that our venerable
biographer has, from his love of angling, been
denominated a cruel and hard-hearted man. He
has been compared to Popish inquisitors, and the
most savage persecutors.

Nothing certainly can be said in vindication of
any amusement which is productive of pain and
anguish to the lowest of the brute creation.
Every animal claims from man a mild and gentle
treatment; and it is much to be wished that di-
versions, which tend to prolong the misery of any
creature, were entirely laid aside. Who does not
applaud the humane sentiment of Gay?

"Around the steel no tortur'd worm shall twine,
" No blood of living insect stain my line:
" Let me, less cruel, cast the feather'd hook
" With pliant rod athwart the pebbled brook,
" Silent along the mazy margin stray,
" And with the far-wrought fly delude the prey.

And it is hoped that the remark of the poet is
not strictly true that

............. " the poor beetle, which we tread upon,
" In corporal sufferance feels a pang as great
" As when a giant dies." ......

1 "Biographical Dictionary." Ed. 1784.
An ingenious naturalist has adduced many arguments, which render it extremely probable that insects are not in reality possessed of the degrees of feeling pain, which have been erroneously attributed to them.

The features of the countenance often enable us to form a judgment, not very fallible, of the disposition of the mind. In few portraits can this discovery be more successfully pursued than in that of Isaac Walton. Lavater, the acute master of physiognomy, would, I think, instantly acknowledge in it the decisive traits of the original:—Mild complacency, forbearance, mature consideration, calm activity, peace, sound understanding, power of thought, discerning attention, and secretly active friendship. Happy in his unblemished integrity, happy in the approbation and esteem of others, he inwraps himself in his own virtue. The exultation of a good conscience eminently shines forth in the looks of this venerable person.

"Candida semper
"Gaudia, et in vultu curarum ignara voluptas."

Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, used this motto, "SERVE GOD, AND BE CHEERFUL." Our Biographer seems to have adhered to this golden maxim, during the whole tenor of his life. His innocence, and the inoffensive plainness of his manners, his love of truth, his piety, and the unbiased rectitude of his conduct diffused over his mind a serenity and complacency, which
never forsook him. Let no one, however elevated in rank or station, however accomplished with learning, or exalted in genius, esteem himself undervalued, when it shall be pronounced concerning him, that his religious and moral qualities are placed in the balance, or compared with those of ISAAC WALTON.

THE END OF I. WALTON'S LIFE.
LOVE AND TRUTH:

IN

TWO MODEST AND PEACEABLE LETTERS,

CONCERNING THE

DISTEMPERS OF THE PRESENT TIMES.

WRITTEN FROM A QUIET AND CONFORMABLE

CITIZEN OF LONDON,

TO TWO BUSIE AND FACTIOUS

SHOPKEEPERS IN COVENTRY.

"BUT LET NONE OF YOU SUFFER AS A BUSIE-BODY IN OTHER MEN'S
MATTERS." 1 Pet. iv. 15.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH NOTES AND A PREFACE,

BY THOMAS ZOUCH, M. A.
TO
THE REV.
HENRY ZOUCH, M. A.
THIS EDITION OF A TRACT,
WRITTEN BY
ISAAC WALTON,
WITH THE LAUDABLE INTENTION OF
RECOMMENDING
A QUIET AND PEACEABLE
CONFORMITY
TO THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
IS INSCRIBED,
WITH
EVERY SENTIMENT OF REGARD,
BY HIS AFFECTIONATE BROTHER,
THO. ZOUCH.
PREFACE OF THE EDITOR.

HAVING formed a design of collecting materials for a new edition of Isaac Walton's Lives of Dr. Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert, and Dr. Robert Sanderson, I was fortunate enough to be apprized of the existence of the two following Letters. Those who are conversant in the history of the times in which they were written will easily discern, that the author had in view the arguments advanced in a treatise generally ascribed to Dr. Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford, and first published in 1675, under the title of "The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Primitive Church, by an Humble Moderator. Zach. viii. 19, Love the Truth and Peace. Gal. iv. 16, Am I therefore become your Enemy, because I tell you the Truth?"

The anecdote of the conversation that passed between Dr. Duncon and his Venetian friend is
highly interesting. Sir Henry Wotton, during his residence at Venice, contributed much to diffuse the light of religious truth. His house in that city was the resort of wise and learned men. Here was seen the purity of the Protestant faith, in its own primitive lustre and native loveliness, recommended by the most powerful of all motives,—a practice in its professors perfectly consonant with the rules of the evangelical code. Hence Father Paul, and Fulgentio his immediate successor, derived that illumination of their understandings, which enabled them to discover the errors of Popery. Conviction took possession of their hearts, though they had not resolution strong enough to break the fetters in which they were bound. A noted writer, who visited Venice at this time, and on whose veracity we may depend, however peculiar his mode of narration may be, confirms the propriety of these remarks. "Here again," says our entertaining traveller, "I will once more speake of our most "worthy ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, honoris "causâ; because his house was in the same "streete (when I was in Venice) where the "Jewish Ghetto is, even in the streete called
"St. Hieronimo, and but a little from it. Certainly he hath greatly graced and honoured his country by that most honourable port, that he hath maintayned in this noble city, by his generose carriage and most elegant and gracious behaviour amongst the greatest senators and clarissimoes, which, like the true adamant, had that attractive vertue to winne him their love and grace in the highest measure. And the rather I am induced to make mention of him, because I received many great favours at his hands in Venice, for the which (I must confess) I am most deservedly ingaged unto him in all due and obsequious respects, while I live: Also those rare vertues of the minde where-with God hath abundantly inriched him, his singular learning and exquisite knowledge in the Greeke and Latin, and the famousest languages of Christendome, which are excellently beautified with a plausible volubility of speech, have purchased him the inward friendship of all the Christian Ambassadors resident in the city; and finally his zealous conversation, (which is the principal thing of all) piety and integrity of life, and his true worship of God
"in the middest of Popery, superstition, and
" idolatry, (for he hath service and sermons in
" his house after the Protestant manner, which
" I think was never before permitted in Venice;
" that solid divine and worthy scholar, Mr. Wil-
" liam Bedel, being his preacher at the time of
" my being in Venice) will be very forcible
" motives (I doubt not) to winne many soules
" to Jesus Christ, and to draw divers of the
" famous Papists of the city to the true reformed
" religion, and profession of the gospell.

" In this streete also doth famous Frier Paul
" dwell, which is of the order of Servi. I
" mention him, because in the time of the dif-
" ference betwixt the Signiory of Venice and
" the Pope, he did in some sort oppose himselfe
" against the Pope, especially concerning his su-
" premacy in civil matters; and, as well with
" his tongue as his pen, inveighed not a little
" against him. So that for his bouldnesse with
" the Pope's holynesse he was like to be slaine
" by some of the Papists in Venice, whereof
" one did very dangerously wound him. It is
" thought, that he doth dissent, in many points,
"from the Papisticall doctrine, and inclineth to "the Protestant's religion, by reason that some "learned Protestants have, by their conversation "with him in his convent, something diverted "him from Popery. Wherefore notice being "taken by many great men of the city, that he "beginneth to swarve from the Romish religion, "he was lately restrained (as I heard in Venice) "from all conference with Protestants." (Coryat's Crudities. Observations of Venice, p. 240.

Of the genuineness of the Letters, which I now present to the public, I entertain no doubt. It is probable, that the only copy extant is deposited in the library of Emanuel College in Cambridge. This copy is contained in a volume of miscellaneous tracts, formerly belonging to Archbishop Sancroft, who, in his own handwriting, thus describes it:—"Is. Walton's 2 Letters conc. y° Distemp's of y° Times, 1680."

The internal proofs bring conviction with them. "It is affirmed, that there be some artists that "do certainly know an original picture from a "copy, and in what age of the world, and by
"whom drawn:" If so, then, I hope, it may be safely affirmed, that what is here printed, as the work of Isaac Walton, is so like his temper of mind and his other writings, that all readers may readily conclude, it could flow only from his pen*.

For a permission to reprint these Letters, I am obliged to the kind indulgence of Dr. Farmer, Master of Emanuel College, whose readiness to promote every literary undertaking demands the most grateful acknowledgment.

I flatter myself, that the few notes, which are daded, may throw some light on the passages to which they refer.

* See Isaac Walton's Preface to "The Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson."
THE

PUBLISHER TO THE STATIONER.

MR. BROME*,

I here send you two Letters, (the first writ in the year 1657) both writ by a prudent and conformable quiet Citizen of London, to two brothers, that now are, or were zealous, and busie shopkeepers in Coventry; to which place I came lately, and by accident met with a grave divine, who commended them to my reading: And having done what he desired, I thought them to speak so much real truth, and clear reason, and both so lovingly and so plainly, that I thought them worth my transcribing; and now, upon second thoughts, think them worth print-

*This Tract was originally printed in London, "by M. C. for Henry Brome, at the Gun in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1680."
ing, in order to the unbeguiling* many men that mean well, and yet have been too busie in meddling, and decrying things they understand not. Pray, get them to be read by some person of honesty and judgment: And if he shall think as I do, then let them be printed; for I hope they may turn somewhat to your own profit, but much more to the benefit of any reader that has been mistaken, and is willing to be unbeguiled.

God keep you, Sir,

Your Friend.

MAY 29, 1680.

*“That he might unbeguile and win them.” (Walton’s Life of Mr. Hooker.)
THE FIRST LETTER

CONCERNING COMPREHENSION,

WRITTEN MDCLXVII.

GOOD COUSIN,

I AM sorry that the Parliament's casting out the Bill of Comprehension should so much concern you, as to put you into such a passion as you express against them and me at our last night's meeting. Sure the company you now converse with, and the strange principles with which they have how possed you, have altered your nature,

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a In January 1667-8, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Orlando Bridgman, proposed a plan for the comprehension of the more moderate Dissenters, and a limited indulgence towards such as could not be brought within the comprehension. The Divines of the Church of England, who engaged in the prosecution of this plan, were Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Stillingfleet, and Mr. Hezekiah Burton. On the part of the Nonconformists appeared Mr. Baxter, Dr. Manton, and Dr. Bates. When the bill, drawn up by Lord Chief Baron Hale, was presented to the Parliament, a resolution passed against admitting any bill of that nature. (Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 33. Reliquiae Baxterianae, vol. III. p. 23. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 42.)
and turned your former reason into prejudice and unbelief: if not, you would have believed what I did so seriously affirm to be a known truth: namely, *That this age is not more severe against the disturbers of the settled peace and government of the church and state, than they were in the very happy days of our late and good Queen Elizabeth.* Some of the reasons why I said so, I do with very much affection tender to your consideration, and to your censure too; and that the last may be the more charitable, and you not apt to make the errors or failings of your governours seem more or greater than indeed they are, let me intreat that you remember what I have very often said to you; namely, *That malicious men* (of whom really I do not take you to be one) *are the best accusers, and the worst judges.* And indeed I fear it would prove to be a very bitter truth, if some did attain that power which too many labour for in these days, in which *schism* and *sedition* are taken to be no sins, even by men who pretend a tenderness of conscience in much smaller matters.

And, that I may keep some order, and you be the better satisfied in what I intend in this letter, I earnestly intreat that you will at your next leisure read in Mr Cambden's true *"History of the Life and Reign of our good Queen Elizabeth,*" in which you may find, what care was then taken to prevent schism, and the sad confusion that attends it; and how the contrivers of libels, and dispersers
of them, have been severely punished, many of them even to death; as namely, Henry Barrow, and many of his sectaries, for disturbing the publick peace of the nation, by scattering abroad their monstrous opinions; as also, for affirming the Church of England to be no true church, and the like; which you may find written by the said Mr. Cambden, in the thirty-sixth year of that good Queen's reign.

But I commend more especially to your consideration the story and sad death of Hacket and his adherents; as namely, of Wiginton, Arthington, and Copinger, all schismaticks, and of one sect and brotherhood: But I say, I do most seriously commend to your consideration the beginning and death of the said Hacket, who was first a pretender to a tenderness of conscience, but a schismatick; and stopt not there, but became by degrees, so fully possest by the evil spirit, the spirit of pride and opposition, that he publickly reviled the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Chancellour, and being transported with a furious zeal, did at last become from a schismatick, to be so infamous an heretick, that he was condemned to death for his abominable errors; at which time he reviled and cursed his judges, and died blaspheming and reproaching his Creator. This you may read in the thirty-fourth year of

Queen Elizabeth, as it is written by honest learned Mr. Cambden, who concludes this sad story of Hacket with this observation, "Thus doth the " enemy of mankind bewitch those men whom he " seeth are not content to be wise unto sobriety." These stories, I say, and too many like them, you may find in Mr. Cambden's "History of Queen Elizabeth;" and you may find the like in "Bishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland;" and also find the like in "Mr. Fuller's History of the Church of Great Britain;" in which you may observe what labour hath been used by the discontented Non-conformists to unsettle the government of the Church of England, and consequently of the state; and may there also find, how severely many of them have been punished: So that you need not wonder at what I said last night, nor think these the only times of persecuting men of tender consciences.

And for the better confirmation of what I now write, I will refer you to one testimony more, in the time of our late peaceful King James: Which testimony you may view in the second volume of "The Reports of Judge Crook," a man very

"Thus does the great enemy of mankind cajole those who pretend an outward sanctity, but are not sincerely and soberly wise and good." (Kennet's History of England, vol. II. p. 564.) See an account of these wretched fanatics in Dr. Cozins's "Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation," a treatise usually annexed to Sir George Paule's Life of Archbishop Whitgift.
learned in the law. But I shall first tell you the occasion of that report, which was this, The Non-conformists, which are in that report called by the name of "Puritans, had given out that the "king had an intent to set up or give a toleration "to Popery; and they had also composed a large "petition, complaining of the severity of some "usage, and of some laws that concerned them-"selves; and desired that the severity of those "laws might be mitigated: These and other like "desires were in the said petition, to which they "had procured not less than seven hundred hands; "and the close of the petition was, That if these "desires were not granted, many thousands of his "subjects would be discontented: Which indeed "was not a threatening, but was understood to be "somewhat like it."

This report of his Majesty's intent to set up or tolerate Popery begot many fears and discontents in the nation; and to prevent greater disturbances the King did appoint many of his Privy Council, and all the judges of the land, to meet together in the Star-chamber, in which assembly the Lord Chancellour declared to them the occasion of this

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d Sir George Croke, celebrated for pleading with great ability against the imposition of ship-money, was promoted to the Common Pleas, Feb. 11, 1623, and to the King's Bench, Oct. 9, 1628. He died Feb. 15, 1641. His Reports in three volumes, folio, were published after his decease by Sir Harbottle Grim-estone, his son-in-law.

e Sir Thomas Egerton having held the office of Master of the Rolls with that of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, till 1603,

D d 2
their publick convention; and asked the judges this following question, (as you may read it in the very same words in the said learned judge's Reports, in the second year of the reign of King James.)

"Whether it were an offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed petitions and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the king in a publick cause as the Puritans had done, with an intimation to the king, that if he denied their suit, many thousands of his subjects would be discontented."

"Whereunto all the judges answered, that it was an offence finable at discretion, and very near treason and felony in the punishment; for they tended to the raising sedition, rebellion, and discontent among the people: To which resolution all the Lords agreed. And then many of the Lords declared, that some of the Puritans had raised a false rumour of the king; that he intended to grant a toleration to Papists: Which offence the judges conceived to be hainously finable by the rules of the Common Law, either in the King's Bench, or by the King and his Council; or now, (since the statute of the third of Henry the Seventh) in the Star-chamber.

the first year of the reign of James I. was then created Baron of Ellesmere, and Viscount Brackley, and was also constituted Lord Chancellor of England.
"And the Lords severally declared, how much the king was discontented with the said false rumour, and had made but the day before a protestation to them, that he never intended it; and that he would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed, "That before he or any of his issue should maintain any other religion that what he truly profess'd and maintained, that God would take them out of the world."

This you may find in that report of that learned judge, as it was left among many other reports, all exactly written with his own hand; and as they are now publish'd by Sir Harbottle Grimstone, who is now the worthy Master of the Rolls. And you may note, that the said Reports were publish'd in the year 1658, at which time Oliver the Tyrant was in his full power; and you may there find, that even all Oliver's judges allowed these Reports to be made publick, and subscribed their names to them; and with Oliver's consent doubtless. For, he had found that those very Non-conformists, whose sedition helpt him into his power, became after a short time as restless and discontent with him, as they had been with their lawful king; and indeed as willing to pull him down, as they had been diligent to set him up.

Dear Cousin, these places, to which I have refered you, for a testimony of what I said, are not to be doubted; and though you would not give any credit to what I assured you I knew to be a
truth; yet I hope you now will: If not, search, and you will find them true.

And now, seriously, Sir! let me appeal to your own conscience, and ask (though you would not then believe me) how easily would you have given credit to any stranger that had brought you news of any error committed by any bishop or their chaplains; or by any of the conformable clergy, though there were not any reasonable probability for it. Dear cousin, consider what I say, and consider there is a great stock of innocent blood to be answered for; not only the blood of our late virtuous king, and the blood of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Strafford, whose deaths were occasioned by the indiscreet zeal and restless fury and clamours of the Non-conformists: And not only the blood of these, but the ruin of many good and innocent families, that now eat the bread of sorrow, by being impoverished and undone by these troublesome pretenders to conscience; and which is worse, there is a corruption of the innocence and manners of the greatest part of the nation to be answered for; and all this occasioned by our late civil war; and that war occasioned by the fury and zeal of the discontented restless Non-conformists, and them only; and note, that till then we knew not the name of Independent, or of Seeker, or Quaker. Cousin, these are the sad

"The second sect which then rose up was that called Seekers. These taught that our Scripture was uncertain; that
effects of these busie-bodies; many of whom God hath still so blinded, that they cannot yet see the errors they have run themselves and the nation into; nay, that would imbroil it again into greater ruine than not be complied with in their peevish desires, which they miscall tenderness of conscience.

Dear Cousin, I will not say all; but indeed, too many of the men with whom you comply, and do so much magnifie, are too like Simeon and Levi, that were brethren in this iniquity. And as you love the peace of the church, in which you were baptized, and the peace of the land in which you were born, and the laws by which you enjoy what you have; nay, as you love the peace of your own soul, draw back, and let it not enter into their counsils or confederacy; but at last take notice that though neither you, nor any of your associates scruple at the sin of schism or sedition, but rush into it without consideration or fear, even as a horse rushes into the battle; yet, I pray take notice, that St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, reckons it with the deeds of the flesh, even with murder and witchcraft, which you so much abhor; and let me tell you, many think sedition

"that present miracles are necessary to faith; that our ministry "is null and without authority, and our worship and ordinances "unnecessary or vain: The true church, ministry, scripture, "and ordinances being lost, for which they are now seeking."

(Reliquiae Baxterianae, part I. p. 78. See also Thurloe's State Papers, vol. V. p. 188, and Kennet's Register, p. 396.)
a more hainous sin than they, by reason of the more evil and destructive effects of it; for murder may become so by taking away the life of but one single person; and witchcraft hath its limits and bounds set to it, perhaps so as not to take away the life of any man, but only to do mischief to a single person or a family, and must end there: But who knows the limits of sedition? Or, when the fire is kindled, which is intended by seditious men, who can, who is able, to quench it? And for some proofs of the miserable effects of it, though I might give you too many instances of them in former times; yet I will only refer you to the late Long Parliament, now fresh in memory, and the woful effects of that civil war, begot and maintained by schismatical, seditious, discontented men, that believed themselves fit to be reformers, when God knows well they were not.

And for the sorrow you express for those men of tender consciences, that are scandalized at wearing a surplice*, kneeling at receiving the sacrament*.

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* See a tract said to be written by Dr. Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford, under the title of "The Naked Truth; or, " The True State of the Primitive Church, by an humble " Moderator, Zach. viii. 19. Love the truth and peace. Gal. " iv. 16. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?"

the cross in baptism\(^1\), and the like; and would have them therefore taken away, that so many, so learned, and so godly men might, by taking them away, be brought to a conformity, and be made capable of preaching the Gospel, which otherwise they cannot do, by being scandalized at these ceremonies.

I now ask you, what if more men, and more learned men, and more godly men, and as tender-conscienced men, shall be scandalized by their being taken away? What care will you, or those of your party, take for their tender consciences? Nay, I ask again, what if we forget or neglect the tender consciences of our own party, and comply with yours? What security can you or they give us, that this shall satisfy them so as to ask no more when this is granted? Really, I cannot think any security can be given, but that all this being granted, yet any man of a melancholly, or a malicious, or a peevish, or a fantastical, or a wanton conscience, or a conscience that inclines to get reputation, and court applause, may call his own a tender conscience, and become seditious and restless, if his tender conscience be not complied with: And so no end of his desires, nor any more safety by granting what is desired.

I shall next endeavour to satisfie your desire, or

rather your challenge, why I go so constantly to the church service; and my answer shall be all in love and in sincerity.

"I go to adore and worship my God who hath made me of nothing, and preserved me from being worse than nothing. And this worship and adoration I do pay him inwardly in my soul, and testify it outwardly by my behaviour; as namely, by my adoration, in my forbearing to cover my head in that place dedicated to God, and only to his service; and also, by standing up at profession of the Creed, which contains the several articles that I and all true Christians profess and believe; and also by my standing up at giving glory to the Father, the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; and confessing them to be three persons, and but one God.

"And (secondly) I go to church to praise my God for my creation and redemption, and for his many deliverances of me from the many dangers of my body, and more especially of my soul in sending me redemption by the death of his Son my Saviour; and for the constant assistance of his holy spirit; a part of which praise I perform frequently in the Psalms, which are daily read in the publick congregation.

"And (thirdly) I go to church publickly to confess and bewail my sins, and to beg pardon for them, for his merits who died to reconcile me and all mankind unto God, who is both his and
my Father; and as for the words in which I beg this mercy, they be the Letany and Collects of the church, composed by those learned and devout men whom you and I have trusted to tell us which is, and which is not the written word of God; and trusted also to translate those scriptures into English. And in these Collects you may note, that I pray absolutely for pardon of sin, and for grace to believe and serve God: But I pray for health, and peace, and plenty, conditionally, even so far as may tend to his glory, and the good of my soul, and not further: And this confessing my sins, and begging mercy and pardon for them, I do in my adoring my God, and by the humble posture of kneeling on my knees before him: And in this manner, and by reverend sitting to hear some chosen parts of God's word read in the public assembly, I spend one hour of the Lord's day every forenoon; and half so much time every evening. And since this uniform and devout custom, of joyning together in pubick confession, and praise, and adoration of God, and in one manner, hath been neglected, the power of Christianity and humble piety is so much decayed, that it ought not be to thought on, but with sorrow and lamentation: And, I think especially by the Non-conformists.

And lastly (for I am tedious beyond my intention) whereas you, and your party, would have the Bishop's and Cathedral-church lands
"sold to supply the present necessities of the nation; I say, first, God prevent the nation from such necessities, as shall make them guilty of so many curses as have been by the donors of those lands intailed with those lands upon those men, that alienate them to any other use than for the use of those that shall serve at God's altar, to which end the priest's portion was kept with care and conscience till the days of King Henry VIII. who is noted, to make the first breach of those oaths that were always taken and kept by his predecessors, and taken by himself too, to preserve the church lands; and it is noted, that he was the first violater of those many laws made also to preserve them; out of which lands he took, at the dissolution of the abbies, a part for himself; exchanged a part with others, that thirsted to thrive by the dissolution; and gave the rest to be shared amongst

k "It may be observed that Henry the Eighth (in whose time the Statute of Dissolution was, and the tithes alienated by statute, in revenge of the Pope's delaying his divorce rather than for any other reason) was met withal by God: For all his posterity, though they came respectively to enjoy the crown, yet were they written childless, and he quickly in them turned out of the kingly possession, and the crown transferred to a branch that sprang from his father Henry the Seventh, under whose shadow we have had rest for many years." [Mr. Ephraim Udall's "Noli me tangere, is a Thing to be thought on;" or, "Vox Carnis sacra clamantis ab Altari ad Aquilam sacrilegam. Noli me tangere ne Te perdam."]
"the complying nobility, and other families, that
"then were in greatest power and favour with
"him; concerning which, (if you desire further
"information) I refer you to a little treatise, writ-
ten by the learned Sir Henry Spelman¹ (called
"De non temerandis Ecclesiis) and especially
"to the preface before it; in which you may
"find many sad observations of the said king;
"and find there also, that more of the nobility,
"and those other families, and their children that
"then shared the church lands, came to die by
"the sword of justice, and other eminent mis-
"fortunes in twenty years, than had suffered in
"four hundred years before the dissolution; and
"for a proof of which, he refers you to the Par-
"liament Rolls of the twenty-seventh of that
"king."

And to me it seems fit, that the observations
of the ruine and misfortune of the other families
that were sharers of the Church Lands, made by
that pious and learned knight since the said
twenty years (which he left written) are not also
made publick; but possibly they may pare too
near the quick, and are therefore yet forbore.

¹This treatise, which contains a narrative of most extraor-
dinary events, was written by Sir Henry Spelman, the most
learned and industrious of our English Antiquaries, to his
uncle, on occasion of a complaint which he made of the un-
prosperous success he had in building upon a piece of glebe be-
longing to an appropriation of which he was possessed.
I will say nothing of Queen Elizabeth; but for King James, I will say he did never follow King Henry's nor her president; and his children's children sit this day upon his throne. And for his son Charles I. (who is justly called "The Martyr for the Church"), he had also well considered the oaths taken by all his ancestors, and by himself too at his coronation, to preserve the lands and rights of the church; and therefore in his book of "Penitential Meditations and Vows," made in his sad solitude and imprisonment at Holmby, you may, in chapter of "The Covenant," there find, that at that time when he apprehended himself in danger of death, yet that this was then his resolution.

"The principal end of some men in this covenant is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presby-

m "Her ordinary way of raising fortunes for her Privy Counsellors was, by plundering the church, and granting them manors belonging to episcopal sees, whether vacant or no."—(Carte's History of England, Vol. III. p. 701.) "Was her moderation seen in dilapidating the revenues of the church? of that church which she took under the wing of her supremacy, and would be thought to have sheltered from all its enemies? The honest Archbishop Parker, I have heard, ventured to remonstrate against this abuse, the cognizance of which came so directly within his province: But to what effect, may be gathered not only from the continuance of these depredations, but her severe reprehension of another of her bishops whom she threatened with an oath to unfrock—that was her Majesty's own word, if he did not immediately give way to her princely extortion." (Dialogues Moral and Political, second edit. p. 212.)
tery, and of robbing the church of its lands and revenues; but I thank God as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping them (which issuing from the crown are held of it, and can legally revert only to the crown with my consent); so I have always had such a perfect abhorrence of it in my soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious reformings; and yet no man hath a greater desire to have bishops and all churchmen so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not only what the pious munificence of my predecessors has given to God and the church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever (I hope) drive me or mine to invade or sell the priests' lands; which Pharaoh's divinity and Joseph's true piety abhorred to do. I had rather live, as my predecessor Henry III. sometimes did, on the church's alms, than violently to take the bread out of the bishops' and ministers' mouths.

There are ways enough to repair the breaches of the state, without the ruins of the church; as I would be a restorer of the one, so I would not be an oppressor of the other, under the pretence of publick debts: the occasions of contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse. I pray God neither I nor mine may be accessory of either.

Sir, I have been much longer than I intended; for which I crave your pardon,—and beg of God,
that you may at last see and well consider the many errors that your indiscreet zeal hath led you into; and that you and your party may see also the many miseries it hath helpt to bring upon others; and that for the remainder of your days you and they may redeem the time past, by repenting your indiscreet zeal, and *study to be quiet, and to do your own business*; to this I shall encourage you, and that done, to live as unoffensively to others, and as strictly to yourself as you do intend, and by God's grace added to your endeavours, he shall make you able; and I humbly beseech Almighty God, that you and I may daily practise an humble and a peaceable piety; so humble and peaceable a piety as may stop the mouths of all gainsayers: for it is certain such holy and quiet living will bring peace at the last. And in this the Almighty God give me grace to be like you.

"Study to be quiet and to do your own business." 1 Thes. iv. 11.

Your affectionate friend

and cousin,

February the 18th, 1667.

R. W.
DEAR COUSIN,

I return you my unfeigned thanks for your letter of the 15th inst. which I received three days past; it was mixt with love and anger; but I shall in this my answer observe what you so earnestly desire, namely, not to justify the errors or irregularities of those that you call my party, or my clergy. And for some testimony, that I will do what I profess, I will begin with a confession, that I think as you say; That when a clergyman appears in a long, curled, trim periwig, a large tippet, and a silk cassock, or the like vain and costly cloathing; if he preaches against pride, and for mortification, his hearers are neither like to believe him, or practise what he preaches, either

n No ecclesiastic wore a band before the middle of the last century, or a periwig before the Restoration. Mr. Barnabas Oley, the editor of the learned Dr. Jackson's works, was a great benefactor to the poor vicarage of Kirkthorp, near Wakefield in Yorkshire. He imposed the following whimsical restraints on the vicar: 1st, That he should not smoke tobacco. 2d, That he should not wear a periwig. 3d, That he should not go often to the town of Wakefield. (Kennet's Register, p. 249.)
then or at other times, though what he says be an undoubted truth; because example is of greater power to incline men to vice, than precepts have to persuade to virtue. And I wish as heartily as you do, that all such clergymen's wives as have silk clothes, bedaubed with lace, and their heads hanged about with painted ribands, were enjoined penance for their pride; and their husbands punisht for being so tame or so lovingly simple as to suffer them: for by such clothes they proclaim their own ambition, and their husbands' folly.

And I say the like concerning their striving for precedency *, and for the highest places in church-pews.

And I wish as heartily as you do, that double benefices were not dispensed with, to such an inconvenience as is now too visible. And that no dispensations might be granted for any man to be prebendary or canon-residentiary of two churches; such as Westminster and Durham, or Windsor and Wells: because residence, and the other

* Mr. George Herbert, having changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat, thus warned Mrs. Herbert against this egregious folly of striving for precedency: "You are now "a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's "house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parisioners, "for you are to know that a priest's wife can challenge no pre- "cedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging "humility; and I am sure places so purchased do best become "them." (Mr. Isaac Walton's Life of Mr. George Herbert.)
duties required in those places, is not consistent with their distance from each other, nor with the donor's intention; and also, because such a single prebend is a fair support for an humble clergyman; and if he be proud or covetous he deserves not so much.

And I confess also, what you say of a clergyman's bidding to fast on the eves of holy-days in Lent, and the Ember Weeks: And I wish those biddings were forborn, or better practised by themselves; for it is too visible they do not what the church for good reasons enjoins them; and they others, in the church's name.

And I wish as heartily as you can, that they would not only read but pray the Common Prayer, and not huddle it up so fast (as too many do), by getting into a middle of a second collect before a devout hearer can say amen to the first.

But you ought to consider that there be ten thousand clergymen in this nation (for there are nine thousand parish-churches in it, besides col-

\[p\] "One cure for the wickedness of the times would be, for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayer for a more religious clergy."

\(Walton's\ Life\ of\ Mr.\ G.\ Herbert.\)
leges and chapels;) and the number of them that be thus faulty are not many, when compared with those that be grave and regular: And I could name many of the Episcopal clergy, whose lives are so charitable, humble, and innocent, that they might say to their parishioners, as St. Paul of himself to his Philippians, "Walk so as you "have me for an example." But I must confess there are too many that do not live so; and with whom I am much offended, as you express yourself to be.

And now having unbowed my very soul thus freely to you, and I protest as sincerely and truly as I can express myself, my hope is, that I shall in what follows appear to be so uninterested in any party, that where I speak evident truth and reason, you will assent to it; in which hope I will endeavour to lay before you, in my plain way, the many inconveniences that would I think follow, if that liberty were granted which you and your

"that huddled up the church prayers, without a visible reverence "and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's "Prayer or a collect in a breath: but for himself, his custom "was, to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time "to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires "affectionately to God, before he engaged them into new "petitions." (Walton's Life of Mr. G. Herbert.)

"But since I had thus adventured to unbowl myself, and to "lay open the very inmost thoughts of my heart." (Preface to Dr. Sanderson's XXI Sermons, 1655.)
party have so long, and do still so earnestly strive for; the effects of which liberty would be schism, heresie, rebellion, and misery; from which God prevent us.

I did in a letter, writ now some years past, endeavour to unbeguile your brother: And though it did not at that present wholly do what I designed, yet it abated so much of that furious zeal that had prepossest him, that he declared on his death-bed, "The remembrance of those " hours spent in devotion and acts of charity were " then his comfort; and those spent in disputes " and opposition to government were now a cor-" rosive, or (as Solomon says of ill-gotten riches) " like gravel in his teeth". And, my dear cousin, in hope of the like good success, I shall, in the following part of my letter, commend the same, or like arguments, to your consideration, in order to the undeceiving you: And I shall not be so curious for words or method, as diligent to speak reason and truth plainly, and without provocation.

And first, I will consider our happiness that were born, baptized, and do now live in the Church of England, which is believed by the most learned of all foreign churches, to be the most orthodox and apostolical, both for doctrine and discipline, of all those very many that have reformed from the cor-

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3 "Riches so gotten, and added to his great estate, would prove " like gravel in his teeth." (Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderson.)

E e 3
ruptions of the Church of Rome. And I think it is worthy your noting, that those bishops and martyrs that assisted in this reformation, did not (as Sir Henry Wotton said wisely 1) think "The farther they went from the Church of Rome, the nearer they got to heaven," (for they might go too far) but they did with prudent and deliberate consideration, retain what was consistent with God's word, and the practice of the most apostolical, primitive, and purest times; as may appear by the many unanswerable reasons that have been given against both the Non-conformists and Papists, that have excepted against our reformation: The first, for retaining too much; and the latter, for not enough. For you ought to note, that neither of them have ever writ against the doctrine or discipline of this church, but they have received answers to their damage. And this being considered, you ought to lay to heart the disturbance that many of you, that pretend to tenderness of conscience, have formerly made, and do still make, in this church and state, even at this present time. And you ought to consider, that if this church were overthrown, the Church of Rome would make it their great advantage; and therefore many of them do encourage and assist you in this present

1 It was the advice of Sir Henry Wotton, "Take heed of thinking the farther you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to God." (Walton's Life of Sir H. Wotton.) The Puritans held this principle, "that whatever was Popish was false."
disturbance, and for no other end: And therefore, look about you in time, and do not say, when it is too late, "You meant not to bring in Popery." But remember I once told you there was a lawyer that was so ignorant, that he thought he spoke against his client's adversary, when he spoke for him, and meant it not. And after such a manner you act for the Church of Rome. For let me tell you, that if ever Popery or a standing army be set up in this nation (which God grant I may never see), it is the indiscreet zeal and restless activity of you and your party that will bring both in, though you mean it not.

Let me ask you seriously, Can you think the powerful man, that is now become of the Romish Church, did love you so much, or like your principles so well, as to get a suspension of the laws against conventicles, because he liked your opinions or your practices when the power was in your hands in the time of the late mischievous Long Parliament 1640? Or can you think he or his party did hold a correspondence with some of the chief of your party for any other end but to assist in the ruine of the English Church? No, doubtless: for they know, and you ought to consider, that if that were but down, there were no

u James Duke of York abjured the Protestant religion in 1671, soon after the death of his first duchess, Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon; who in her last sickness made open profession of the Romish religion, and died in that communion.
visible bank to stop the stream of Popery; and then farewel the liberty and care of tender consciences: there would be an end of that cajouling and flattery.

And next, let me ask you this friendly question: Do you think there is such a sin as heresie? And if you think there be, let me ask you, Whether he that holds heretical opinions should be suffered to go up and down to poyson and persuade others to his belief? And if you believe he ought not so to do, then I ask, Whether heresie can be known to be heresie, or prevented or punisht but by some power trusted in the hands of some person or persons whom the highest power hath chosen and trusted to judge what is heresie; and then prevent, or suppress and punish it? And if you grant this (which no man of reason will deny) I hope you will grant clergymen, whose time hath been spent in such studies as have enabled them to know truth and falsehood, are the fittest to judge what is heresie. And if you grant this, then these judges must have some name to distinguish them from others of the

* "Many, who were formerly very zealous for our church, "seeing these our sad divisions, and not seeing those of the "Roman Church, nor their gross superstitions (which their "priests conceal till they have got men fast), are easily seduced "by their pretended unity, and daily fall from us. This makes "my heart to bleed, and my soul with anguish ready to expire rather "than live to see that dismal day of relapse into their former "idolatries." (Petit, prefixed to "The Naked Truth."—See also "Bp. Sanderson's excellent Preface to XXXVI Sermons, § 22.)
inferiour clergy; and if by a name of distinction, I hope the known name of bishop (or church governour), which is so frequently used in scripture, and in the writings of all the fathers of the church, and so well known in this and all nations, will not be by you excepted against.

And this is told you in order to remembering you, that in the time of the late Long Parliament 1640, the common citizens had long been so madded by the discourse and sermons of the non-conforming ministers (which pretended tenderness of conscience), that they, being possest with a furious zeal, went by troops to the Parliament at Westminster, clamoured and affronted the bishops as they went thither, and cried out, "No bishops! No bishops!" that is to say, "No judges of heresie or schism: No punishing of these which you call sins, but we know are not: We know what is truth, and resolve to do what is good in our own eyes." And by such clamours, and the malicious, misguided, and active zeal that then possest those people, and a minor part of the Parliament then sitting, the major and more prudent part of it were so affronted and threatned, that they

"It is fresh in memory how this city sent forth its spurious "scum in multitudes to cry down bishops, root and branch; "who like shoals of herrings, or swarms of hornets, lay hover-
"ing about the court with lying pamphlets and scandalous "pasquils, until they forced the king from his throne, and "banished the queen from his bed, and afterwards out of the "kingdom." (See a tract entitled "Lex Talionis.")
appeared not; and in their absence the bishops were voted as useless, as the said zealous and ignorant common people had desired.

And now the hedge of government and punishment being broken down, Dell, the arch-heretic, printed his book against the Holy Ghost; and that, and so many such other heresies and blasphemies were then invented, printed, and justified, as I am neither willing to remember or name.

My good cousin, this was the effect of that igno-

2 Mr. William Dell, Master of Caius and Gonville College in Cambridge, and formerly a chaplain in the Parliament's army, is described by Mr. Baxter, as neither understanding himself, nor being understood by others, any further than to be one who took reason, sound doctrine, order, and concord, to be the intolerable maladies of church and state, because they were the greatest strangers to his mind. (Reliq. Baxter, p. 64.)

But it must be remarked, that the author here evidently means another person, namely, John Biddle. In 1654, the Parliament, upon a just complaint, voted two books, written by John Biddle, to contain many impious and blasphemous opinions against the deity of the Holy Ghost, and condemned the said books to be burnt by the common hangman; and bringing the author to the bar of the house committed him to prison. Mr. Thomas Firmin applied to the Protector for his release, but met with a blunt reproof. (Kennet's Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 196. See also Kennet's Register, p. 760, 761.)—Of this man, Mr. Baxter tells us, that he was "sometimes a schoolmaster of Gloucester, and that he wrote against the godhead of the Holy Ghost, and afterward of Christ; and that his followers inclined much to mere deism and infidelity." (Reliq. Baxter, p. 79.)—It would be unjust not to add, that he is acknowledged to have been a person of great holiness of life and manners, and eminent for his knowledge and learning.
rant zeal then; and to this it tends now again:—
And to this it will come, if God be not so good to
this sinful nation, as to make the women, the shop-
keepers, and the middle-witted people of it, less
busie, and more humble and lowly in their own
eyes, and to think that they are neither called, nor
are fit to meddle with and judge of the most hid-
den and mysterious points in divinity and govern-
ment of the church and state: and instead of being
"busie-bodies," (which St. Peter accounts to be a
sin, 1 Pct. iv. 15.) to follow that counsel which
St. Paul gives to his Thessalonians, "To study to
"be quiet, and to do their own business." 2 Thess.
iii. 11.

I have told you how the major part of the par-
liament and the bishops were used by the minor
part, and those pretenders to conscience that were
of their party. Now, give me leave to tell you,
how these zealous men, having gotten into all
power, used the two universities of this nation,
and those of the beneficed clergy that would not
violate those oaths they had taken, both when they
took their degrees in the university, and at their
entering into holy orders at their being made
deacons and priests; as also their oaths to the

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1. An ingenious Italian observed, that "the common people of
"England were wiser than the wisest of his wiser nation;—
"for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of
"predestination, and determine what laws were fit to be obeyed
"or abolished." (Walton's Life of Mr. Richard Hooker.)
bishop at their admission into their spiritual livings and care of souls.

And first for the usage of the universities: Doubtless, all rational and uninterested men cannot but think the universities fittest to make or judge of all lawful or unlawful oaths; as also of obedience to governours: But it was so far otherwise, that very unlearned, and very unfit men, were sent to visit, judge, and reform them. And by them was also sent the covenant, and other oaths to be taken without disputing; to be taken, even by all, from the lowest graduate to the highest in order or power; or to lose their subsistence by being expelled both their colleges and the university. And this was executed with very great strictness, and as much cruelty, by these pretenders to tenderness of conscience.

And in like manner were all conformable beneficed ministers used by a committee of cruel and ignorant Triers⁵; who were to examine and judge of

⁵ The Members of the Parliament summoned by Cromwell, and in which Lenthal was speaker, passed an act for settling a committee of Triers for the approbation of public preachers. Those who were admitted to any benefice or lecture were obliged to pass the test of this committee, and receive an instrument equivalent to letters of institution and induction. The majority of these Triers were ministers, but since eight of them were laymen, and any five of them enabled to execute the act, it might sometimes happen that none but secular men might act in this post, and determine upon the qualifications of those who were to preach and administer the sacraments. (See Collier's Eccles. History, vol. II. p. 867.)

⁶ They
their learning and their measures of grace: and if they were by them judged defective in either, then they were unfit to hold their good livings; and by this means, and their imposing the covenant and other oaths, and their refusing to take them, those good livings became void, and fit for those Triers themselves, or their friends that had learning and

"They had their Triers," saith Dr. South, (South's Sermons, vol. III. p. 543.) "that is a court appointed for the trial of ministers, but most properly called 'Cromwell's Inquisition;' in which they would pretend to know men's hearts and inward bent of their spirits, as their word was, by their very looks.—

"But the truth is, as the chief pretence of those Triers was to inquire into men's gifts; so if they found them but well gifted in the hand, they never looked any further; for a full and free hand was with them an abundant demonstration of a gracious heart; a word in great request in those times."

The questions proposed by these men to the persons cited before them were concerning their conversion; the time of their beginning to feel the motions of the spirit; the works of grace wrought in their souls. It must excite every sentiment of indignation to remember, that Dr. Edward Pocock, "a man whom all the learned, not of England only, but of all Europe, so justly admired for his vast knowledge and extraordinary accomplishments," should undergo an harassing and long attendance before a set of these Triers, "as an ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, and negligent minister." Mr. Baxter, though he acknowledges that many of them were somewhat partial for the Independents, Separatists, Fifth-monarchy Men, and Anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, yet he hesitates not to declare, that great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the church; that many thousands of souls blest God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterward cast them out. (Relig. Baxter, p. 72.)
grace (and gratitude too); and they were quickly got into possession, and the right owners as quickly imprisoned for not taking the covenant and other oaths, contrary both to their consciences, and the many oaths they had formerly taken.

Solomon, in his "Book of Wisdom," makes the wickedness of the ungodly first to blind them; and then he makes them to say, Our power is the law of righteousness. And such was the power and law of these Triers, and such was their cruel usage of that power; as was too sadly testified by the great suffering of the conformable clergy: Many, whose great poverty and other sufferings were such, and undergone with so much patience, and so calm a fortitude (for many had wives, and many children), that I protest, I heard a very considerable Papist say in those times, "That if their clergy would have suffered "half so much in the days of King Edward the "Sixth, the religion of the Protestants had never "prevailed in England." Which saying seemed to me very considerable.

And I think this to be considerable also: That those Triers, and their brethren of the several committees, came by degrees to distinguish themselves from others, by calling themselves the godly Party; and by degrees came to such a con-

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c See "Wisdom of Solomon," ii. 11, 21.

d The sectaries of those times called themselves 'the Godly,' 'the Elect,' 'the Saints,' 'the Predestinate,' and the like; while
fidence, that they only were so, that they made God to be as cruel and ill-natured a God as they were men; not allowing him to save any but themselves and their party.

But I will urge this no farther, lest the truth I write seem too bitter.

But I return to what may seem more considerable, and probably less provoking.

I do observe, that your party that scruple many small things, scruple not at the great sin of schism: I think they do scarce consider or think there is such a sin. And this is the more to be wondered at; because, in all the reformed churches in foreign nations, they think otherwise, and punish it. And they think the doctrine and discipline, and publick worship of God in our church to be most apostolic, and most agreeable to the word of God: And many of them wish their's were like to our's.

those who persevered in their attachment to the Church and King were styled 'the Ungodly; 'the Profane.' "The late "sprung-up generation of Levellers, whose principles are so "destructive of all that order and justice by which public "societies are supported, do yet style themselves, as by a "kind of peculiarity, 'the Godly.'" (Dr. Sanderson's Preface to XXXVI Sermons.)——"They appropriate to themselves the "name of 'the godly and well-affected Party,' the title of 'Saints,' "calling themselves 'the Saints; ' that they only preach Jesus "Christ; and though they be Anabaptists, Seekers, &c. yet "they are 'the Saints.' This is common in printed books, "petitions, sermons, discourses: 'What! speak against the "'Saints'? be against a toleration for the Saints?' meaning "themselves only." (Edward's Gangræna, p. 63.)
And, for a testimony of this, I refer you to a view of their several approbations of it, as they be collected and summed up, and lately published by Dr. Durell, sometimes preacher of the Reformed French Church, in the Savoy in London.

And for one testimony that the sin of schism ought to be better considered and carefully avoided by all people, I shall in what follows give you a relation that may prove I am not singular in this opinion: wishing most affectionately that it may prove as useful as it is true, and as I intend it.

In the late persecution of the conformable clergy, there was Dr. Eleazer Duncon, a preben-

* Dr. John Durell, noted for his learned writings in defence of the Liturgy of the church of England, and expelled from his native island of Jersey, on account of his attachment to the royal cause, was minister of the New French Church in the Savoy, which was opened July 14, 1661. He was afterward a prebendary of the fourth stall in the church of Durham, and dean of Windsor. (See Wood's Ath. Ox. vol. II. col. 731. Kennet's Register, p. 395, 460, 474, 494.)—The work here alluded to, is entitled "A view of the Government and public Worship of God in the reformed Churches beyond the Seas; wherein is shewed their Conformity and Agreement with the Church of England, as it is by law established." London, 1662. 4to.

† Eleazar Duncon, D.D. was ejected from the fifth prebend in the church of Durham, and from the rectory of Houghton in the diocese of Durham. "He and his brother were two very learned and worthy persons and great sufferers, who died before the miracle of our happy restoration, and were happy in that they lived not to see such ostentation of sin and ingratitude
dary (I think of Ely or Durham), a man of singular learning; and of an unblemished life; but sequestred he was; and you may guess why. This good man being sequestred, and so made useless as to the service of God’s church publicly; and being independent of the world as to wife and children, and weary of beholding the ruin of so many sacred structures, the cruel usage, contempt, and poverty of the conformable clergy (for many of them had wives and children), resolved to spend some part of the remaining part of his life in travel; and thereby to inform himself by conference and observation, what the belief and publick worship of God was, both in the Greek and all the Latin churches; not only those that depend, but those that be independent on the church of Rome; and he did so, to his great satisfaction: And after some years so spent, in his return homeward (which was in the year 1648), he took Venice in his way: to which place he came indisposed as to his health, and immediately fell into a dangerous fever.

This good man was in his long travel so noted, for his learning and the sanctity of his life, that the

"tude as some since have made." (Mr. Barnabas Oley’s Preface to Mr. George Herbert’s ‘Priest of the Temple.’) — To this divine (whom Courayer and Dr. Johnson call Dr. Duncomb), when ill at Venice, Fulgentio administered the communion in both kinds, after the manner observed in the church of England.
day after his arrival in Venice he was sent to by Father Fulgentio, who had been the pupil, and was now the successor to Father Paul, in his College of the Service—(Father Paul and Fulgentio are both so known and valued by all the learned of Italy, and all other Christian nations, that they neither need my character or commendations)—to enquire his health, and an offer of advice to procure it. And in order to both, he would wait on him next day, if he pleased to allow it. The last of which being thankfully accepted, the father did the next day, at a seasonable hour, make him a charitable visit; and after a loving and quiet conference, the father having treated him with words of Christian compassion, offered him a supply of money if he needed; and, being ready to take his leave, told the doctor, "He and his college should pray for him both day and night;" which good office the doctor most humbly accepted of, and, after giving thanks, added this:

"Father, your charity is the more perfect, in that you will do this Christian office for one that your church accounts an heretick." To which the father's reply was, "But I do not: I look up on you as a true Catholick; yea, as a confessor, forced out of your native country for the profession of the most true religion; for I look upon the Church of England, as I know it by your liturgy, articles, and canons (I know not your practice), to be the most apostolical church in
"the whole world, and the Church of Rome to be
"at this time the most impure."

After which ingenuous profession, the father
observing the doctor to grow faint and uneasie, left
him for that time; but after the doctor's recovery,
and during his stay in Venice, the father and he
had many free and friendly discourses, of the same
subject, in one of which the doctor said:

"Father, your confession of the impurity of the
"Roman Church, and the 18th of your own ob-
"jections, lately shewed to me against it, require
"an apology for your continuing in that commu-
"nation."

To which the father's reply was:

"A man may live in an infected city, and not
"have the plague. My judgment and publck
"practice in religion are both so well known here,
"and at Rome (and both to my danger and da-
"mage), that I may continue in it with more safe-
"ty than others: And separation may be a sin in
"me, who judge the unity of the church in which
"I was baptized and confirmed, and the peace of
"the state in which I was born, to be preferred
"before my private opinion, interest, or satisfac-
"tion; and I think to commit a schism, and sepa-
"rate from that church, would make me guilty of
"the sin of a scandal justly given; and therefore
"live in it and die in it I must, though it be the
"impurest of Christian churches. But let him that
"now is not of it never be of that church, which
"is so far departed from the primitive purity, and
"now maintained only by splendour, and the "maxims and practice of polity*."

If you doubt the truth* of this relation, I will give you an unquestionable confirmation of it at our next meeting. It has been longer than I intended, and I beg your pardon; and beg you also to consider, with what inconsiderable zeal you and your party rush into schism, and give just cause of scandal by opposing government and affronting that church in which you were born, and baptized (and, I hope, confirmed by a bishop); I think the doing so requires

8 Fulgentio trod in the steps of his famous predecessor. It is well known that Bishop Bedell, during his residence at Venice, when chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, translated the English Common Prayer Book into Italian, and that Father Paul and the seven divines who, during the interdict, were commanded by the Senate to preach and write against the Pope's authority, liked it so well, that they resolved to have made it their pattern, if the,  

* The truth needs not be doubted, by any that shall first know, that Father Paul writ the History of the Council of Trent, and then reads his Life, as it is truly writ by his disciple and successor, this Father Fulgentio, and now printed before the said history b.

b The Cardinal du Perron has with great freedom delivered his sentiments concerning Father Paul. "I saw him," says he, "at Venice: I remarked 'nothing extraordinary in him:—He is a man of good judgment and of good sense, but of no extensive knowledge; I observed nothing in him but what "is common to other men; I found him to be little more than a monk." (Perroniana, p. 266.)—Upon this passage, Daniel George Morkof makes a very just and pertinent remark:—"Adversus sollem hoc loqui est. Qui norunt "quantas qualesq; res gesserit Sarpius, quibus ille doctrinis excellerit, illi non "supra monachum, sed et supra cardinalem, ac ipsum hunc Perronilim sapu-

your sad and serious consideration: For if there be such sins as schism and scandal (and if there were not, they could not have names in Scripture), then,

the differences between the Pope and them had produced the effect which they hoped and longed for. When Bedell suggested to this great man some critical explications of passages in the New Testament that he had not understood before, he received them with transports of joy, valuing the discoveries of divine truth beyond all other things. He found it impossible to indulge his wishes in coming over to England, and therefore he complied as far as he could with the established way of worship in his own church; but he had in many things particular methods, by which he, in a great measure, rather quieted than satisfied his conscience. In private confessions and discourses he took people off from several abuses, and gave them right notions of the purity of the Christian religion: So he hoped he was sowing seeds that might be fruitful in another age, and he believed that he might live innocent in a church that he thought so defiled. And when one had pressed him hard in this matter, and objected that he still held communion with an idolatrous church, and gave it credit by adhering outwardly to it, by which means others that depended much on his example would be likewise encouraged to continue in it, all the answer he made to this was, "that God had not given him the spirit of Luther." (See Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell, p. 8, 9, 16, 17.)

These two great divines, although illuminated above all their countrymen, had not, probably, considered with due attention the emphatic injunction uttered with such solemnity, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." If the apocalyptic prophecies have been justly applied by Mr. Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, and Mr. Daubuz (and of the propriety of their application no impartial reader can admit a doubt), a separation from papal Rome can never be censured as schismatical or heretical.
give me leave to tell you, I cannot but wonder that you, and the scruple-mongers of your party, should rush into them without any tenderness or scruple of conscience.

And here let me tell you, the church of England, which you oppose, enjoins nothing contrary to God's word; and hath summed up in her creeds and catechism what is necessary for every Christian to know and to do: And can you, that are a shopkeeper, or private man, think that you are fit to teach and judge the church, or the church fit to teach and judge you? or can you think the safety or peace of the state or church in which you live should depend upon the scruples and mistakes of a party of the common people, whose indiscreet and active zeal makes them like the restless Scribes and Pharisees, *Matt. xiii. 15.* who compass sea and land to get parties to be of their opinions, and by that means beget confusion in both? No, doubtless:—Common reason will not allow of this belief: for a liberty to preach and persuade to your dangerous principles, would enflame the too hot and furious zeal of so many of your party; and beget so many more restless and dangerous contentions, that there could be neither quiet or safety in the nation but by keeping a standing army*, which I know you detest, and from the cause of which God

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* Witness the late murder of the Scotch bishop.

1 The Covenanters in Scotland considered Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, as their most implacable enemy. A company of
deliver us. I have told you often, that Samuel says, 1 Sam. xv. 23. "Rebellion is like the sin of "witchcraft;" and I cannot tell you too often, that schism is too like that mysterious sin; for when the fire of schism and rebellion is kindled, no man knows where it will end. Consider this, and remember that St. Jude accounts them that make sects to be fleshly; and not to have the spirit of God; which too many of your fraternity pretend to.

And now, after so long seriousness, give me liberty to be so pleasant as to tell you a tale, by which I intend not to provoke you, but to explain my meaning.

"There was a north-country man that came "young and poor to London, to seek that which "he called his fortune, and it proved to be an "hostler in an inn of good note in that city; in "which condition he continued some years, and "by diligence and frugality got and saved so "much money, that in time he became the master "of that inn. And not long after his arrival to "that happiness, he sent for three of his nieces, "one to serve him in his kitchen, and the other

of these fanatics accidentally meeting this prelate and his daughter in a coach, upon a heath, in the neighbourhood of St. Andrew's, dragged him from his carriage, and, without paying the least regard to the cries and intreaties of his daughter, murdered him in the most barbarous manner. This cruel assassination, perpetrated in 1679, was celebrated by the Covenanters as an exploit perfectly meritorious in the sight of God.

F f 4
two did serve for some years in a like condition in other houses, till mine host, their uncle died; who, at his death, left to each of them a hundred pound, to buy each of them a north-country husband; and also to each of them ten pound, to buy new cloaths, and bear their charges into the north, to see their mother.

The three sisters resolved to go together; and the day being appointed, two of them bought very fantastical cloaths, and as gaudy ribbands, intending thereby to be noted and admired; but the third was of a more frugal humour (yet aimed at admiration too), and said, she would save her money, wear her old cloaths, and yet be noted and get reputation at a cheaper rate: For she would hold some singular, new, fantastical opinion in religion, and thereby get admirers, and as many as they should; and it proved so.

And doubtless this is the ambition of many women, shopkeepers, and other of the common people of very mean parts, who would not be admired or noted if they did not trouble themselves and others by holding some odd, impertinent, singular opinions. And tell me freely, do not you think that silence would become our cousin Mrs. B. than to talk so much and so boldly against those clergymen, and others that bow at the altar (she says to the altar), and use other like reverence in churches, where she and her party are so familiar with God as to use none? And concerning which let me tell you my thoughts,
and then leave you to judge.—Almighty God in the second commandment says, he would have none to bow down or worship a graven image; intimating, as I suppose, a jealousie, lest that reverence or worship, which belongs only to him, be ascribed or given to an idol or image.—But that reverence and worship does belong to him and was always paid to him, is to me manifest by what the prophet David says, Psal. v. "I will in thy fear worship towards thy holy temple."—And again, "I will praise thy name and worship towards thy holy temple." And again, Psal. cxxxii. cxxxviii. "O let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord." These, and many more, might be urged out of the Old Testament; and, in the New, you may see it is a duty to worship God. First, St. Paul says, Heb. xiii. 10. "We have an altar." And you may note, Rev. xxii. 9. where the angel that had shewed St. John a vision, forbid him to fall down to him, but bad him "fall down and worship God." And again, chap. xiv. 7: "Worship him that made heaven and earth." I omit more testimonies which might be multiplied, and shall tell you next, that churches are sacred k, and not to be used prophanely: For you may note, that our Saviour did, with a divine indignation, whip the money-changers out of the

k Of the holiness and virtue which is to be ascribed to a church more than to other places, see "Hooker's Eccles. Pol." B. V. § 16. "Mede's Works," p. 403, 4th edit.
Temple for polluting it; and said, "His house should be called the house of prayer."

And let me tell you, that in the primitive times, many of those humble and devout Christians, whose sudden journeys, or businesses of present necessity, were such as not to allow them time to attend the publick worship and prayers of the church, would yet express their devotion by going into a church or oratory, and there bow at the altar, then kneel and beg of God to pardon their sins past, and to be their director and protector that day; and having again bowed toward the east, at the altar, begin their journey or business, and they thought God well pleased with so short a prayer, and such a sacrifice 1.

Much more might be said for bowing at the altar, and bowing toward the east; but I forbear.

And now let me ask you seriously, do you think this, which I think to be a duty, ought to be for-

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1 "The Naked Truth," p. 18. "Animadversions," &c. p. 36. Of the practice of antiquity in these matters, see "Mede's Works," p. 396, 397. Dr. Eleazar Duncon, mentioned in a preceding page, published a tract dedicated to Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, entitled, "De Adoratione Dei versus Altare; or, that pious and devout Ceremony of bowing towards the Altar vindicated as pious, lawful, and laudable." London, 1661. Let it be observed, that bowing towards the altar is not one of those ceremonies which the Church has enjoined either by canon or rubric. See Bishop Burnet's modest survey of the most considerable things, in a discourse entitled "Naked Truth," p. 8.
born, because our cousin and her party are scandalized at it? Or do you think when I, in a late discourse told her, how restless and active her uncle and father, and the rest of the Presbyterian party, had been in promoting the late confusions, and placing all power in that Parliament, 1640, that murthered Dr. Laud, the late religious Bishop of Canterbury, the late good and pious King Charles, and were the cause of spilling so much innocent blood, and ruine of so many harmless families? Can you think her's to be a reasonable excuse; That God had determined or appointed this, because we were a sinful nation.

It shall be granted that we were (God knows we still are) a sinful nation, and deserved a heavy punishment; and God did punish us justly; but they had no appointment to be the executioners of that justice: They appointed themselves first to judge, and then to be the executioners of his will. And before I pass further, I pray observe, it was God's will, that his only Son, our Saviour, should be betrayed; but who would be the Judas to do it? or the souldiers that crucified him? or could Judas look back with comfort that he was used in betraying him? I hope it is far from your thought to think or say so.

Let me tell you, that the learned Dr. Abbot, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, that was next before Dr. Laud (whose head your Long Parliament cut off), intended to kill a buck, 1621, but the arrow did so glance, that he kill'd the keeper
immediately. The church of England judges sudden death to be a punishment, and therefore prays against it. And though it is certain God would not have punished that keeper with a sudden death if the keeper had not deserved it; and certain also, that the good bishop thought so; yet he lamented to the last hour of his own life that his hand was used to bring sudden death upon another. And he testified his sorrow, by what I shall relate to you.

After that restless night, which followed the sad accident, he sent early in the morning for the keeper's wife, bemoan'd himself to her, and begg'd her pardon; which being obtained, he settled upon her an annuity, by which she was enabled to live with much more ease and plenty, though probably with less comfort than if she had still enjoyed her husband. For her two daughters he provided competent portions; and a better education and settlement for her three sons than the father could probably have made, if he had still lived.

This he did for them. And as for himself, this sad accident begot in him that which St. Paul rejoiced to find in his Corinthians, 2 Cor. vii. 11. even a godly sorrow and revenge; for he kept a severe weekly fast, the day that this sad accident befel him, during the remainder of his life; and died lamenting it.

Archbishop Abbot was then upon a visit at Bramshill in Hampshire, the seat of Edward Lord Zouch, a learned man himself, and the friend and patron of learned men.
Let me stop here, and tell you, it is far otherwise with you and your Presbyterian party, than with this penitent bishop: For, though it is most certain you were the cause of the late confusion in the church, and of the war and blood that followed it, yet I do not find one of you that lays his hand upon his breast and says:

"Lord, what have I done? Lord, pardon me." No, you are far from that temper: And he that considers the temper of the present times, and your restless activity in it, may conclude you are as willing to begin new commotions, as you are senseless of the old.

My meaning is not, in saying this, to upbraid or provoke you, but rather to convince and un-beguile you. And that I may the better do that, I will, in what follows, answer some of the most material of your common objections.

You say, "the bishops have great revenues, and preach not for it;" to which I will answer you in love: First, you say, that the bishops' revenues are much greater than indeed they are; and you seem to repine, because you do not consider how much must go out of them, by first-fruits, tenths, and other payments of necessity. And you ought to consider, much must go out in bounty and charity, and some in hospitality and state. I say in state and attendance: For is it fit that the judge of all the inferior clergy of his diocese, and of many of the laity, should not have a liberal revenue; and
live in more plenty and splendour than the common people do, or can do? Doubtless it is necessary: For let him be ever so prudent and diligent, so inwardly humble, and outwardly meek, yet if he have not a revenue to live above the common people, he must make himself a companion for them, and lose the reverence due to his dignity; and, by that, make himself both cheap and contemptible: And he that will consider the necessity of a bishop's living thus, and the small revenue that most of the bishops have, may turn his maligning them their revenue, into a wonder how they make their revenue to do it, and a pity it is no more.

There are, indeed, some few of them, whose revenues do abound; and, I think, I shall not be mistaken if I say, there have been by them more highways mended, and more hospitals, schools, and colleges built and endowed, than by five times their number of lay lords, or by all the physicians and lawyers of this nation, though very many of their employments turn to much more profit, and yet their's is not repined at.

And let me tell you also, it is not often that any is made a bishop till the age of sixty years; and then he undertakes the care and toyl of government, to prevent heresie and schism, or suppress and punish them; and as occasion serves, by his writing to defend this church from the clamours of the Church of Rome, or the restless
sectaries of this.—And may not the revenue of a bishop be thought a just reward for his forty years' past study, and his present care, though he preach not? And yet many of them do preach often, though not weekly. And let me add this to what is said; what if the king should give the revenue to a bishop only because he is learned, and condition with him not to preach; or make a doctor of the civil law a bishop, who is not in orders, and should not preach, but govern (which I think he may do); what is this to you or your party? You ought to consider this, and that the bishops' revenues was never their's nor your's, nor your predecessors', nor can any man now living claim it for his. *It is only and most certainly God's; given to him by our king's predecessors; and our king appoints who shall govern the church under him, and have the church's revenue for their reward.

More might be added, but I am as weary of saying this, as you will be to read it.

Now for preaching: I praise God I understand my duty both to him and my neighbour the better by hearing of sermons. And though I be defective in the performance of both (for which I beseech Almighty God to pardon me), yet I had been a much worse Christian if I had not frequented the blessed ordinance of preaching, which has convinced me of my many sins past, and begot such terours of conscience as have begot in me holy resolutions to amend my life,
and earnest prayers to Almighty God, the giver of all grace, to enable me by his grace to perform those holy resolutions. This benefit, and many other like benefits, I and other Christians have had by preaching; and God forbid we should ever use it so, or so provoke him by our other sins as to withdraw this blessed ordinance from us, or turn it into a curse, by preaching heresie and schism, which too many have done in the late time of rebellion, and, indeed, now do in many conventicles; and their auditors think such preaching is serving God, when God knows it is contrary: "For can you think to sit an hour in "a warm room, upon an easie seat, your head "covered, your mind at rest, and your malicious "humour pleased to hear your governours scan-"dalized, and with their scandals some new need-"less notions offered to your consideration, and "then their truth or falsehood left for you to "judge and determine? Can you think you are "at this time serving God, or satisfying your "own curiosity or malicious humour? doubtless "not serving God."

Nay, let it be granted that you hear nothing but truth preach’d, yet I question whether the direction how you should honour and serve God, be honouring and serving him.

For example, if a master calls his servant, and and gives him positive directions what he shall do the day following, and the servant hears him with good attention, but neglects to do what he
is directed; can you think the hearing his master’s direction is serving him? No, doubtless it is not: it is granted he could not have known his master’s will without hearing it, but he serves him not by hearing his direction, but doing his will.

And the like may be observed concerning your magnifying extemporary prayer by gifted men in publick: and contempt of the church liturgy. The first of which you call praying by the Spirit; but doubtless it was an evil spirit that John Lilbourn, Hugh Peters, and many others of

n “The Naked Truth,” p. 22.

* John Lilburn, a man of the most turbulent and restless disposition, and discontented with every form of government, was perpetually embroiling himself in designs to disturb the public peace. He died a Quaker, Aug. 28, 1657, in the 39th year of his age. It was said of him by Judge Jenkins, “That if the world was emptied of all but himself, Lilburn would quarrel with John, and John with Lilburn.” His character is thus described in “Butler’s Hudibras, P. III. Canto II.

“...... He at any time would hang
“For th’ opportunity to harangue:
“And rather on a gibbet dangle,
“Than miss his dear delight to wrangle;
“In which his parts were so accomplisht,
“That right or wrong he ne’er was nonplust,
“But still his tongue run on, the less
“Of weight it bore, with greater ease,
“And with its everlasting clack
“Set all men’s ears upon the rack.”

* Of this man, who was styled the Solicitor General for the Sectaries, see “Edward’s Gangræna,” p. 98. Prefixed to Sir Vol. II.
your party, prayed by, in the days of Cromwell the tyrant, when they prayed to God to "prolong his life, to strengthen his arm, and enable him with zeal and courage, to perfect what he had "so happily begun, and make a thorough re-
"formation in the church and whole nation." And in the same prayer to libel our late vertuous king, by praying to God, "that if he had not "wholly withdrawn his grace, and given him "over to a reprobate sense, that he would at "last bring him back from his present evil coun-
"cil to his great council, the present godly Par-
lament q."

Thus, or to this purpose, was that pious and prudent king libelled in your publick extem-

John Birkinhead's "Assembly Man," is a print by Faithhorne, supposed to represent Hugh Peters, or some zealous preacher— a whole length, in a cloak, treading on the fathers, councils, common prayer, &c.

q Of the insolent language in which the preachers of those times addressed the Supreme Being, one instance may suffice. A lecturer in Southampton used this prayer: "Bless the King, "O Lord, mollify his heart that delighteth in blood; open his "eyes that he may see, that the blood of saints is dear in thy "sight. He is fallen from faith in thee, and become an enemy "to the Church: Is it not he that hath sinned and done evil "indeed? but as for these sheep what have they done? Let "thine hand, we pray thee, O Lord our God, be upon him "and on his father's house, but not on thy people that they "should be plagued." (Sir William Dugdale's Short View, &c. p. 568.)
porary prayers, and the tyrant magnified by those that were so shameless to call themselves the godly party. And many well-meaning people were so beguiled as to say Amen to what was thus prayed. And by this means the church liturgy came to be abhorred by some, and neglected by almost all. And can you think, praying thus, and appointing God in their prayers what he was to do for them, and their cause, and when, and by what manner and means he was to do it, was honouring and serving him? No, doubtless.

God forbid that private Christians should be so tied to set forms of prayer, as not in their retired and private devotions to make their private confessions of their private sins to the Searcher of all hearts; and beg their pardon of him, and pray extempore for such a measure of his assisting grace so to strengthen them that they may never relapse into those, or the like sins. This, doubtless, is to honour and serve God, but this is but to honour and serve him privately: And if I be mistaken in my private prayers, my mistakes concern only myself, and end there. But it is not so in your publick extemporary prayers, the mischief is not ended when the prayers are.

And that these should justle out the well-known and approved prayers of the church, which were composed, and so pathetically and properly worded, by the assistance of God's spirit, in many of those blessed martyrs and confessors, whom he made his
instruments to settle and reform the church of England from the gross corruptions of that of Rome: I say, that you and your party should not, when you consider this, grieve to think it was done by you, is to me a wonder; and I praise God that he makes me look upon it with a thankful detestation.

And now, good cousin, give me leave to tell you (as I did your brother in a letter writ some years past), what I do (or ought in duty to do) when I make myself a member of any Christian congregation, assembled to pay reverence to Almighty God, and pray and praise him according to the injunction and custom of our church.

"First, we all do, I am sure they that know best and are most devout do all kneel, and as many as well may, with their faces towards the east, and in that order and humble posture, and with one consent, all make their general and humble confession of their unworthiness to appear before God, by reason of their many and grievous sins past: And we beg pardon for them, and his grace to serve him the remaining part of our lives with more purity and holiness: And having confess and prayed thus; if the Searcher of all hearts does bear witness with us that this confession and these prayers be sincere, and that our purpose is to amend our lives, and obey him better, we do, and may, put on a modest confidence, that he will assist us with his
"grace; and be assured that he is at peace with
us, and loves us.

"And this being done in an humble and ardent
manner, we proceed to laud and magnifie our
God in a joynt repeating a part of the Psalms,
which are all composed of gratitude and mercy,
and then apply ourselves to the hearing some
part of God's holy word read, for our informa-
tion and comfort.

"And then to a publick profession of our
Christian faith; and then we again betake
ourselves to beg of God, that, by his preventing
grace, we may be that day delivered from the
temptations and miseries that threaten our souls
and bodies; and beg for his assisting grace to
strengthen us so, that we may oppose and over-
come both.

"And having thus humbly confest our sins,
and thus profest our Christian faith, and thus
begg'd his pardon, and both his preventing and
assisting grace for the time to come: and all
these in such a manner as they be all most
pathetically exprest in the several collects of
our church-prayers: The congregation is dis-
solv'd with the priest's blessing; and all betake
themselves to their several employments.

"And for my part, I think God and his holy
angels look down with joy when they behold a
Christian congregation thus in one manner
adoring and praising God, and praying for
remission of their sins."
Your being so much a stranger to our church prayers has inclined me to give you this large account of them, and of my own thoughts. I might here undertake also to satisfie your scruples of kneeling at the sacrament, and the ring in marriage, but there have been so many good reasons given of them in several small treatises, for the justification of them, that I will decline that trouble, both for your's and my own sake; and offer unto you the few following observations, and so put an end both of yours and my own trouble.

And, in order to doing this, I desire you to look back with me to the beginning of the late Long Parliament, 1640; at which time we were the quietest and happiest people in the Christian world¹ (and praised be God we yet are so); we had then a prudent and conscientious king, whose life was a pattern of temperance, patience, piety, and, indeed, of all the Christian graces. He governed, I think, by the known laws of the nation: Every man sate then under the shadow of his own vine, and did eat his own grapes; that is, enjoy'd the benefit of his own labour, and eat his

¹ "The like peace and plenty, and universal tranquillity was "never enjoyed by any nation for years together before those "unhappy troubles began." (Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 52.)—"Some years before the unhappy "Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, "though inwardly sick of being well." (Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderson.)
own bread in peace. We had then no need of a court of guard to keep the discontented inferior people from rising against government: We had then no need to raise those monthly taxes to pay those courts of guard, and other charges that are now come to be of necessity, to secure us from the yet unseen commotions of a malicious, restless, discontented party, which were first made so by the example of the ill-natured Presbyterians; and continue to be so by retaining the destructive principles they then taught them; and which do still threaten us with new commotions. Thus happy we were then; and he that considers the present miseries of Germany, Poland, France, and, indeed, of all Christian nations, how many cities lately were, and at this time are besieged! what devastations, and ravishings, and fears follow running armies! what terrors and wants those poor distressed people now groan under! He that considers all this and compares our present condition with theirs, ought to say, that England is at this time the happiest nation in the Christian world; but our unhappiness is, that peace and plenty will not suffer us to think so, and study to be quiet and thankful.

This, I beseech you to consider seriously; and, good cousin, let me advise you to be one of the thankful and quiet party; for it will bring peace at last. Let neither your discourse or practice be to encourage or assist in making a schism in that church in which you were baptized, and adopted.
a Christian; for you may continue in it with safety to your soul; you may in it study sanctification, and practise it to what degree God by his grace shall enable you. You may fast as much as you will, be as humble as you will, pray both publickly and privately as much as you will; visit and comfort as many distressed and dejected families as you will, be as liberal and charitable to the poor as you think fit, and are able. These, and all other of those undoubted Christian graces that accompany salvation you may practise, either publickly or privately, as much and as often as you think fit; and yet keep the communion of that church of which you were made a member at your baptism. These graces you may practise, and not be a busie-body in promoting schism and faction; as God knows your father's friends, Hugh Peters and John Lilbourn did, to the ruin of themselves and many of their disciples. Their turbulent lives, and uncomfortable deaths are not, I hope, yet worn out of the memory of many. He that compares them with the holy life and happy death of Mr. George Her-

* "It was remarkable that Hugh Peters, a sort of an enthusiastic buffoon preacher, though a very vicious man, who had been of great use to Cromwell, and had been outrageous in pressing the king's death with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor, was the man of them all who was the most sunk in his spirit, and could not in any sort bear his punishment. He had neither the honesty to repent, nor the strength of mind to suffer for it, as all the rest of them did. He was observed all the while to be drinking some cordial liquors to keep him from fainting." (Burnet's History of his own Times, fol. p. 162. See Regicides no Saints, p. 83. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 296.)
LOVE AND TRUTH.

bert, as it is plainly, and I hope truly, writ by Mr. Isaac Walton, may in it find a perfect pattern for an humble and devout Christian to imitate. And he that considers the restless lives, and uncomfortable deaths of the other two (who always liv'd like the salamander in the fire of contention), and considers the dismal consequences of schism and sedition, will (if prejudice or a malicious zeal have not so blinded him, that he cannot see reason) be so convinc'd as to beg of God to give him a meek and quiet spirit, and that he may by his grace be prevented from being a busie-body in what concerns him not.

The reasons that I have offered to your consideration have crowded so fast into my present memory, that they have made my letter more perplexed, and longer, and indeed some expressions in it bitterer than I intended, when I began it: but I beg your pardon for both; and supposing I have it, I will close all with this friendly advice and caution:

Remember you and I are but citizens, and must take much that concerns our religion and salvation upon trust: I will explain my meaning for what I say and have said, by the following parable:

"There was a man, that was and continued under so great a mistake, that though he thought "and granted his neighbour to be strong enough " to lift a hundred pound weight from the ground, "yet could not be brought to believe or grant that "he was able to lift fifty pound weight from it,
"which was doubtless a great mistake." But, if you will give me leave, I will explain myself by a more proper parable, and then make my application. "The same mistaking man offered, and was willing to lend his neighbour a hundred pound (though it were his whole estate), upon his single bond, but being desired to lend him fifty pound upon his bond, he durst not trust him with that lesser sum, lest the borrower should not be able to repay him; and so he (the lender), prove to be undone, by the borrower's inability to repay him."

Before I make my application of what I have told you, give me leave to tell you, the Papists would obtrude upon all Christians a belief that all those doubtful books, which the Church of England calls Apocryphal, were certainly writ by Divine inspiration, and ought to be of equal authority with those which we call Canonical Scripture; and that the foundation for our faith and manners to God and man may, and must be laid equally upon both. But, I think, we agree with the Papists concerning all the books of the New Testament, that is, that all were writ by Divine inspiration. But the Lutherans deny some part of the New Testament, which both the Papists and we believe and grant to be writ by Divine inspiration.

And now for my application: let me ask seriously, are not you like this mistaking man, that
durst trust a greater, but not trust the borrower with a lesser sum of money? You have trusted the bishops, and a select clergy in a convocation to tell you, *These you shall take to be canonical books of Scripture, and no other*: Upon the truth of those, and only those, that they declare to be the holy Scripture, you lay the foundation of your faith, and hope of salvation. You have trusted the bishops, that is, the Church of England; first, their learning and wisdom to know, and then their integrity to tell you truly which is the blessed and holy Scripture. With these great and necessary concerns of your faith and salvation you have trusted them; and yet, like the mistaking man, you dare not trust them with what is of less concern; namely, you do not believe them when they tell you how the primitive Christians did worship, and praise, and pray to God: And though you have trusted them to translate the Scriptures into English, as being best learned in the original languages, yet you dare not, or do not, trust them with the explanation of many words which have in the original an ambiguous or doubtful meaning, especially to us of the laity, who cannot know the customs and phrases of those nations where our Saviour and his disciples preached the glad tidings of our common salvation.

Cousin, I hope I have in this made some unforce'd and so useful observations, as an humble and good Christian will not gainsay; and, doubt-
less, a soul truly humble, will both think and say,

"Almighty God hath appointed me to live in an age, in which contention increases, and charity decays; and it is certain, that variety of opinions and controversies in religion declare difficulty to know them truly; but my comfort is, that without controversy, there is so much religion without controversy, as by the true practice of what is so I may save my soul. And, therefore, to make sure of that, I will first become an humble Christian, and conclude, that I will in all doubtful things obey my governours; for sure they see a reason, which I neither can or need to know, why they command them: I will be sure to be humble, to fast, and pray, to be charitable, to visit and comfort dejected families, to love my neighbours, to pardon my enemies, and to do good to all mankind, as far as God shall enable me: For I am sure these to be sacrifices which please Almighty God, and will bring peace at last: And I am sure that by using these graces, and my faith in Christ's merits for my salvation, will be more and more confirmed; and by still using them, more and more new graces will be still added; and all be still more and more confirmed; so confirmed, as to bear witness with me, and be my comfort, when I must make my last and great account to the Searcher of all hearts."
Almighty God give me grace to practise what I have commended to your consideration; for this and this only, can, and will, make my life quiet and comfortable, and my death happy. And, my dear cousin, as I wish my own, so I wish your's may be.

Your affectionate kinsman,

R. W.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1679.

THE END OF LOVE AND TRUTH.
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